Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

1 September – 30 November 1956

Second Series

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Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, 1956

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Second Series

Volume Thirty Five

(1 September – 30 November 1956)

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund

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PUBLISHED BY
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN 019 567727 7

DISTRIBUTED BY
Oxford University Press
YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001
Mumbai Kolkata Chennai
Oxford New York Toronto
Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

TYPESET BY
Digigrafics
D-69, Gulmohar Park
New Delhi 110 049

PRINTED AT
Lordson Publishers Pvt Ltd
C 5/19, Rana Pratap Bagh
Delhi 110 007

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FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

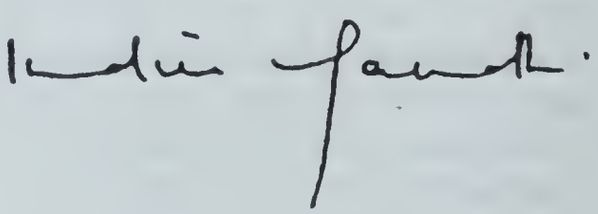
That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both

within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

> ...We have to judge how the mind and heart of India functions. Are the people strong and stable or get easily carried away? Are we led astray by a momentary passion or do we take action calmly and after a careful judgement even when there is danger of something that we do not like? There is a difference between individuals or nations which get carried away and those who remain calm and strong in a crisis, whether it is war or something else.

This is India's first Prime Minister speaking at Delhi's sprawling Ramlila Grounds on 23 September 1956. Explaining his own world view and the government policies, his speech encapsulates the themes and sub-themes covered in this volume.

In the context of India's democratic journey, the speech is important also because it reveals Jawaharlal Nehru's sensitivity to public opinion and his unswerving commitment to democratic values. It is noteworthy that while he was reaching out to his people and sharing with them his thoughts on domestic and foreign affairs, some newly liberated countries were beginning to adopt non-democratic practices. The same spirit, of sharing, exhorting and consulting, is reflected in the exchanges with chief ministers. They were informed not only about party affairs but also about Nehru's complex arguments on, for example, capitalism and socialism. "I am sorry to inflict these theoretical arguments upon you", he wrote to them apologetically on 14 October 1956.

We do not know how the chief ministers responded, but they knew well that free India's first Prime Minister had set the best traditions of engagement with the people and their leaders through dialogue and discussions, the chief pillars of parliamentary democracy, and that he would have agreed with the Urdu poet, Muhammad Iqbal, whom he admired:

> Life in bondage is reduced to a mere stream,
> And in freedom it becomes a limitless ocean.

Talking of dialogue and debate, it is worth introducing the issue of the banning of a book that Nehru raised at the historic Ramlila maidan. To K.M. Munshi, he

had written on 2 September 1956: "What a storm you have brought upon yourself and all of us, by including in your [Bharatiya Vidya] Bhavan's Book University the book called [*Living Biographies of*] *Religious Leaders*." "The whole book appears to be rather second-rate", he continued, "a curious collection of life stories". No wonder, Nehru persuaded Munshi, head of the institution that published the book, to withdraw it immediately. At the same time he could not make sense of violence breaking out, people making inflammatory speeches, and newspapers publishing articles to heighten religious passions. In so surcharged an atmosphere, he pleaded for peace, tolerance, and reconciliation. Aware of the unlovely history of Hindu-Muslim riots in British India, he did not want a few sporadic outbursts to be exploited by the communalists. He warned his chief ministers on 20 September 1956 that, "communal organizations which seem to lie low, suddenly raise their ugly heads whenever some incident occurs".

It is hard to imagine how Nehru could have acted differently. On balance, he handled an otherwise complex and sensitive issue dexterously. He dealt firmly with the agitators, Hindus and Muslims alike, and by sensitizing his chief ministers to the urgency of not allowing them to run amock he prevented the escalation of violence. Extending his damage control exercise to Pakistan, he explained to H.S. Suhrawardy how his government had acted promptly by withdrawing *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders*.

With the storm over the book blown over, Nehru confronted pressing global and domestic issues facing the Indian National Congress. To appreciate their true import, we have included the draft resolutions adopted at the All India Congress Committee meeting held in Kolkota on 9-11 November 1956. From Nehru's point of view, the statement on economic policy was crucially significant in delineating the main features of the Second Five Year Plan. In fact, its draft outline appeared just three months before the Ramlila speech. Nehru therefore used the occasion to spell out its details, focusing on poverty alleviation, social equity, economic growth, and industrial progress. He firmly believed, as he told the Congress camp on 7 October 1956 that, "that two or three more Five Year Plans will entirely change the face of this country". Elsewhere, he stated:

> The biggest task before us is of the Five Year Plan. It will take years but we must ultimately establish socialism. This is a very great problem which cannot be solved by passing laws or shouting slogans. It requires hard work. What is socialism? It is not something by which we cut off people's heads to make them equal. Socialism means uplifting people and giving them equal opportunities. Socialism does not mean making everybody poor. People must become better off. Socialism can only be brought about by hard work and cooperation of the people.

Nehru wanted everybody to know this. He did not expect every Congress worker to be an economist or a specialist, but he did expect him to understand, as stated in a message issued on 23 November 1956, "where we are today, where we want to go, and the main path which will lead us to our goal. . . . I want him to be earnest and to avoid as far as possible the failings which come from living in an acquisitive society. To the extent that he will serve others, he will do good to the country and to himself."

The Prime Minister also reminded his chief ministers that the Congress and the Parliament had adopted the socialist pattern of society as the country's goal. He underlined, moreover, that this was hardly a sudden decision, but "a natural development of our thinking and our national movement". He did not think much of the various socialist parties: "Indeed, in some ways, their prominent leaders like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan have drifted away from the basic tenets of socialism". Nehru elaborated, in the same letter, how his own views on socialism differed sharply from some of the prominent leaders of the socialist group who had, for their own personal and ideological reasons, drifted away from the Indian National Congress.

One finds Nehru wrestling with a number of issues, ranging from stability in Kashmir, an elusive goal during his lifetime, to the preservation of wildlife. He kept exhorting his audience to eschew casteism and communalism, to abhor sectarian violence, to strive for achieving higher goals, to share a common destiny, and to fortify their faith in a better and brighter future. If he had known, he would have surely echoed the following sentiments of Iqbal:

> No claim in the future, its joy or its sorrow,
> Has he in whose soul no hot passion burns now;
> Unworthy the tumult and strife of tomorrow,
> That nation to whose will today does not bow.

The bulk of this volume, though rich in terms of domestic coverage, sheds much fresh light on the critical happenings in two corners of the world—the Suez Canal and Hungary in Central Europe. The section entitled "External Affairs" starts with Nehru's clarification that his government had no intention of leaving the Commonwealth over the Suez affair. Such was his stature and moral authority, which he earned through decades of dedicated work, that people from Hungary sought his active intervention. In fact, his exchanges on Hungary, victim of an unprovoked invasion by the Soviet Union, are most instructive. The political classes in India, too, expected him to take a lead in the matter. In one of them, he told Krishna Menon on 11 November 1956: "There is much feeling in All India Congress Committee circles that our attitude in regard to

Hungary has not been clear as it might have been. There is naturally great sympathy for Hungarian people and resentment at the use of Russian army in strength to suppress them". In some of his correspondence with world leaders who turned to Nehru for wisdom, sagacity and sober advice, he tried to clarify the ambiguity they saw in India's stance on the Soviet invasion.

An interesting record of Nehru's conversation with Crown Prince Feisal covers the crisis over the Suez affair as well as his visit to Saudi Arabia in late-September 1956. In his letter to the chief ministers, too, he referred to the birth of Islam in Mecca and Medina and its early spread to India in the earliest days. He observed: "A very considerable portion of today, represents and believes in that religion which we are proud to consider in India a great religion of India." More importantly, he conceptualizes the transformation in Saudi Arabia, alluding all the time to his own fears of what the inflow of petrodollars might do to a traditional society. His vivid description of Saudi society reveals Nehru's empathy for and understanding of a non-European society. No other contemporary Indian leader possessed the same skill or inclination to do so.

The exchanges on the China-Myanmar dispute and the India-China boundary question enrich our knowledge of certain complex issues that are debated incessantly. We will have to wait and see whether or not the information in this volume is adequate enough to revisit some of the existing theories and interpretations.

The Ramlila speech, to which reference has been made earlier, set the tone on India's relations with Pakistan and his commitment to peace in India and overseas. "You must understand," he told the thousands who had gathered to listen to their Prime Minister, "that victory and defeat in war have become meaningless in today's world." Again, "if anyone in India thinks that we can vanquish Pakistan by going on war with them is not only wrong but extremely foolish too." Generally speaking, Nehru claimed, a claim documents assembled in this volume vindicate, that India had "raised the flag of peace and harmony in the world," and that "without our efforts the world would have tilted even further towards war." To the country at large, he had this to say:

> You must understand that we have to tread very carefully and always bear in mind the fact that in big issues or small, the path shown by our ancients, the path of Gautama Buddha and the message of Asoka, engraved on stone, is the only right path. Gandhiji has said in our own times that victory lies not in trying to harm others or make them look small, but in taking the others to your bosom.

In the same Ramlila speech, the Prime Minister talked about the crisis over the Suez Canal, declaring: "We are of the view that Suez is a part of Egypt and

so Egypt's sovereignty must be maintained". During his visit to Jeddah, too, he reiterated, "Suez Canal is an integral part of Egypt", and that the real issue was oil and not the contest over the Suez Canal. That indeed was so. The end result of the belligerence of some Western powers, principally Great Britain, led to India's involvement in some of the negotiations that took place over the Suez affair. As a co-founder of and a key figure in the non-aligned movement, Nehru and his principal lieutenant, Krishna Menon, articulated forcefully the sentiments of the post-colonial nation states that felt endangered by the reassertion of Western imperialism. He occupied centre stage in the non-Western world. Leaders consulted him on the finer details of the talks conducted at various levels. They regarded him as a tall leader, creative and reflective, knowing full well his contribution to the anti-colonial struggle and his commitment to democracy and secularism.

In sum, this volume chronicles the history of a turbulent period for India as well as the world. Nehru, a witness to the unfolding of many an event, maintained a close vigil on what was happening around him. As always, he commented on them with passion and commitment. Although critics disagreed with his ideas and strategies, they recognized his extraordinary talents, including his analytical skills. Even though his stand on the invasion of Hungary received severe, and, at times, unwarranted criticism, his critics endorsed his broad commitment to peace and non-alignment and opposition to military pacts and alliances. Speaking at the Buddha Jayanti celebrations, also at the Ramlila Grounds, he stated: "It is my job to understand the present situation in the world and even to voice India's opinion on one side or the other side. Therefore, my mind is full of the complexities of the world, the international situation and preparations of war. I am perturbed because where will all these military preparations lead the world to? Will it go up in flames?" Speaking philosophically, also at yet another gathering of Buddhists, he observed:

> I do not know what is ultimately the right way. Perhaps, there are many ways and each individual has to seek his way to do good or to counter evil. But whatever ways there may be surely the way of violence is not a good way. Surely, the way of hatred is not a good way, and I think we can say with some assurance. And not only because in principle and in theory it is not good but also because of the evidence of our eyes, the evidence of history, the evidence of recent events has shown that the way of violence is not even a practical way, apart from theory and apart from idealism.

Nehru had his share of criticism on foreign policy issues. On domestic issues, too, individuals and parties challenged his developmental strategies, especially

because they found them attuned to the socialist ideology. But they found no reason to question his sincerity or his eclectic vision. What is more, the left parties circles, which charged Nehru for offering major concessions to the landlord-bourgeoisie combination, admired him for his tenacious opposition to all forms of communalism and his passion for inter-community understanding.

Long years ago, Nehru had read Iqbal's *Naya Shiwala*, or "A New Altar", an eloquent statement on multiculturalism, tolerance and dialogue among religions. He did not forget the message, and often quoted a couple of verses from this, one of his favourite poems. For this reason, I quote *Naya Shiwala* in full:

> I'll tell you the truth, oh Brahmin, if I make so bold;
> These idols in your temples—these idols have grown old;
> To hate your fellow-mortals is all they teach you, while
> *Our* God too sets his preachers to scold and to revile;
> Sickened, from both your temple and our shrine I have run,
> —In every graven image you fancied God: I see
> In each speck of my country's poor dust, divinity.
>
> Come, let us lift suspicion's thick curtains once again,
> Unite once more the sundered, wipe clean division's stain.
> Too long has lain deserted the heart's warm habitation—
> Come build here in our homeland an altar's new foundation,
> And raise a spire more lofty than any of this globe,
> With high pinnacles touching the hem of heaven's robe!
> And there at every sunrise let our sweet chanting move
> The hearts of all who worship, pouring them wine of love:
> Firm strength, call peace, shall blend in the hymns the votary sings—
> For from love comes salvation to all earth's living things.

Presiding over the destiny of the world's second largest democracy, India's first Prime Minister left his long-lasting impact on his own country as well as many Asian and African countries. Nehru was, as Judith M. Brown, his recent biographer, points out, central to the making of modern India, with its strengths and weaknesses, its successes and failures. This volume, as indeed the previous ones, helps us to appreciate this fact. Together, they testify to the greatness of the man and the nobility of his political mission.

We thank various individuals and institutions for their help in publishing this volume. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi granted access to consult and publish the papers in her possession. They are referred to as the JN Collection. We have also had access to important collections at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library,

the Secretariats of the President, Cabinet and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs and Home Affairs, National Archives of India, and the Press Information Bureau. The All India Radio allowed us to use the tapes of Jawaharlal Nehru's speeches.

For their scholarly and secretarial assistance, we are grateful to Shri Tapan Kumar Karanjai, Ms Geeta Kudaisya, Ms Shantisri Banerji, Dr Jawaid Alam and Ms Malini Rajani.

10 May 2005 MUSHIRUL HASAN

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADC/AsDC	Aides-De-Camp
AFPFL	Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League
AICC	All India Congress Committee
AIR	All India Radio
CCB	Central Cypher Bureau
CPI	Communist Party of India
CPSU	Communist Party of Soviet Union
CSIR	Council of Scientific and Industrial Research
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DIB	Director, Intelligence Bureau
DSP	Deputy Superintendent of Police
DVC	Damodar Valley Corporation
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ISI	Indian Statistical Institute
JS(W)	Joint Secretary (West)
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NES	National Extension Service
NNC	Naga National Council
NR & SR	Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research
PA	Personal Assistant

PEPSU	Patiala and East Punjab States Union
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
RSS	Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SUNFED	Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development
UK	United Kingdom
UN/UNO	United Nations Organization
UNEF	United Nations Emergency Force
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UP	Uttar Pradesh
US/USA	United States of America
USIA	United States Information Agency
USIS	United States Information Service
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
UWP	United Workers' Party

1
GENERAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Communalism and Freedom of Press[1]

Sisters and brothers,
I would like to say something in plain and simple language. I think, I came to the Ramlila Grounds about three-four months ago and addressed a large public meeting[2] before I left on a long tour abroad, to Europe and other countries.[3] I was asked to come here and speak again after I came back, and even I wanted to meet you and consult you. But somehow, I was hopelessly tied down. Then I have to make a speech on the 15th of August from the Red Fort.[4] That is an auspicious day for us but many things which are close to one's hearts cannot be talked about on that occasion. That is neither the time nor is it quite proper to say them. So, I have not been able to present myself before you so far. Then when this tour to Saudi Arabia came up,[5] I felt that it would be a good thing for us to meet one another before I leave. I requested the Delhi Congress Committee to hold a meeting. So, this meeting was organized by them, but at my request.

There is another reason for it. I have heard that all sorts of rumours are floating about in Delhi these days and people are only too ready to pay heed to them. There are always people who like to spread wrong tales and take advantage of the confusion that results. You might have read in the newspapers that recently one of the employees in the External Affairs Ministry was arrested because he

1. Speech at a public meeting on the eve of departure for Saudi Arabia, Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, 23 September 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. For Nehru's speech on 20 June 1956, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 24-36.
3. Nehru toured West Germany, France, Yugoslavia, Irish Republic, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon from 21 June to 22 July 1956. He attended the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London from 28 June to 6 July.
4. For Nehru's speech on the occasion of the ninth anniversary of Indian Independence, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 34-38.
5. Nehru paid an official visit to Saudi Arabia from 24 to 28 September in response to an invitation extended by King Saud.

had been passing secret documents outside.[6] Well, this was wrong and apart from the fact that he will be punished, the question that arises is how he got the opportunity to do this. Then the story began to spread and was published in the newspapers and changed beyond recognition and became useless. It is true that an employee in my Ministry was caught stealing secret documents and was arrested and action will be taken against him. Moreover, we will make arrangements to make sure that this kind of thing does not happen again. The newspaper reports said that the documents had been stolen by foreign spies who escaped and what not. There is no foundation in any of these things and whatever the facts are, will come to light gradually. We are examining the matter carefully.

Well, this was one thing. The second subject which is being hotly discussed concerns a book over which even riots have taken place in many cities.[7] Now, these things bother me, not in themselves, but because of the effect which they produce on the people. After all, we have to judge how the mind and heart of India functions. Are the people strong and stable or easily get carried away? Are we led astray by momentary passions or do we take action calmly and after a careful judgement even when there is danger of something that we do not like? There is a difference between individuals or nations which get carried away and those who remain calm and strong in a crisis, whether it is war or something else.

I cannot tolerate the people who incite others in this way. They kick up a storm in a tea cup and spoil the atmosphere in the cities. Now, we can look into who the guilty people are. There is no doubt about it that some people are guilty. But what bothers me is not those people, for every individual in India cannot be an angel. What does bother me is why people give in to panic so easily and get carried away. This is not a good thing. It weakens the nation. One way of judging a nation is to see how strong and calm its people are in a crisis, or whether they give in to panic and do the wrong thing in a fit of passion. I am telling you all this though I have come here after three months. I wanted to talk to you about

6. On 21 September 1956, newspapers reported that a file containing correspondence between Nehru and President Nasser of Egypt on the Suez Canal issue was stolen by some Shadi Lal, an employee of the Ministry of External Affairs, and that the information was sold to a foreign agent. On the day his house was raided, the employee's wife allegedly set fire to the file. Both the employee and his wife were arrested on 18 September. According to some Urdu dailies, the 'agent' was a Pakistani and was missing from his room, which Shadi Lal had sublet to him.
7. For details about the controversy created by the book entitled *Living Biographies of the Religious Leaders*, see *post*, pp. 253-271.

our internal as well as international affairs. I wanted to tell you little about the Suez Canal affair[8] because you would be interested in it.

Take the Suez Canal issue, for instance. It is almost eight weeks since the problem arose. There have been ups and downs. Believe me, there were a couple of occasions during this period when the world had teetered on the brink of war. It had come very, very close to it. But thank God, war did not break out and the countries of the world showed some sense and turned back at the last moment. I do not say that the problem has been solved. There are many complications and difficulties still. But at least the fear of war has receded and the people have got an opportunity to consider the matter calmly. Once that happens, it becomes easier to handle the situation.

As you know, India has played a role in the Suez affair. We have not issued lengthy statements or made a great noise. I had issued a couple of statements in the Lok Sabha in which I had said that our effort is to help, if we can, in solving this problem peacefully because otherwise, not only will there be a world war but it will also cause us a great deal of damage.[9] Suppose there is a war and the Suez Canal is closed, it will immediately affect our pockets. Nearly all the goods that we are exporting or importing by sea have to go through the Suez Canal. If that route is closed due to war or any other reason, then the price of everything will go up and it will affect the country directly. It will also have an adverse effect on our five year plans. The machinery that we are importing will not arrive on time and the work will come to a standstill. If foodgrains do not arrive in time, we will have difficulties. In short, there will be a lot of confusion.

So, apart from the fact that there should be no war in the world, our national interests are also involved. So, we have made some effort. It is obvious that we had definite views on some broad issues. For instance, we are of the view that Suez is a part of Egypt and so Egypt's sovereignty must be maintained. Foreign powers must not be allowed to gain a foothold in this region once again. It would be wrong to reverse the trend of history. So, we expressed our views plainly.

On the other hand, we also said that the Suez Canal is used by the whole world. The ships from all over the world carrying goods pass through it. Therefore, the path must be clear for everyone. No one country should have the right to stop the traffic unilaterally. These are the two sides of the coin. A third, and very significant point is that this matter ought to be solved peacefully and by mutual consultations, not by threats or warfare. If there is a war, apart from whoever

8. See *post*, pp. 389-390.
9. See *post*, pp. 346-388.

wins or loses, the purpose for which the Suez was built is defeated if the route is closed.

So, all these arguments have been going back and forth. We did not present any special suggestions for we do not have a locus standi to do so. On the one hand is Egypt which is our friend and most closely concerned in this matter. On the other hand, there are countries like ourselves who are also indirectly affected. So, all of us must sit down and try to come to an agreement. We are laying stress on the fact that the matter should not be solved by threats and warfare and that there should be a conference of all the parties concerned. Neither side can decide the matter unilaterally. Now, I would like to go into the more fundamental aspects of this question.

We talk about *Panchsheel* and peace in international affairs. That is all right, but how far we ourselves practise it, is another matter. I mean in the internal affairs of the country, because trouble flares up quite often. What does *Panchsheel* mean? It means solving problems by peaceful methods and not by means of war or threats. You can extend it further to mean that we should not hastily jump into the fray in a fit of passion in our internal affairs, which is a sign of foolishness, and of a weak, ignorant and childish nation. Even if something happens which makes us angry, as often happens in our day-to-day lives, we must solve them peacefully. For one thing, there are law courts in every country to settle the disputes among the people, whether it is about property or land or something else. They cannot take the law into their own hands and decide matters by using force. You have to fight a case and the court or the panchayat decides it. What cannot be tolerated is that we jump into the fray and start fighting over small issues. That is a foolish thing to do for it brings disrepute to the country and causes harm.

For instance, there was an uproar over a book, as I had mentioned earlier. It is called the story of the *Religious Leaders* or something. I had neither seen it nor heard about it. When there was a sudden uproar, I wondered what it was all about. I came to know that fifteen-sixteen years ago this book had been published in the United States and since then a few copies had come into India. A few of them were sold here and there and nobody noticed it much. Then a publishing firm in Bombay, which specialized in printing cheaply-priced books, came to an agreement with the American company to print about a dozen of their titles here in India in which this book was also included. I do not think anybody read it carefully—at least no responsible person did—and it was printed. Immediately it was noticed. The book contains the story of the Bible and Moses, Luke and Joseph, Gautama Buddha, Hazrat Muhammad and lastly Mahatma Gandhi. A few pages have been devoted to each of the religious leaders.

Well, if you were to ask me, I would say that the book is not of a very high

standard. It is a very ordinary book, neither well-written nor good, a mere journalistic hotchpotch. Well, there must be people who read such things. Also, when I read it carefully, there is no doubt about it that some wrong facts and often absurd things have been written in the chapter on Hazrat Muhammad. It was wrong, there was no doubt about it. A Muslim would not have tolerated it, for even I could not tolerate it. Anyhow, that does not mean that just because someone has written a useless book or said some wrong things we should fight among ourselves. Let us take whatever action we can regarding the book and try to have it banned or change the text or something. This is the sensible way of going about things instead of creating an uproar. The moment I came to know about it, I drew the attention of the publishers to it who replied immediately that there had been a mistake and that the sales of the book would be stopped forthwith. They did so and asked for the copies which had been sent to the book shops and handed over the whole lot to the Bombay Government. There the matter should have ended.

But, some Muslim organizations and newspapers started an agitation over this issue. Just imagine how the whole thing flared up just when matters were beginning to cool down in the normal course. Everyone has the right to express his opinion against something if he felt it was wrong, and to take action. But a Kanpur newspaper published long articles and editorials about it and incited the people more.[10] You can imagine what the intention in publishing such things was. The publisher withdrew the book, but in publishing excerpts and long articles, what else could be the motive of the newspaper except to foment trouble? When the people read the newspaper, passions mounted. Anyhow, the editor of that newspaper was arrested ten days later and I wish it had been done earlier. It would have been more effective if he had been arrested the day the first editorial was published. I often observe that it takes a long time for the government to take action. We are so legal-minded that weeks lapse in getting counsel's opinion, while the fire spreads. I feel that action should be taken more promptly in matters when an obvious wrong is done.

Anyhow, I have given you one example of this Urdu paper which is being published from Kanpur. You can see for yourselves newspapers can incite public opinion by writing articles on an issue which was beginning to cool down. Anyhow, processions were taken out in some cities and protest meetings were held. In the Muslim University in Aligarh, all kinds of absurd slogans were

10. See *post*, p. 261.

raised. But I would like to tell you that a rumour has been spread that the *Bhagvadgita* was torn and burnt in Aligarh and what not. The matter has been inquired into by the Government of UP and the University. It is absolutely wrong. There is no doubt about it. But, now, people are taking out processions on the basis of that false rumour in Delhi and elsewhere and inciting people by saying that the *Bhagvadgita* has been dishonoured and it should not be taken lying down, etc. It has become a strange nature of some people to create disunity and foment trouble. Unmannerly behaviour in Aligarh is retaliated by more misbehaviour. Some Muslim shops were burnt and looted. This is the way the honour of the Hindu religion is being upheld and protected by stealing and burning. The Muslims made the book an excuse to start an agitation in the name of their religion and the Hindus have used religion as an excuse to loot and plunder. People were beaten up and shops looted and poor and helpless citizens were the victims. Nearly fifteen people lost their lives in this period.

You may call the agitators foolish or mischievous but the whole thing is wrong. Mistakes are bound to be made but people cannot take the law into their hands. The courts are there to settle any disputes that arise. To vitiate the atmosphere in this manner and bring disrepute to the nation is wholly wrong. You may have read in the newspapers that yesterday there were strikes in Pakistan, in Karachi and other places over the printing of this book.[11] That matter was over long ago in India but strikes and processions were taken out shouting absurd slogans, and I was made the special butt of them.

We must make an effort to recognize the people behind all these agitations. It is absurd for anyone to say that the Indians have insulted Hazrat Muhammad Rasool. If an individual has printed some book by mistake how can all the Indians be blamed for it? It is equally absurd and foolish of Indians to condemn the Muslims and become hostile to them. In Karachi and elsewhere in Pakistan, it is the Muslim League which was behind the agitation. You may be aware of the events which have occurred in Pakistan in the last three-four months. All sorts of strange things have happened but the broad fact is that the Muslim League has lost its hold on Government. It began with West Pakistan[12] and later the

11. See *post*, p. 269.

12. An Interim Legislative Assembly was elected in January 1956 in West Pakistan. In April 1956, the Muslim League withdrew its support to the Ministry of Khan Sahib who, however, succeeded in forming his own party, the Republican Party, which received the support of a large number of former Muslim League members. He thus ensured his majority in the Assembly.

Muslim League Government at the Centre was also removed.[13] Nowadays it is in the opposition. This is of great historical significance, in a sense because as you know it is the Muslim League which was responsible for the Partition and the creation of Pakistan, etc. Now, the Muslim League has gone from India except in some corner of Malabar where there is a small branch. It was very powerful in Pakistan and held the reins of power for a long time. No other party could come up. So, it is a significant development in the history of Pakistan that the Muslim League Government has fallen. I do not have the right to criticize this for the people of Pakistan have the right to have any party in government they like. The only thing that we want is that there should be peace between India and Pakistan. The people of Pakistan will have to decide whether they want the Muslim League or some other party in power. I am merely pointing out a fact that the Muslim League has lost power in Pakistan. So, they are naturally extremely frustrated and angry and are looking for ways to create problems. It is an opposition party in Pakistan which is responsible for all this agitation and processions etc. I do not think they are concerned with India or Jawaharlal specially. All this is a sign of their frustration at having been removed from power. Now, they are searching for ways to make themselves felt in public. They did not find anything in Pakistan and so took up the issue of the book, printed in India, to incite people to strike and what not.

So, you can see that these things have no relationship to actual facts. It is the product of the tussle and tension between the parties in Pakistan. The party which has been ousted from power is agog to use any excuse to foment trouble. There was a great deal of misbehaviour but we must realize that that cannot be an excuse for us to retaliate by more misbehaviour. We must not do wrong things in a fit of passion. We must show our strength by behaving with calm and good sense. We can protest in a civilized way. But at the same time we must not forget that it is not the party in power in Pakistan which is doing all this but the opposition party. I heard that they burnt my effigy but it did not have any adverse effect on my health. I am very hale and happy. I am sure they will be ashamed of all this eventually. If anybody feels most upset about all this, it must be the responsible people in Pakistan who had no hand in all this. The Government of Pakistan must have certainly been perturbed about the country getting a bad name.

13. On 6 September 1956, four ministers of Mohammad Ali Cabinet resigned from the Muslim League to join the Republican Party leaving him as the only Muslim League member of the Cabinet. Mohammad Ali resigned both from the Premiership and the Party. President Iskandar Mirza then invited H.S. Suhrawardy of the Awami League to form the Government. A new Cabinet, consisting of four Awami League members and five Republicans, was announced by Suhrawardy on 12 September.

So, I want you to look at all these things in this way. We must not be dangerously led astray by people bent upon creating trouble. Even if something wrong is done, we must not retaliate. We will be playing into the hands of the troublemakers by doing so. I had mentioned earlier also that the Muslim League had always followed a wrong policy in India by spreading the poison of communalism and its repercussions were felt seriously in both the countries. But the strange thing is that there are some people in India who are doing exactly the same thing as the Muslim League did. The Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, etc., have adopted the same tune and methods in a different garb. If there is any reflection of the way the Muslim League thinks, it is in the activities of these Hindu communalist organizations. They also show the same kind of warped thinking and create trouble, and incite people in the name of religion, etc.

We are facing grave problems in India and the world today. The world is wavering between war and peace. In India too, apart from the problem of defending and maintaining freedom, the biggest problem before us is progress of the country and of the people. That implies eradicating their poverty and unemployment. These are extremely complex problems because this huge country of ours has been stuck in the mire of poverty for a long time. It takes time to extricate ourselves from it. Anyhow, the most important problem before the nation is the economic one today, apart from protecting our freedom. Now, you can see the kind of things which agitate the communalist organizations of the Hindus, Muslims and the Sikhs, because you can gauge the thinking of an individual or a nation by the problems that are foremost in their minds. You can judge the quality of a nation or an individual by this. Have you ever heard any of these communalist organizations, that I have named, ever mention or debate over the big problems the country faces or trying to suggest a solution to them? Have they ever expressed an opinion about what our policy should be regarding the five year plan, and what the ratio between heavy industries and agriculture ought to be? What should be the place of village industries and khadi in our programme, etc.? These are the complex problems and a slight tilt this way or that way could either do great harm or be very beneficial. These are the real problems before us.

Three months ago, the draft of the Second Five Year Plan was produced after three years of deliberations.[14] Even now we will make further alterations in it

14. The Draft Outline of the Second Five Year Plan was published in February 1956. After its consideration by the National Development Council on 2 May, the Plan was presented in the Parliament on 15 May. The Lok Sabha approved it on 23 May and the Rajya Sabha on 25 May. For additional information, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 39.

because we are learning all the time with experience. The consumer is interested in seeing that there is no inflation. On the other hand, the zamindar and the farmer hope that the prices may go up so that their profits will increase. So, the question becomes complex. Both the consumer and the producer have to be reassured. If the prices rise too much, the consumer is in difficulty and if they are too low, the poor producer faces a loss. Just six-seven months ago, there was an apprehension that the prices of foodgrains were falling too rapidly and so we had to announce that the Government would buy the wheat at a price higher than the market price. We had to do this in order to help the farmer who would have been ruined if the prices crashed too low. On the other hand, when prices rise too much, we open fair price shops for the people to control the rising prices so that the shopkeepers do not try to make undue profit. At the moment, the Government has opened ten thousand fair price shops where foodgrains are sold at fixed prices. The result is that the other shopkeepers cannot raise the prices too high. The buyer will naturally go to the Government shops. We did not have to close down any shop because our method worked very well.

So, I am trying to tell you how the day-to-day problems affect millions of people. Now, another angle to this problem is, why do prices rise? It is because the goods are less and the buyers are more. Now, we are investing crores of rupees in the five year plans which go into the pockets of the people in the form of wages and salaries. That increases their purchasing power. If the goods are less in supply, prices rise. We do not have a real shortage of foodgrains, sugar or cloth in the country. But the number of consumers has gone up and so has their capacity to buy things. I am not talking merely of numbers, though it is true that the population has increased and we ought to be vigilant about it and try to prevent a rapid growth. But I am not talking about that. The thing is that we have never before produced as much sugar as we are producing today in India. In fact we have produced almost one and a half times as much.[15] The production has increased and yet we are facing the shortfall, it is because the number of consumers of sugar has gone up considerably today.

Now that there is more money in the people's pockets, they are beginning to consume sugar and wheat, where they used to eat bajra and *jawar*, earlier. It is a good thing because it is a sign of progress in a sense. More cloth is being sold. We have never produced as much cloth in India as we are doing at present.[16] It

15. Sugar production in 1951 was 11.16 lakh tons and went up in 1956 to 18.62 lakh tons.
16. Mill cloth production in 1950-51 was 37,180 lakh yards, and in 1955-56 it rose to 51,000 lakh yards.

has increased enormously compared to the past. But it is being consumed very rapidly and now we are facing the problem of increasing the production even further, somehow, in the mills and by charkha and looms, etc. All this is a sign of a country's progress and of the increasing earning capacity of the people. So, their purchasing power also goes up. But we have gone slightly wrong in our calculations about the amount of food-grains and other things that would be needed. We will have to increase production. We are learning from experience and our calculations regarding the requirement of food and cloth must be more accurate. These are the real problems of the nation in which everyone is interested. There are all kinds of political parties in the world today and generally, they are based on economic issues. Whether it is the Labour Party or the Socialist or the Communist Party, fundamentally, the distinctions are over the economic issues. They hold different views about the directions of progress, whether there should be emphasis on agriculture or industries, whether industries should be in private hands or in the public sector, etc.

Now, I come back to the old issue once again. Have you ever heard these issues of national interest being discussed by the Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and the Muslim organizations which have now taken the place of the Muslim League and if it is possible for such a thing to happen, are even worse than the Muslim League? Their arguments and debates are never on the economic questions or any other question of national importance which concerns the people, the farmer, the shopkeeper or the man in the street. Their concern is merely to rake up religious emotions and incite trouble. Therefore, they are not parties in the real sense of the term. They are not based on any policy or principle but believe only in abuses and fomenting trouble. Religion is all right in its place and every individual is welcome to follow his own religion. But to call themselves political parties and to bring religion into politics, not for the propagation of their own religion, but to malign and abuse other religions is wrong. This is the occupation of the communal organizations and it is unfortunate that in India people get carried away very easily in a fit of passion. So, the trouble spreads. It is the same thing in Pakistan also. I do not wish to make a distinction between India and Pakistan because there are fools in both the countries. But, if you are looking for a difference, it is that there is a large number of sensible people too in India and less in Pakistan where the number of people which get easily swayed is larger. There are such people in India too but they are offset by those who remain calm and undisturbed.

You must understand all this and try to stop others from indulging in such activities in your street, city and state, and try to create an atmosphere where such foolishness is not tolerated. If there is an injustice, there are proper methods

of dealing with it, by law and through government channels. To make an innocent suffer is foolish and we put ourselves in the wrong and stand condemned in the world. We have raised the flag of peace and harmony in the world and I feel that in the last four five years, at least twice India's efforts have helped the world in maintaining peace.[17] It is possible that without our efforts, the world would have tilted even further towards war. Anyhow, there is nothing to boast about or make a fuss in all this. But at least it makes us happy that we have been of some use to the world. The right path is that which benefits us and others. We cannot do something in the hope of gaining something at the cost of others. It is wrong and I do not like it.

I do not wish any country to be laid flat. I think this attitude of victory and defeat is wrong and the moment you adopt such yardsticks, you begin to go astray. I admit that we have high principles taught by Gautama Buddha and Mahatma Gandhi and others. But leave that aside for the moment. Broadly speaking, the world has become such a close-knit and complex place that if you cause harm to another nation, you will also undoubtedly suffer the consequences. This is the situation in the world today. You must understand clearly that you cannot inflict a wound on others without getting hurt yourself.

So, in such circumstances, the question of defeating anyone does not arise because you will also suffer in the process. It is a strange world. It is eleven years since the Second World War ended. There had been another earlier. In both, one side won and the other suffered a crushing defeat. The latter was completely ruined. In the Second World War, Germany and Japan were ruined. They lost the War, thousands of their young men were killed and their cities became a mass of rubble. Beautiful, ancient cities lay in smoking ruins. Their industries were wiped out. People did not have a roof over their heads. This happened in Germany. In Japan, two atom bombs were dropped on two of its cities. All this was ten years ago. Today, Germany and Japan are far ahead of the victorious nations. Just imagine, the countries which won the War faced great difficulties and problems and yet Germany is progressing rapidly. Innumerable industries have come up and there is no unemployment. Whom would you call the victor and the vanquished? Similarly, Japan has also made great progress. The Allies patted themselves on the back for having defeated Japan. But victory and defeat are so closely interlinked today that it has become quite obvious that no nation can escape the consequences of the aftermath of war.

17. India played a constructive role in bringing peace in Indo-China and Korea.

Therefore, to think of war as a solution to problems is absurd. If anyone in India thinks that we can vanquish Pakistan by going to war with them is not only wrong but extremely foolish too. Whatever losses Pakistan may suffer, we cannot escape the consequences either. These days East Pakistan is facing grave shortage of food and though we are in difficulties ourselves, we gave them something nevertheless. We gave five thousand tonnes of rice free and four lakhs *maunds* of rice on the condition that it will be returned to us in a few months. Now, we do not wish to give any more but when their cry of distress reached us, we have scraped together another two thousand tonnes of rice and sent them. Why? It is not out of generosity but because we are convinced that if the situation in Pakistan worsens, we will also feel the effect here, especially in the economic field. The fact is that the first consequence that we are facing is that a great deal of rice is being smuggled from Bengal, Assam and Tripura into East Pakistan. We are trying to stop it and succeeding somewhat. But the borders are thousands of miles long and it is not possible to stop the smuggling completely. The prices are soaring in East Pakistan which are less on this side of the border, so the smuggling is being done.

So, you must understand that victory and defeat in war have become meaningless in today's world. To think that we can gain something by defeating another country makes no sense any longer. Take the Suez issue for instance, we have very close ties with Egypt and in our view their statements have been all that is proper. I would say that the manner in which they seized the Suez Company in the beginning is not the way we would have done it. Well, I do not wish to criticize anyone. I am merely saying that our way is different and perhaps if Egypt had also gone about it in a slightly different manner, so many difficulties may not have arisen. Anyhow, they had the right to do what they did because the Suez Canal is on their soil. The other countries do not have any right over it. But at the same time the world has the right to demand that their ships should be allowed to pass through without any hindrance. Now, there is a big tussle going on between Egypt and England, France and others. But victory or defeat of either side is meaningless in this case because it will not solve the problem. The only result will be to create bitterness and a desire for revenge. On both sides, there are powerful nations. Egypt is an ancient country and England, France and the United States are also great countries. If there is an effort to make either side look small, it will not be tolerated.

So, in such a situation it is foolish and wrong to try to defeat either side or make it eat humble pie. Its repercussions will be bad and no agreement can be reached. Agreements can come about when we remain firm on our principles and protect our rights without trying to do harm to the others. We must protect our rights. But there must not be any unnecessary attempt to showdown the

other side because there can then be no hope of coming to any agreement. Only war can result from such activities. When we talk about peace, it does not mean refraining only from physical violence. The wound inflicted by the spoken word can be much more hurtful than by the sword. Therefore, we must control our speech. Thoughtless speech or abuse can do greater damage because they incite the people and create anger and spoil the atmosphere completely.

Therefore, whether it is the Suez affair or anything else in the world, you will see that we have very clear views. But we do not issue lengthy statements against anyone because if we do so or try to showdown anyone, we can render no service thereafter. Now, can we do anything if we ourselves jump into the fray on one side or the other? Who will listen to us then? Therefore, our effort in this Suez affair has been to see that it is settled peacefully and with honour for everyone. The honour of Egypt as well as England, United States and France should be upheld. Only then will the problem be solved finally and the outcome will be good.

Now, the Suez Canal is not the real issue at all. The real issue is oil. Oil is a very valuable commodity in the world today. In fact, you can say that the world functions on oil. All the big machines, aeroplanes, trains, ships, military equipment etc., require oil. If the flow of oil stops, all the modern advanced nations will come to a standstill. Their industries will close down and people will starve. So, you can understand why some of the European countries are so strangely perturbed? The full horror of their situation has suddenly dawned upon them. They cannot afford to let the Suez be closed to traffic because it is a matter of life and death for them. Their apprehension is not entirely correct for there is no reason for the oil flow to be stopped. But these fears overwhelmed them and they began to feel strangulated. Therefore, they reacted very violently and without thinking very deeply. They should have stopped to think that if they want oil—which they have a right to do—they can get it only if a friendly agreement is reached and not by war. A war will destroy the oilfields and that will spell ruin for the West too. So war serves no purpose.

I am trying to show you all the angles of this problem. You must understand that we have to tread very carefully and always bear in mind the fact that in big issues or small, the path shown by our ancients, the path of Gautama Buddha and the message of Asoka, engraved on stone, is the only right path. Gandhiji has said in our own times that victory lies not in trying to harm others or make them look small, but in taking the others to your bosom. This is a matter of principle which is best fitted for the modern world because it has become so closely-knit by trade and other factors, that something that happens in England or the Suez can cause us harm. For instance, our five year plans are closely linked with these things. Therefore, all these things must be settled in the proper

way and in a manner in which we do not have to relinquish our rights, for that is a sign of weakness. But at the same time we must understand and respect the rights of others too. There must be no attempt at doing the others down.

Now, if we follow this principle, our path becomes clearer. These problems arise again and again in our own country, over religion or provinces and what not. The last year has been an extraordinary one. People have killed one another and brought ruin over the issue of the reorganization of states. After all, these are administrative matters. These states do not become foreign countries. But the matter generated great heat and passions were unleashed and all kinds of things happened. After all, languages cannot be suppressed by anyone. We must understand these fundamental things. We have made a great deal of progress in our country and there are many intelligent people here. But at the same time there are many foolish people who get carried away very easily, in the name of religion, language, province, etc.

Now, take Punjab, for instance, it is true that the matter has ended and need not be mentioned. But look at the extreme foolishness of it. After a great deal of discussion, a way was found, called the Regional Formula which, I am convinced, was a just one and protected everyone's rights. But the people in Punjab began to make a noise without even attempting to understand what it was. Some people have formed an organization called the Maha Punjab Samiti.[18] Let me tell you that whenever the word 'Maha' is added to something, it becomes a dangerous thing. So the Maha Punjab Samiti was formed. Now, without thinking, they set up a great uproar that they had been betrayed and the Hindus were ruined and what not. It is really strange. What was the great calamity? I could not understand.

Well, anyhow, they were pacified ultimately. If they wanted to express their views, they could have done so on public meetings. Though the voice of Punjab is by no means weak, they did not have confidence in themselves. They put their faith in stones. All right, let us assume for a moment that this Regional Formula is wrong. But is this any way of rectifying a mistake? Our Congress President went there a couple of months ago and they misbehaved with him.[19] Our Congress Secretary, Shri Shriman Narayan went on some personal work and he was met by a crowd at the station, all shouting and screaming. What is all this? I am not bothered about the riots and other things. They cool down after a while. But parties like the Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, Rashtriya

18. Maha Punjab Samiti opposed the Regional Formula and demanded merger of Pepsu, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 572.
19. U.N. Dhebar had to be escorted under a security cordon in Jalandhar on 18 April 1956.

Swayamsevak Sangh etc., seem to be bent upon doing things which will harm the country, create disunity and generally benefit our enemies in the world. What kind of political parties are these that they indulge in such activities? If you go abroad or read the foreign newspapers, you will find that the happenings in Jalandhar and Punjab are being avidly discussed. They say that India is going up in flames and while we were thinking that she is making progress, there is only grave disunity among the people. We are only playing into the hands of our enemies. We must snap out of such foolishness. I am getting tired of all this.

I spoke about newspaper reports in another connection too. There was a public meeting in Rohtak and I had mentioned that some newspapers get subsidies from foreign agencies. Please get this clear, I did not mention foreign governments. My exact words were from foreign countries. I did not mention any names. Now, I have received a resolution from the newspaper editors, protesting about it and demanding that I should name the newspapers which get money in this way.[20] I replied to them that the time was not ripe to disclose this information and that I shall speak out at the proper time. The fact is that we often receive information which I may not be able to prove in a court of law, and for various other reasons. Some newspaper-men wrote to me that my allegation has led people to suspect them and so I should make the matter clear. They wanted me to say that their newspapers were not involved. I do not know, it seems to me that they are protesting too much. The fact is that we have called some of the newspaper-men to us in the last year or two and told them that we have some information about them and so they should be careful.

Now, there are many ways of collecting money. One need not hand over a bag of notes. There are fifty different ways of subsidizing. One is through advertisements. I do not mean the regular ones. But there are small advertisements for which they pay disproportionately large amounts. Or, sometimes the money is paid through the printing press by getting something nominal printed and paying large sums for it. Then there is another method of subsidizing, not newspapers, but by the import of cheap books which are sold in large numbers here and the book-sellers make large profits. The book-sellers get these books at very nominal prices from outside and sell them at a profit here. I know which institutions benefit by these transactions. These are some of the ways in which certain outside agencies try to interfere in our politics.

I am telling you all this because I want that there should be no secrets between you and me. I cannot tell you everything. But I will share whatever I can with

20. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 33.
21. The second general elections took place from 24 February to 14 March 1957.

you. We are going to have elections in six months[21] and the shadow they cast is dangerous. I think that it is because of the coming elections that these riots took place over the states reorganization issue. They went out of hand because the thought of the coming elections have been obsessing everyone's thoughts. So, all these questions flared up out of all proportions. I feel that they are blown up for election purposes and to incite the people against the Congress. It is in this context that I mentioned the flow of foreign subsidies because we must be vigilant against such things.

We had elections in the country five years ago.[22] It was a grand election, absolutely free with everyone enjoying full rights to vote as he liked. There was no pressure of any sort and it was the first time in the history of the world that elections were held on such a large scale. It has not happened anywhere else because there is no other country with such a large population. The only other country like India is China but being a communist country, they do not have elections anywhere else in the world on such a grand scale. The people elected whom they liked. Candidates from various parties contested and as a result, of the five hundred-odd Members in the Lok Sabha, about 350 belong to the Congress and 150 to other parties like the Communist Party, the Praja Socialist Party, Independents, a couple from the Hindu Mahasabha and one from the Ramrajya Parishad.[23] So different parties were represented. Everyone had the freedom to contest.

Now, that the elections are round the corner again, there is heated activity in all the parties. In fact, they adopt a special tone for the elections. It would have been proper if there had been a debate over fundamental policies and principles with a view to educating the public, so that they could elect whom they thought fit. But they draw the people's attention towards all kinds of other things. I have no doubt about it that candidates will contest the elections on the issue of states reorganization, or some communal issue. For instance, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, the Jana Sangh, etc., stand under a communal banner. They have no issues relating to the real problems of the country.

Apart from this, you will notice a new trend among these parties. There is great talk of joint-fronts to oppose the Congress. It is plain that they quail at the

22. The first general elections were held over a period of approximately six months, from October 1951 to May 1952.
23. Out of a total of 499 seats of the Lok Sabha, Congress secured 362, the Communist Party of India 14, the Praja Socialist Party 12, Kisan Mazdoor Party 9, Peoples' Democratic Front 9, Hindu Mahasabha 4, Akali Dal 4, Jana Sangh 3, Ramrajya Parishad 3, Scheduled Castes Federation 2, other parties 26, and Independents 41. Ten Members were nominated under various categories.

thought of challenging the Congress alone. They are scared of the outcome. So they are joining up with various other parties. There is no doubt about it that by uniting themselves, they will gain in strength. But what they have failed to take into consideration is that ten lame people cannot make one completely normal human being. Look at the pacts that are being made. The Communist Party is aligning itself with the Hindu Mahasabha in opposition to the Congress. It is a strange thing. If I could be sure that this kind of joint- front will come to stay in the country as a strong and stable group, and become emotionally integrated, I will gladly tell Dhebar Bhai that the Congress should be disbanded because there is complete national integration. But the difficulty is that this is an artificial and temporary alliance. How can there be a lasting union between the Ramrajya Parishad and the Communist Party except as a front against the Congress? Now I hear the Praja Socialist Party is debating which side it should align itself with. Just a year or so ago, the present Praja Socialist Party had become very vociferous against the Congress and formed a new party. They said that in the elections which will be held six years later, the Praja Socialist Party will definitely win and that they were preparing for that. They are welcome to do so. But their preparations seem to be confined to searching for issues to do satyagraha about. There was a time when Gandhiji was our leader, that satyagraha was considered to be a last resort when all other methods to bring round the other side to our way of thinking had failed. Now, people are scratching their heads to find something to do satyagraha for and draw the people's attention to themselves. If there is nothing else, they get together a few hundred peasants and start an agitation, demanding that their condition should be improved.

So, this has become a new profession, of making a noise and doing satyagraha on flimsy pretexts. Anyhow, the Socialist Party has separated from the Praja Socialist Party.[24] There are elders in the Socialist Party who are opposed to the Communist Party but at the same time, they are willing to form an alliance in opposition to the Congress. They say that they feel that the Communist Party is dangerous and harmful but after all they must lean in some direction if they want to survive. They have said that it is not possible for them to lean towards the Congress.

Now, the Congress is a huge organization with a firm policy of its own and though people of various callings join it, it is essential that they should follow

24. The Socialist Party was founded on 28 December 1955 by a section of the left wing of the Praja Socialist Party that broke away under the leadership of Rammanohar Lohia, former general secretary of the PSP.

that policy. Our doors are open to everyone. A couple of years ago, there were some talks between the Praja Socialist Party and me and I had assured them of a welcome because they were old colleagues and we would be happy if we could work together. I said that it was upto them, and I did not want their party to be disbanded. I did not wish to impose any restrictions on them. But at least we could work together in the task of nation-building. Why should we waste our time in criticizing one another?

Anyhow, nothing came of those talks. But there was one undesirable consequence. There was a great deal of noise that it was a cunning move on our part to break up their party or to wean away their members towards the Congress. This had never been in my thoughts. So, immediately I became wary because people were imputing motives where there were none. It was better to control my impulses. They are our friends and our doors are open to them. But it is better that they go their own way. After all, we do not want that there should be only one party in India. Let them do what they like. But I was certainly surprised that a decision should be taken not because of some principles or policies but merely due to bitterness and hatred and enmity. It cannot be a sensible decision. If the only idea in the mind of the Praja Socialist Party is to oppose the Congress, it is not a good thing. They have the right to take any decision they like. But no party can function by taking a negative attitude.

Now, there is the Communist Party in India. In the last one year or so, they have had many shocks especially from the country that they had looked upto as their guide and mentor. So, they are greatly perturbed. The gods that they worshipped have been removed from the temples and a different thinking is coming to the fore. They used to criticize the Congress and the Indian Government. But now they are suddenly all praise for us. So, our Communist Party is in a dilemma as to what they should do. Ultimately, they reached the conclusion, as everybody else in the country has done, that our foreign policy must be accepted without reservations. Leaving aside a small minority, it can be said that ninty-nine per cent of people in India accept it because it has been tested and proved right.

All right, now what is our domestic policy? It is fundamentally the five year plans which cover everything. That too has been accepted willy-nilly by practically all the parties. I do not mean that everything has been accepted without reservations. Even I do not accept everything in it. I am prepared to make alterations. But the broad framework has to be accepted. The communists did not know what to criticize except to say that there should be more rapid progress. They are completely disarmed at the moment. They used to obey injunctions from Moscow and now they have changed their tune. Now, you can imagine the perturbation of an individual or a party which has suddenly been cut off from its

moorings. It is like losing one's religion suddenly. Then suddenly light dawned on the Communist Party. The issue of states reorganization cropped up and since it was neither a political nor an economic issue but something that could make trouble, the communists immediately jumped into the fray. These brave heroes of the Communist Party and the Hindu Mahasabha, Jana Sangh, etc., have been busy fomenting trouble in Ahmedabad, Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra and elsewhere. It was the Communist MPs who left their work in Parliament and rushed to Ahmedabad when riots broke out. The PSP members and one or two members from the Hindu Mahasabha reached there.[25] It has become a strange occupation of some of these parties. There is very little relationship with actual political or economic matters. It is as if they are glued to a telescope to see where trouble is brewing and immediately rush to that spot. This shows nothing but a petty way of thinking. I have said time and again that there should be a healthy spirit of competition. But these parties have reduced politics to a farce. The fact is as everyone knows, in India and outside, that though we have made innumerable mistakes in India, our achievements especially with the five year plans and Community Projects and National Extension Service, etc., have proved our ability to tackle difficult problems. Consequently, our stature has gone up in the world. Anyhow, I have talked to you about various things which are in my mind.

Tomorrow I am going to Saudi Arabia. Their Emperor had come here recently on a tour of India[26] and had issued the invitation then, which I accepted with thanks. It is a coincidence that I am going there at this time and my visit has nothing to do with the Suez affair, as some people seem to think. I shall be there by this time tomorrow, it is a good thing because of the recent Suez affair, etc. As I said, the real issue behind it is oil. But a deeper cause lies in the rapidly changing pattern of relationship between Europe and the countries of Asia and Africa. That was a historical necessity which nobody could prevent. India broke away from the colonial domination and so are the other countries of Asia and Africa. Fortunately, we have been able to maintain friendly relations with England and Europe because India won freedom by peaceful methods and without fighting a war. So, we achieved our objective and kept the path of friendship open.

Now, we are living in revolutionary times. One aspect of that is that the countries of Asia are making a bid for self-determination and progress. All this

25. See *post*, p. 581.
26. King Saud Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia stayed in India from 26 November to 13 December 1955.

has an impact on Europe. Not that we wish to cause harm to anyone but the Asian countries must put their national interests first. So, the process of becoming free of colonial domination and the march towards self-determination is proceeding apace all over Asia and Africa in various ways. It is an irreversible process. Both these continents are in great turmoil and undergoing revolutionary changes, peaceful as well as violent, depending on the country. India is an example of bringing about a peaceful revolution by which both sides emerged unscathed.

Anyhow, you find a great desire for freedom in all these countries of Asia and Africa. It can be suppressed for a few years but not forever. But the most dangerous thing that is happening is in South Africa where there is an open suppression of the blacks by the whites.

Anyhow, the question is whether these revolutions are peaceful or violent. I have given you examples of Africa. In West Africa, there is a country called the Gold Coast which belongs wholly to the Africans. Just four-five days ago, the British Government has announced that it will become completely free seven months hence, in March.[27] This is a very good thing and commendable too. It is of historic importance that an African country will become completely free.

There are other countries in Africa like Egypt and Sudan which are not wholly African countries. But the Gold Coast is a full fledged African country and now it draws the attention of the entire continent upon itself. It has lighted the flame of freedom. But both these things are happening simultaneously. On the one hand, we are finding ways and means of bringing about a revolution peacefully. On the other hand, there is grave danger of war and countries are using all kinds of threats and pressures. Then there are some countries in North Africa where terrible atrocities are being committed.[28] They are engaged in a struggle for freedom. The question is which way we should lean? It is obvious that we will throw our weight on the side of freedom because we belong to Asia and our sympathies lie with Africa and her aspirations for freedom. But at the same time

27. On 18 September 1956, the British Colonial Secretary, Alan Tindal Lennox-Boyd, informed the Governor of the Gold Coast, Charles Arden-Clarke, that his country would be granted independence within the British Commonwealth on 6 March 1957, under the name of Ghana.
28. The national movements in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia were suppressed by the French Colonizers. The French denied the right of self-determination to the people of Algeria, where the situation threatened to disrupt peace in the Mediterranean region. But the situation improved in Morocco and Tunisia, owing to their agreements with the French Government on 2 March and 20 March 1956 respectively, according to which the French recognized their independence and sovereignty.

our effort is to see that these problems are solved peacefully and by friendly methods so that no country is made to look small. This is how the world will remain on an even keel and everyone stands to gain.

However, you must realize that what we are trying to do in the rest of the world is right for our own internal affairs. It is right not only on principle but even from the narrow viewpoint of right code of conduct. So, we must not be led astray or do wrong things or indulge in violence and riots, etc.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. But I would like to mention one last thing. I am on the side of freedom. Every human being has the right to express his opinion freely even if it is a criticism against me. I would not like to muzzle anyone's opinions. Nor do I like the idea of suppressing freedom of expression of newspapers, even if their views are wrong, because I feel that a free debate will enable the people to choose between right and wrong. You cannot achieve anything by suppressing anyone. But I have been deeply perturbed during the last few years, especially the last few months by the way some newspapers incite communal violence and spread false rumours and outright lies. Therefore, I have reached the conclusion that the newspapers which spread communal hatred and violence should be controlled. I am all in favour of freedom of every kind but if that freedom means rioting and inflaming the people or snatching away others' freedom or spreading hatred, then they should be prevented by law and dealt with strictly. Please do not think that the Government has taken a decision. We have not. The Press Act which had existed was a very weak one and when the time came to extend it, we decided not to.[29] But it is our firm opinion that as far as politics is concerned, we shall not allow communal violence or hatred to be spread, whether it is the Hindus, Muslims or Sikhs or Christians who indulge in such activities. It is extremely dangerous apart from causing great harm and lead to rioting and what not. I called the newspaper-men and asked why they did such things and circulated false rumours. They said that they did it to increase their circulation. Now, you can see that it is not a joking matter. You must understand this and prevent the circulation from going up.

Anyhow, as I said, the Government has not even examined the matter yet, leave alone taking a decision. But I am going to suggest to my colleague and Home Minister, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant that the matter must be examined and a law passed as soon as possible because this situation cannot be tolerated any longer that the newspapers should deliberately spread lies and rumours and create enmity and make money out of all this, instead of being punished. I am saying this deliberately so that the newspaper readers may be cautioned and I

29. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 524.

want that the people all over the country must consider this seriously. We will not take any decision in secret. But you must see how essential it has become to pass a law. We want the people's attention to be focussed on the five year plans and things like that, not on wrong and unlawful activities.

I have taken up too much of your time for which you will forgive me. But please be patient for a few minutes more. The Congress President, Shri Dhebar Bhai is present here and I will request him to give you some advice. After that, please remember that we will all sing the National Anthem as we always do. Someone will lead from the stage and all of you will repeat it line by line.

2. Pathway to Progress[1]

Sisters and brothers,

Perhaps you are aware that I have come to Rajkot for a special function in connection with Gandhi Jayanti which is to take place tomorrow morning.[2] I have arrived a little early and it is my desire to get an opportunity to meet the people of Rajkot and say something to them.

I came to Rajkot for the first time, I remember, about thirty-two, thirty-three years ago. Since then I have come very often. I have some family relations also in this place because my sister, Vijaya Lakshmi, was married here.[3] Therefore, I had to come here often. This time I have come after an interval. So, I have been wondering what I should speak to you about today. There are many questions in my mind which I want to tell you about so that you may also understand what the situation in India and the world is. Four days ago I passed through Saurashtra on my way back from Saudi Arabia. I had passed through that way on my way to Saudi Arabia too, four-five days earlier. Saudi Arabia is a country which has been through great upheavals in the last few years and our relations with it date back to ancient times. So, I was happy to have gone there and met the people.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Gymkhana Grounds, Rajkot, 1 October 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. The Gandhi Jayanti celebrations took place at Rashtriyasala (constructive workers centre) of Rajkot. Nehru delivered a brief speech (not printed) on the occasion.
3. Vijaya Lakshmi married Ranjit Sitaram Pandit, a barrister of Rajkot, in 1921.

Nowadays, as you know, the Suez Canal is posing a great problem and my visit to Saudi Arabia brought home the problem very forcibly. This is such a crucial issue that it has almost led to a world war during the last two, three months. Forces were sent there and it can be said that the finger was on the trigger and at a signal, the world would have exploded into another war. Well, we are happy that there was no war. Even now the situation is very delicate.

I have told you this so that you may realize what the situation in the world is today, because whether we want it or not, India has come into the world stage since we became free. India is a very big country and no large and independent country can exist in isolation in the world. Earlier, when we were under British rule, we were in a sense isolated from the world because the British looked after international affairs for us. Now this responsibility falls on us which is a sign of freedom. But it has brought great responsibilities with it. On the one hand there are the problems of the world and on the other there are problems of the internal affairs of the country.

We became free and independent is no doubt a good thing. But that is not the ultimate goal. Independence provides an opportunity to do various things in the country. After all, what is the goal before a nation? It is the welfare of the people. The people should get employment, become better off and the poverty in the country must be removed. The people should work hard and cooperate with one another and make the country prosperous. As you know, India had become very backward during the last two-three hundred years especially and the uplift of the nation posed a big problem because India is a huge country and cannot advance merely by shouting slogans. It requires work. The other countries of the world are better off, their people have jobs and there is no poverty. In the last hundred- hundred and fifty years, they have advanced a great deal and increased the wealth of the nation by hard work and producing more and more goods.

So, the question that faced the countries of Asia and Africa was how we should go about it. It could not be done by chanting slogans. So, we gave the problem a great deal of thought—by that I mean not only India but all the countries of Asia and Africa. A new era has begun in the history of Asia. The moment the countries of Asia became free, the path to progress was clear. At the same time, it created many complexities. For one thing, the relation that the Asian countries had had with Europe during the last two-three hundred years changed suddenly. Just as our relation with the British changed, so did that of other countries of Asia. Many of the disputes that are going on in the world at the moment are because people have not understood till now that the status of Asia has changed and that of Africa is about to change. Some of the European countries have not been able to understand this and they seem to think that everything will go on as in the past. So, a number of problems arise because

things cannot go on as in the past. Whether it is in the Suez Canal or anywhere else. Countries are becoming free and their freedom is dear to them. They are proud of their freedom and do not wish to give it up for any reason. Some of the things that the European countries did in the past are no longer liked here. I am putting the broad facts before you because if you keep them in mind, many of the problems which arise in the context of Asian policy and principles will become clear.

But, you must always remember that a great responsibility has devolved upon us since India became free. What is the reason for that? One is that the country which is free becomes an independent member of the larger family of nations. It cannot exist in isolation. We cannot say that we are not bothered about the rest of the world or that we will leave behind a barrier of walls. That is impossible. It is because we cut ourselves off from the rest of the world in olden times that we became backward, while the other countries advanced and became very powerful. They came and conquered us and ruled over us for a long time. If you have read the history of India, you will see that we had cut ourselves off from the rest of the world. The others advanced in science and other fields but we remained ignorant of these new developments. Steeped in pride, we did not wish to learn anything new and so we became backward. Now that we have become free, we cannot commit the same error once again. We must keep our eyes and ears open and learn whatever we can from the world.

So, freedom has brought great responsibilities with it. Secondly, as you know, we adopted a special method to fight for our freedom. Gandhiji had shown a special path, the path of peace, and we organized ourselves into a strong force and got freedom by our sacrifice and hard work. Now, this was the first time in the history of the world that this kind of thing had happened. There have been great men in the world before, who had sacrificed a great deal and worked very hard for their countries. But, this was the first time when such methods had been adopted in the political field. So, the attention of the world was attracted and the other countries were amazed that we challenged a mighty imperialism by peaceful methods and won freedom. It was a great achievement. Therefore, our stature has gone up in the eyes of the world since we became free. It was because of Gandhiji, and not because of you or me.

So, I was telling you that our real work lies right here in the country. We have to stabilize ourselves first before we do anything outside. But freedom brought tremendous responsibilities with it and we have taken them on, eight-nine years have gone by and the world has come to recognize our policy. We refused to join any of the blocks into which the world is divided today. We have been following an independent policy. We have tried to be friendly towards all the countries and wherever there has been an apprehension of war, we have thrown our weight on

the side of peace. You may remember that this happened in Korea, Indo-China and one or two other places.

These days, the Suez Canal affair has become a crucial issue. We cannot do very much in that but it has been our effort to see that the matter should be resolved peacefully.

We have very friendly relations with the Government and the people of Egypt and in the last four-five years, the ties between the two countries have been strengthened. We have formed close ties not only with Egypt but with the other newly independent countries of Asia too and we do not want that anything should come in the way of their freedom. If even the freedom of one country in Asia is threatened, you can take it that it will affect all the countries of Asia and Africa. So, we must put an end to this affair. We have friendly relations with England also because after we became free, we had no quarrel with the British. So, we have been cooperating with them on a number of things. But we go our way and they go theirs. Yet the relations between the two countries are good. Now, in the Suez Canal affair, it is obvious that our sympathies and views are in Egypt's favour, and we do not want that they should be adversely affected by this. So, we want the matter to be resolved quickly. The Suez Canal provides the route for the ships of all the countries and everyone accepts this.

Well, I have told you the broad facts of how our foreign policy has evolved. In the beginning, people used to criticize us and say that we are neither here nor there. There was even some suspicion in their hearts. But gradually they saw that we are following our policy with complete honesty and integrity. So, the confidence of the people grew and respect for India went up in the world. We have neither a huge army nor great wealth and generally these are the things by which the strength of a nation is judged. Then where does our strength lie? It can be in only one thing, and that is, we are trying to follow the right path by being friendly towards everyone and not wishing to fight with anyone. Gradually, the world was impressed by the fact that we are not easily perturbed and do not panic and work in a peaceful way. Mahatma Gandhi's personality and methods had an impact on the world and since our foreign policy is based on the principles taught by him, there is great respect for India.

However, as I told you, the real problems before us are our internal problems. The country which can keep its own house in order earns the respect of the world. Otherwise who will respect us? What does that imply? One is that we must adopt measures by which the country advances and the world can see that we have the strength and determination to do what we decide to. This has an impact on the others.

Now, it is nine years since we became free. Freedom came which was a wonderful thing. But in the wake of freedom came the terrible events after

Partition. Millions of refugees crossed over from both sides. It will not be true to lay the blame entirely at Pakistan's doors. We were equally guilty, and terrible atrocities were committed on both sides. Millions of refugees—nearly a crore and a half in all—poured into India which imposed a tremendous burden upon us. I think, a thing like this has never happened on such a large scale in any other country. We had to face it within a couple of months of winning freedom. This calamity had descended upon us, when we were not stable and when our house was not in order. Well, we looked after the refugees as well as we could. You must remember that we did not get any help from outside. The entire burden fell upon us. Whenever the question of refugees arose in the other countries, as in Palestine or elsewhere, the United Nations and other countries helped them with enormous sums of money. We were given nothing. We shouldered the burden on our own. It was a tremendous burden and though I cannot say that all the refugees have been settled, yet we have been able to solve the problem to a large extent. The communal riots had inflicted very deep wounds in our hearts. What is the most terrible thing that can happen in a country or a family? It is civil war, war between brothers, which is the most terrible thing that can happen. A war with an outside enemy is not nearly as bad even if lives are lost in it. But when there is war between brothers or the people of one country, it inflicts deep wounds. The communal riots which took place after the creation of Pakistan was like a civil war, and they inflicted a wound on the hearts of the Hindus and Muslims in North India and it has taken a long time for that wound to heal. The wound inflicted by the hands of one's own kith and kin is extremely painful. We got a very bad name in the world where earlier there had been great respect for India due to Mahatma Gandhi. Now, they saw how we were suddenly behaving like wild beasts. Anyhow, we went through all this and brought the situation under control. Slowly, the wounds have healed and the important thing is that the world was impressed by the fact that we did not run away in panic from our difficulties. We faced them with strength and did not give in to panic because the nation which does so either loses its mental balance and cannot think or do anything straight, or does something wrong in a wild and misplaced enthusiasm.

Now, in the last eight, nine years, we had to pay attention to another matter which was the real issue at hand—improving the economic condition of the country, which we have been doing. We drew up the First Five Year Plan which has been completed.

In the First Plan, we concentrated our attention on increasing production from land and industries and we not only achieved our target but exceeded them beyond our dreams. So, we have completed one big task as we had pledged to do. This has resulted in increasing the self-confidence of the nation—as it happens

when a pledge is taken and fulfilled. We now have the confidence that we are capable of fulfilling anything that we take up. Secondly, the world saw that we had taken up a big task and completed it successfully. So, respect for us went up in the world after the completion of the Plan and now they realize that there is a great hidden strength in India—economic and other kinds. For one thing, the population of India is very large—thirty-seven crores—which is a strength and a burden at the same time. It is a burden because it is a big problem to feed and clothe and look after so many people. It is a strength because the enormous manpower can be used for big national tasks. Moreover, Indians are, by and large, clever people who can learn and become skilled at any task if they are given the opportunity. They can become skilled in scientific and technological work if they are given the opportunity. So, there is nothing wrong with their intelligence. It is only a question of opportunity. Thirdly, we are very rich in hidden resources of minerals and metals, like coal, iron and many other things.

If you read the history of England, you will find that they advanced and grew in strength a couple of hundred years ago because they had learnt to use the coal and iron that was available in their country to their best advantage. They industrialized their country and by advancing in the field of science, they became powerful militarily and produced enormous wealth too.

So, the real strength is of two kinds—one is manpower, skilled manpower and the second is raw materials and resources. Now, we have both in this country, hard-working people capable of learning and becoming skilled if they are given the opportunity, and vast resources hidden under the earth. Even now, first-rate work is being done in our national science laboratories all over the country, where thousands of our young boys and girls of high mental calibre are working with dedication. I am telling you this because ultimately, what is the yardstick to judge a country by? Numbers do not make a country great. The yardstick is how many people of high mental and moral calibre are there in a country. Quality can be judged in many areas and fields.

I talked to you about science. The modern world is a product of science. It is science which has captured the hidden energies in nature and put them in the hands of man—electricity, railway engine, steamship and the atom bomb are all products of science. Atomic energy is a product of science which was hidden in nature. All these energies like electricity and steam and atomic energy have always been there for millions of years. But the man could not use them. Then when his mind became sharper, he was able to distinguish and isolate them. Now, he has harnessed them for his tasks and as a result, the strength and wealth have increased in the world. He used steam to run engines. Now, atomic energy has made its appearance which is a tremendous source of power—it can be terribly dangerous and at the same time very beneficial too. So, it is essential

that we should grasp these things and take advantage so that our country may grow in strength.

I told you about the science laboratories and the best thing that is happening in the country today is that we are advancing in the field of science, not because of a few great scientists but because of our young boys and girls who are doing excellent work and will make a name for themselves and their country. Similarly, there are young men in our Army, Navy and Air Force who are extremely strong and disciplined, not only physically but mentally too. Nowadays warfare does not mean only pulling the trigger—many high class things have to be learnt. We do not wish to go to war with anyone, but nor can we leave our country weak and unprotected.

I can give you examples of the big industries which are coming up in the country and aeroplanes, steamships, railway engines and carriages and hundreds of other things are being produced. If you went around the country, you will find what new things are happening all over. It is engineers and scientists who are in the forefront of all these activities. We need thousands of engineers, in fact, millions. When I see the activity in the country, my faith in the country's future gets strengthened because I see how bright and intelligent our youth is and how hard-working and capable of shouldering the burdens of the nation they are. That is all right, but the tasks are multiplying so fast that we need more and more skilled people. Please remember that the country is run by skilled workers. Mere numbers do not count. After all, human beings are not sheep. We need men trained to do particular jobs. For instance, if you wish to have a chair made, it is a small task—you will need a good carpenter. Or, if you need to have something made out of iron, you will have to look for an ironsmith. If you wish to build a bridge on a river, you will need trained engineers to do it. You cannot build a bridge by shouting slogans on the river banks.

We must understand the modern world. People are beginning to forget what a terrible place it is. We came again and again to the brink of a big war. As I told you just now, four weeks ago, there were many fingers on the trigger over this Suez Canal issue. If anybody had pressed the trigger, a storm-cloud would have burst over Asia, Africa and Europe, and ultimately engulfed the whole world. Nobody could have predicted what the outcome would have been. This is the situation in the world today and it is important that you should be aware of it instead of closing your mind to events outside the narrow confines of your existence.

What is the way to judge human beings? You will find that people who are engrossed in the petty quarrels of their homes or localities cannot think of larger issues of the country or high principles. So, the way to judge a country is to see if its people are always engrossed in petty things or think of wider issues. If the

people have no understanding of bigger things, then the country can never be great. The principles must first find a place in our hearts and thinking before they can be translated into action.

Very often I see that we forget the larger issues and even our principles. I do not mean that everyone must hold the same views. There can be differences of opinion and policies for there is no reason for everyone in the country to agree with one point of view. Every individual has the right to choose a path for himself and follow it. But nobody has the right to be foolish though it is not in my hands and there are fools in this country as well as in others. After all, everybody cannot be highly intelligent. So, the question is how many people think seriously before choosing a course of action. Their decision may not be the same as mine but that is how countries progress by people thinking independently and having debates over crucial issues before a decision is taken.

What is the Parliament in Delhi? The Lok Sabha, consisting of five hundred members and the Rajya Sabha of two hundred and fifty members, elected from all over the country, meet there to discuss and decide the question of national importance. Every member has the right to express his opinion. If all the members were to speak with one voice always in the Lok Sabha, there will be no debate and the Lok Sabha will not function. Things will move when everyone exercises his mind and in the clash of ideas, a clearer picture emerges. Now, the Lok Sabha or any other body can make mistakes. Everybody makes mistakes. Many mistakes are made in a democracy and yet it is a very good thing for two reasons. One, it has the capacity to rectify its mistakes. Two, the method of functioning in a democracy is such that a question is considered from every angle and a consensus is evolved out of the diverse opinions which are expressed. The decisions are not taken by one great intellectual alone which is a good thing. It is possible that taken individually, many men may not be of great mental calibre. But collectively, their thinking is powerful and inspite of mistakes, their decisions are the right ones, by and large.

So, I was telling you the problems that India and the world are facing today. If anybody were to ask me what I would like to speak about here or anywhere else, there is only one subject which I shall choose or present in various angles, that is, the economic progress that India has to make. I said 'economic' but many other things come into it. Economic progress does not mean only making money. A country becomes great due to various factors and not by accumulating wealth alone. But in a poor country, the first priority is to eradicate poverty. Even there, it is not so much a question of money but of increasing the production of essential goods in the country.

What are the basic requirements of a country? One is food for everyone; two, clothes to wear; three, houses to live in; four, proper arrangements for education;

five, health-care facilities; sixth, and the most essential thing is that everyone must get employment. Nobody should be jobless because it is only when they get jobs that the first five requirements will be fulfilled. All of them require hard work. There are many other things too because when a nation is on the move, many things become essential. But the fundamental requirement is that everybody should work and produce something by their labour. They will consume some part of what they produce and the rest will be for the society. This is how a society expands and progresses. This is basically what economics is all about. So, these are the questions before us. When they have been solved, then others will crop up.

India can progress only through the great minds in the country, especially in the field of science. We cannot advance in the field of science and technology by copying the United States or Germany or by passing some examinations. All that is child's play. We must do original research in the country if we wish to progress. Others must come to us to learn and we must share our findings with others. The world has become so closely linked today that no one can exist in isolation.

You must have heard the phrase 'One-World'. What does it mean? It means that countries can no longer exist in isolation. Why? I had gone to Saudi Arabia recently, and left Jamnagar at about ten or eleven o' clock and reached there by four o'clock the same evening. If I want to go to London, I can reach there in less than a day. You can go around the world in a couple of days. Travelling is becoming faster day by day and now there are jet planes, which can take you to London within five hours.

This is only in the area of travel. Take the radio or the wireless. News is transmitted from far off places like Delhi or even Washington or London or Moscow instantaneously, without any delay. So, the world is gradually shrinking and no country can exist in isolation. That does not mean that any country has to be subservient to the others. It only means that countries have to live together in cooperation. It also means that only the nations which advance in the field of science can understand the modern world and maintain its sovereignty too. There is no other way. If you are backward in science, even if you show great physical courage, you will be weak.

There has never been any dearth of courage and bravery in India. You read stories about the Rajputs and their tremendous bravery. In fact, they were willing to sacrifice their lives for trivial things. But their bravery did not save India from falling prey to foreign invaders. Why? It is because apart from bravery, there is need for intelligence and the sense to understand the changing world. Why did the Rajputs lose? They lost because they had outdated weapons and the invaders had cannons. I am talking about the medieval times when Babar

had come here with a small force and defeated the Rajputs without any difficulty. This would not have happened if the Rajputs had kept up with the development of modern science. Similarly, the British came with all kinds of new weapons and had advanced a great deal in science. Moreover, there was great internal disunity in India. We used to squabble over petty issues and the British took advantage of our disunity and established an empire.

So, we must learn a lesson from history and try to understand the modern world. We must not get involved in petty matters. We must also remember that we got freedom by becoming united. The states did not fight separately for their freedom, nor was there the struggle for Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu alone. Freedom was for India and we fought for it. The doors of the Congress were open to everyone irrespective of caste, province or religion. There was unity among the people and no distinctions on the grounds of religion or language or province. Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Zoroastrians, Buddhists and Sikhs were all in the Congress. We faced the might of British imperialism by being united and by organizing ourselves into a strong force which also made us strong. We did all this peacefully. This is something that we should remember because we sometimes forget it in our petty preoccupations.

If you want to exist in the modern world which is very close-knit today, there are only two courses open to us or I should say, only one course. If not today, in ten or twenty years later, either we will have to accept the idea of 'One-World' or let the whole world be destroyed. There is no other way when there are such terrible weapons and the forces of destruction have become stronger in the world today. If people live in separate compartments or fight among themselves, the world will be destroyed. Therefore, the world will be forced to live together for there is no other way. This is bound to happen in twenty or twenty-five years and those of you who are young will witness it though I may not be alive to see it.

In this situation, you must understand how to deal with the problems of communalism, casteism and provincialism. We want the world to be united because we feel that it cannot go on without it. So, you can imagine how much more important it is to maintain unity in our own country. If we do not break down the barriers among us, we will be ruined. What are the barriers which separate us? One is communalism. Hindus and Muslims or Hindus and Sikhs often fight in the name of religion. But religion is not something to fight over. It is something that should uplift an individual or a country. Religion does not mean that brothers should cut one another's throat. That is very bad and should be stopped. People often fight in the name of religion and we have seen enough of its evil consequences in the country. In a sense, Pakistan was created on this issue of communalism and then there were terrible riots and what not.

So, we must understand clearly that communalism can destroy the country. There have been many religions in India for thousands of years. The majority of the people are Hindus. Then there are Muslims—millions of them in India. There are numerous Christians also who have been in India for the last fifteen hundred years, especially in South India. Then there are Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Parsis and others and all of them are citizens of India. If we feel that this country belongs to the people of one religion only, it would imply that we consider the rest to be inferior. They will get minority status but not equal rights. This is something that is completely anomalous in today's world. This was the thinking among the people two thousand years ago. But now we must understand that there are various religions in India and the people following all of them have complete freedom and equal right to follow their own religion. But they must not interfere with the other religions. All religions must be accorded equal respect and the people of various religions must cooperate with one another. Otherwise, there can be no progress if we spend all our time in useless quarrels. It is foolish of anyone to think that the people of the majority religion can suppress the others. It is not a question of numbers. Anything that creates upheavals or poisons the atmosphere will ensure that all the big tasks that we are taking up like the five year plan, etc., will all come to a standstill. How can we do anything big if we fight all the time?

Then yet another aspect of communalism is casteism among the Hindus. This is something which has led to our downfall again and again in the past. India was counted among the leading countries of the world. We did great things which we can be proud of even today and that gives us strength. If we fell inspite of all this greatness, it is because of casteism—the distinction of superior and inferior castes—untouchability and what not. As you can understand, such disparities cannot be allowed to exist in a democracy. Not only democracy, but you can go a step further and say that there can be no socialism either in such circumstances. There are bound to be physical differences. Some are tall, some short, some are more or less intelligent. For instance, I am not a scientist and so a good scientist or an engineer or doctor is more capable than me in his own field. It is possible that they may not be able to compete with me in other matters. So, there is no doubt about it that everyone cannot be alike in intelligence and strength. But to say that a person is inferior or superior by birth is absurd and dangerous. Such feelings cannot be allowed to exist either in a democracy or socialism. We must understand this clearly. Casteism has always divided the country in the past, with each cast living in separate compartments, totally unconcerned about the others. Foreign invaders found us an easy prey because the people could not present a united front. So, casteism is a bad thing. It is wrong in every way because it creates disunity. It is a poison which prevents the

people from growing or being united and the Hindu society has suffered a great deal in the past because of it. So, it must be removed.

The third thing is provincialism. You saw how it reared its ugly head recently over the question of states reorganization. Language is something which people love. That is all right because it is tied to the culture and civilization of the people. So, languages must flourish. But it is strange that in our country we do the right thing by wrong means and consequently, instead of doing good, it causes harm. As I said in the beginning, we must develop all our fourteen languages for they are our national languages. There is a long list of them in our Constitution. So, Hindi is not the only national language. It is true that we have adopted Hindi as the national language for official purposes so that the work of the Government may gradually be done in Hindi instead of English. But Hindi cannot take the place of Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil, Telugu or Bengali or any other language. That is meaningless. All the languages must grow.

About three-four years ago, the Sahitya Akademi was established of which I am the President.[4] The goal of this Akademi is to develop all the Indian languages. In fact, they include English also among them. Language is something which grows, not by suppressing other languages, but by learning from them. If I know English and Hindi, my Hindi will improve because of my knowledge of English. It will not detract from my knowledge of Hindi in any way. Languages are enriched by the flow of ideas. One can learn many new ideas by knowing different languages and reading books in them. Therefore, if we wish to enrich our languages, we must learn foreign languages too. During the British rule, people who learnt English used to often forget their own languages and copy the British in everything. We used to think that we could advance only through the medium of English. That was wrong and was a sign of a slavish mentality. English is a powerful language which we must learn. It should not take the place of our own languages but as a foreign language, it must be learnt if we want to establish closer relations with the outside world. It is essential that we learn English, French, Russian, etc., otherwise we will be cut off from the outside world. Every educated man must know a foreign language, otherwise he will remain backward.

However, the affairs of the country will be conducted in our own languages. So, we must learn them. You cannot sit in Gujarat and think that there is no need for you to learn Hindi or English or any other Indian language. If you do that, you will find yourselves in difficulties when you go to other parts of India, no matter how well you know Gujarati. The way to look at this is that there is no

4. Sahitya Akademi was inaugurated on 12 March 1954. Nehru was its Chairman until 1964.

enmity between any of the languages. They can all help one another. Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali have, in fact, a great deal in common. You can learn any of them very easily. The South Indian languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, etc., are different but there is a great influence of Sanskrit on them. So, they are not very difficult to learn.

Well, whatever it is, you have to learn both Indian and foreign languages. I cannot understand what the quarrel is about. There is a dispute over Urdu in North India. Where many people feel that it is a Muslim language. It is really strange. Urdu has been born and used in India, in Delhi, Lucknow, Allahabad, Patna and other states of North India, and not in Pakistan. It is not a foreign language and it is absolutely wrong to oppose it. Urdu has been included in the list of national languages in our Constitution. It is only another form of Hindi.

When the question of linguistic states arose, it was felt that each state should conduct its affairs in the regional language. It went one step further and there was a demand for linguistic states. This question had first come up in 1920 or a little earlier, when Mahatma Gandhi had made a triumphant entry into the Congress. Until then, the Congress had been an institution of English-speaking Indians. In those days, the entire work of the Congress was done in English and the membership consisted of English-educated barristers, lawyers, doctors and some businessmen. The masses had no access to it. The Members were invariably clad in western clothes. There was no hope of getting Swaraj by such methods because the Congress had no contact with the masses. But things were already beginning to change when Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene and immediately gave it a powerful push. He made the Congress a party of the masses. For one thing, the use of English became less. Then the mode of dress changed. New kinds of people like farmers and workers began to join the Congress and soon the entire complexion of the Party changed. I remember, it was in 1919 or 1920 when the Congress session was held in Nagpur.[5] It was nearly thirty-six years ago that Mr Jinnah told me—he was still in the Congress then and one of its prominent leaders—that the Congress was becoming a mob. Mr Jinnah was accustomed to the well-dressed and English-educated Indians, coming to the Congress and giving long speeches. He did not like the idea of the village folk joining the Congress, all speaking Indian languages. He did not like the change that was taking place.

I have mentioned this because Mahatma Gandhi laid great stress on the regional languages and we have tried to do the same. So, this was the background to the

5. The thirty-fifth session of the Indian National Congress was held from 26 to 31 December 1920, at Nagpur.

question of linguistic provinces. There was a different atmosphere then and this issue was relevant. The times have changed and there have been great ups and downs in the last thirty-five, thirty-six years. We saw that though there was a strong case for linguistic provinces, we did not want that there should be any obstruction to the growth of other languages which are spoken within a particular area. Now, the whole issue has got exaggerated beyond proportion. It has aggravated the old malaise in India of disunity, creating barriers and living in separate compartments which is dangerous. It will cause harm whether the dispute is between Bengal and Bihar, Maharashtra and Gujarat or the Hindus and Sikhs of the Punjab. It is strange that this problem should rear its ugly head once again.

All of you are aware of the history of the last one year. Let us leave the question of right and wrong aside for there are strong arguments for both sides. But the broad fact to be borne in mind is the danger that lies in spreading the poison of disunity in the name of linguistic provinces. It has created great bitterness and distrust. People have begun to count their strength in numerical majority or minority, forgetting wholly that we are citizens of India, and the country is one. We are citizens of the Republic of India, and not of Uttar Pradesh, Bengal, Bihar, Maharashtra, Madras or Gujarat and Saurashtra. It is no doubt a good thing to promote one's own language. But it became a poisonous trend and vitiated the entire atmosphere. Yet, another type of people came into the field who had nothing to do with the language or the province in question. Their only aim, as far as I could see, was to create chaos in India and foment bitterness and feud. Most of the people were honestly interested in the question of linguistic states, but there was a handful who had nothing to do with the language or the province and took advantage of the situation to oppose the Government and the Congress.

As I said right at the beginning, I want that there should be opposition and every individual has the right to criticize or oppose the Congress and the Government. But, it should be the opposition of ideas and minds. You must point out my mistakes and weaknesses which I will understand and accept. Countries progress by such healthy opposition and it is essential in a democracy. But the biggest question before us is that in the prevailing conditions in India and the world, it is essential that nothing should be done to create disunity in India. Secondly, how can we carry out our five year plans and other great national tasks, if we are involved in petty wrangling all the time?

Let me put it differently. I consider myself somewhat of a revolutionary kind of man. I am now becoming old and the old fires have cooled a little and perhaps sitting in the Prime Minister's chair in Delhi has spoilt me a little. I cannot be the judge of this. But after all, I have taken part in a great revolution in India in

the last forty years or so. All of us are the products of the Indian revolution and we have roamed all over the country and tried to understand the people a little. Our finger is always on the pulse of India. We have not appeared suddenly from outside. We have tried to do something for the country, rightly or not, and were influenced greatly by Mahatma Gandhi, whether we were able to follow him all the way or not. The revolution itself was a peaceful one for our methods are essentially and fundamentally peaceful. If we had resorted to violence, there would have been disunity and the British would have taken advantage of the situation, which they did to some extent. After all, the Partition is a gift of the British to us and came about through disunity. Apart from the right and wrong of it, if we had resorted to violence, there is no doubt that the British would have fomented a civil war in the country. We would have been caught in a trap and could not have won freedom. We fought against the British and in a sense defeated them by peaceful and civilized methods. It was difficult to fight against such methods.

Anyhow, the political revolution is over and we became free. Now, we are engaged in a social and economic revolution which is a much bigger task. We want to do this peacefully and non-violently. Even here I would like to tell you that you need not get into an argument about whether non-violence is good or bad, but choose the way which is likely to be most advantageous to us. This is something practical which you must understand.

We have done a number of things during the eight-nine years which can be called revolutionary by any standard. We had innumerable princely states in India and within a few months of Independence, they were merged into the Indian Union and the map of India was changed. I would like you to search in history, of similar instances of great changes taking place peacefully and quickly anywhere in the world and you will not find any. People think that revolution means violence and shouting slogan, creating chaos, etc. The real revolution is one which changes the society. Fifty years ago, there were some people in India too who believed in throwing bombs. Some youth in Bengal and Maharashtra threw some and there is no doubt about their bravery and courage. Why did they throw bombs? It was not because it brought their goal nearer but since they could not see their way clearly, this was a method of venting their frustration and anger. But the moment the time came to march forward, the bombs were set aside because they did not lead to an organized strength in the country. When Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene, he organized the people of India into a united force.

Now, we have the problem of a social and economic revolution on our hands. I will not go into the details though I would like to tell the students especially what a socio-economic revolution means in today's world. We must try to

understand the kind of revolution that came about in France, the Soviet Union and China in the last one hundred and fifty years or so and what the results were. We must also consider how relevant Marxism is in today's conditions in India. I want you to think about these things and not accept whatever I say unthinkingly. I do not agree with that. I want a thinking people and not sheep-like acquiescence. Nor do I want a mob which shouts slogans without understanding the modern world. How can a country progress? How can the complex problems of the world be solved by hooliganism? I will say once again with authority that the Communist Party in India is an extremely reactionary party. It is not revolutionary but extremely backward and obstructs the country's progress. I am prepared to argue with anyone on this head. The most important thing is to put an end to anything that creates disunity and obstructs progress. This is essential in today's circumstances in India which is facing the problem of economic or social progress. The moment you start fighting, two things happen. One is that the people's attention is diverted from the real task of progress and secondly, internal feuds create bitterness and prevent the people from working in unity. By unity I do not mean that every individual must have exactly the same views. But on fundamental issues there should be a broad consensus.

What are those broad principles? The most important is unity and non-violent and peaceful methods of working. Disunity is an ancient vice in India which comes to the surface at the slightest provocation. We get carried away and feel that we are doing something great by doing the wrong thing. So, the first thing is to do whatever we have to by peaceful and disciplined methods.

Secondly, what are our goals? I think with a small exception, we have decided to adopt socialism, and a socialistic pattern of society, as our goal. It implies reducing the disparity between the haves and the have-nots and providing equal opportunities to all. How are we to achieve all these things? One way is to sweep everything clear and start afresh. Usually, the people who consider themselves great revolutionaries often think that if they could have a clear slate, they will achieve great things. They have read up a little about the history of the revolution in France and the Soviet Union and think that revolution can only be at the point of a sword or gun. But you must first consider the circumstances in which the Russian Revolution took place. They had sustained a crushing defeat in the First World War, their economy was in shambles and the Tsarist regime had more or less collapsed. It is in these circumstances that the revolutionary leaders came into the field but even they did not indulge in total violence or fight a battle. It was done more or less peacefully because there was a vacuum at the Centre. The civil war and violence came after that because there was external aggression at the same time. So, what I mean to say is that there were special circumstances in the Soviet Union. They did not choose the method of

violence deliberately. Whether they were right or wrong is another matter altogether. They were compelled to choose this course of action. No man destroys his own house willingly. No man will try to destroy deliberately something that has lasted for centuries. On the other hand, he tries normally to take advantage of the experience and wisdom of the ages. Changes can and must be made but as far as possible, it should be done on the existing structure and not by destroying everything. If destruction is absolutely necessary, it will have to be done but it should not be the main goal. I am pointing out this to you because as far as I know, it is a little difficult to believe that the communists believe in peaceful methods. It is difficult to understand how far they believe in democracy for they seem to be completely blinded by what has happened in the Soviet Union. They seem to be totally oblivious to the fact that India is another country with totally different circumstances. The communists have learnt a few slogans and read up some books, and have lost the capacity to think for themselves. They can only repeat what they have learnt by rote. They also seem to think that chaos in the country will be of advantage to them.

Now, I feel that there is a world of difference fundamentally between what I think should be the national or Congress policy and the communist way of thinking. I do not say that the communists are bad—many of them are good people—but I will certainly say that they are totally misguided and are on the wrong path. I am not opposing the fundamental goal of communism. I am only opposed to the methods and techniques of the communists, of creating disunity and chaos which I think is absolutely wrong not only in India but in any country.

You saw, for instance, that there was a great uproar over the issue of states reorganization in Ahmedabad and Gujarat and Maharashtra. I can understand the feelings of the people and also that they sustained a shock by the events. I sympathize with them. The whole thing was suddenly changed which was a shock to them. But what I cannot understand is why the communists from the North, South, East and West, who had nothing to do with the issue, should have come running and joined the fray. Not only the communists but members of the Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh also appeared on the scene. They could neither speak Gujarati nor had anything to do with the issue.

There are many communist organizations in the country and I feel that there is a world of difference between their policies and what in my opinion should be our policy. I am not speaking as a Congressman just now. All I am saying is that all the parties in India must accept certain fundamental principles. The communalist parties like the Jana Sangh, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha do not follow these principles. The moment you add the word 'Maha' to anything, it becomes dangerous. It is understandable that you should want a separate state of Gujarat. But the moment you add the word 'Maha'

to it, it becomes a bit dangerous because it implies that you consider yourself superior to the rest of India and wish to isolate yourself. This is absolutely wrong, no matter what garb it is clothed in. Whether the people of Maharashtra do it or of Gujarat or Bengal the whole attitude is wrong and harmful to the country. You must no doubt serve the cause of Gujarat and Saurashtra, help the language to grow, and love your own state. But if you consider yourself superior to the others, you are spreading a poison which will ruin your relations with the rest of the country.

Well, I do not want to say any more. I am sorry about the events in Gujarat.[6] I do not think that the people of Gujarat did anything wrong. I sympathize with them because they were suddenly faced with the decision of a greater Bombay being formed and were in a state of shock.[7] I can understand their anger and hurt and frustration. Unfortunately, during the riots there was police firing in which some youngsters were killed. It is obvious that their families are filled with grief. In fact, the whole country is grieved at the turn that events had taken. All that is true. But it is not proper that we should allow grief to cloud our judgement. After all, you have chosen me as the Prime Minister and the Government has been formed. So, the responsibility of governing the country and seeing that we are not led astray rests with us. The most dangerous thing of all is to allow ourselves to be carried away by momentary passion or lose our moorings. An individual who loses his sense of proportion cannot function in a responsible way, no matter how good he is otherwise. An angry man is not capable of calm judgement. A general who gets flustered in a crisis or loses his cool is useless, for the army will be destroyed. We need calm thinking and far-sightedness. A momentary victory is of no consequence. It is the whole war that has to be won. For this, it is essential to take every aspect of the question into consideration.

I have given you the example of a war. Suppose, we are faced with a hostile force of ten lakh soldiers, it will not make much difference if we win a small victory over a handful of troops somewhere. We have to consider how to defeat the large army. This is what is known as strategy. Strategy is something which will accept even a small defeat, if it means total victory in the national, domestic

6. Demonstrations were held at Ahmedabad on 8 August 1956 to protest against the decision for a bilingual Bombay State. Eighty-thousand students abstained from classes and raised Maha Gujarat slogans. When they resorted to stone-throwing, the police opened fire that resulted in the death of five people (including two students) and injuries to many.
7. On 9 August, the Lok Sabha accepted the official amendment to the States Reorganization Bill, providing for the formation of a bilingual State of Bombay that comprised of Maharashtra, Marathwada, Vidarbha, Gujarat, Kutch, Saurashtra and Bombay city.

and international spheres too. It is absurd and childish to boast about small victories. No mature individual will do such things. We must consider how best to achieve our goal and to produce the proper atmosphere in the country.

Now, take this question of the formation of the State of Bombay. I can understand the arguments for a separate state of Gujarat. But it is not generally understood as to what the effect of this course of action is likely to be on the rest of India. It is only in debating societies that there can be clear-cut answers to these questions. In real life, it is not so simple. There are so many allied problems to be considered. No question in the world can ever be isolated, except in debating societies. We have to take into consideration the effect on many other aspects in every issue. It may be more difficult for you to do this because you may not be aware of the various implications. It is not your fault. If you were in a position of responsibility, you will also think of all this. The Parliament is meant precisely for this so that national issues can be debated upon from every angle and a consensus evolved. If people were to pull in different directions, the basis of India's unity will be lost.

Some people have said that there is no democracy in India because the wishes of the people of Ahmedabad or Saurashtra or Gujarat has not been given weight. I think, it is something which is contrary to democratic principles to allow each province and district to follow their own brand of democracy. The result will be the fragmentation of the country. So, as I said, though very logical arguments can be advanced in favour of a separate state of Gujarat or Maharashtra or Bengal, you have to see that in the larger context of India and the effect it is likely to have on her unity and progress, etc. Love for one's own language is a good thing, but if it creates disunity in the country and sets the states of India against one another, it becomes very dangerous. It is our duty to steer the country clear of such things even if some people suffer in the process. The only difficulty in this case was that we had to take a decision at the last minute and could not explain to the people. This is the mistake that we made. I am sorry about that. But I do not know if you are aware of the dramatic circumstances in which the decision was taken. It was not done at the Government's behest. It was suddenly broached in Parliament and was almost unanimously accepted by everyone. So, we were more or less forced into taking this decision, though I agree that it was to our liking.

Anyhow, I will not go into this long story. But I want you to think about this for it is a test for all of us and what our list of priorities is. If we give more importance to secondary issues, you will go wrong. If the general forgets the main enemy and concentrates elsewhere he may win a small battle but the war will be lost. We are now engaged in fighting a war, not against any other country but against our own weaknesses and foolishness and disunity, which lead us to

fight with one another and indulge in loot and arson at the slightest provocation. We have to fight against these things. If anyone thinks that these are signs of great bravery, I would like to point out very humbly that it is wrong. I will repeat once again that I do not ask you to accept whatever I say. I want you to consider what I have to say with calm minds and then decide what is right. But whether you accept something or not, we must work in a civilized, peaceful and disciplined way in this country, for the moment we deviate from this path, we will fall and our enemies will take advantage of it, both within the country and outside. This is something which everybody must understand quite clearly.

The biggest task before us is of the Five Year Plan. It will take years but we must ultimately establish socialism. This is a very great problem which cannot be solved by passing laws or shouting slogans. It requires hard work. What is socialism? It is not something by which we cut off people's heads to make them equal. Socialism means uplifting people and giving them equal opportunities. Socialism does not mean making everybody poor. People must become better off. Socialism can only be brought about by hard work and cooperation of the people. If you feel that your own state of Gujarat or Maharashtra has priority over national issues, you will be led astray because the topmost priority is India and her problems of unity and cooperation. You can have your own views and parties. There is no harm in that. But everyone must understand some of these fundamental issues and steer clear of wrong actions which create disunity.

As I told you, our communist and communalist colleagues should steer clear of these things. After that I am not bothered if there are ten different parties in India, so long as they are broadly on the right path. The eyes of the world are upon us because they have seen the rapid progress that we have made. Secondly, we are gradually becoming more powerful and influential in the world. There is a great future before the youth of India who will have to shoulder great responsibilities. But you must remember that in this growing and developing country of ours, it is essential to work hard and intelligently, train and equip yourselves and be united.

There is a tremendous problem of unemployment before us, on the one hand and on the other, there is a great dearth of trained people in the country. The problem is to train millions of people to be engineers, doctors and overseers to work in our Community Projects and National Extension Service, etc. These are revolutionary projects which are transforming rural India. A real revolution does not mean violence but a changing of the entire social structure by the people themselves. At the moment, nearly fifteen-twenty thousand *gram sevaks* and *sevikas* are working all over the country. We need millions more. So, you can see that the country is changing rapidly and you can help tremendously by training yourselves and by participating in these tasks.

When I was returning from China,[8] I was asked about my views on Sino-Indian relations and I replied that there are two countries which are the most exciting nations in the world today—India and China—for both are doing things in their own ways. Anyhow, the most exciting thing for me is the idea of India on the march. I am constantly in a fever, thinking about the great projects which have been undertaken in the country. In our lifetime, we have seen many of our dreams come true which is a rare thing. Now, we have taken on other great tasks and dream of new things. It will be difficult for me to realize those dreams in my lifetime perhaps but it is a great thing to have undertaken these tasks. When I see our young boys and girls in schools and colleges, I see the future of India in their eyes and think of the tremendous responsibilities that will fall upon their shoulders. Sometimes I feel a sense of regret that I will not be alive to see India as she will be a few years hence and the great achievements of our little boys and girls. But I cannot complain. I have had long years to do many things and the opportunity to learn at the feet of a great man. So I have nothing to complain about. *Jai Hind!*

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

8. In response to an invitation from the Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lai, Nehru visited China from 18 to 30 October 1954. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 3-93.

3. Equal Opportunities for All States[1]

Friends and comrades,

I have come here, I think, after about two years[2] and it rejoices my eyes and my heart to see these beautiful hills, mountains and all this greenery. I have come

1. Speech at a public meeting, Garrison Grounds, Shillong, 18 October 1956. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Nehru visited the flood-affected areas of Assam. He reached Shillong on 27 August 1955.

here some people think, because there are important problems to discuss. Newspapers state that I have come here to discuss the situation in the Naga hills, or some other situation. Well, I might tell you that I have come here not with any special purpose and not to discuss any special problems. Of course, when I come here, I discuss with our colleagues here various problems, subjects, important subjects, because we are concerned with them. But do not imagine that I have come here because there are some serious and urgent problems for me to discuss.

Then many of you often refer to Assam as the problem State. In the addresses of welcome which have just been read out, reference has been made to this problem State. Well, of course, Assam has problems. So has every state in India. To have problems is a sign of life. The only persons who do not have problems are the dead. If a country is static, not growing, remaining where it is, then it has few problems. The moment a country starts growing, problems grow with it. That is a sign of dynamic activity. Life gives rise to problems, the life of an individual or of a country. So, do not worry about your problems and do not get some kind of a complex by calling a state a problem state. Realize rather that the whole of India, and Assam and all of us are on the move and as we move, we have ever to face the new problems and new questions which we have to answer. If you had asked me ten years ago what were India's problems, I would have given you one answer. Five years ago I would have given another answer. Today, I would give a third answer because as we grow, our outlook widens, our responsibilities increase and we undertake deliberate burdens.

Five years ago, six years ago, we had the Five Year Plan. It was a brave effort at planning. For the first time in India and the first time anywhere in the world, planning took place in a democratic state in a democratic way. Of course, there have been plans, great plans in the Soviet Union and in other countries. But the background of that planning has not been a democratic structure of society, but a different structure. I am not criticizing anything, I am merely telling you a fact. Therefore, the way we took to planning had something in common with Russia, because we both planned for the rapid development and industrialization of our countries. But, it was different here because we wanted to do this under a democratic system of government and structure of society. Now, so far as I know, nowhere in the wide world has planning on this big scale been undertaken in a democratic way. Therefore, when we undertook planning for India and produced a Five Year Plan, the First one, we did something new, something unique. Well, those five years are over.

What was the result of those five years? The result was that we succeeded in reaching the objectives of the First Five Year Plan and we succeeded in our promise we have made to ourselves and the country. Sometimes and in some

measure we succeeded more than we had said we would do. Now, whenever we undertake something, and succeed in it, we grow stronger. We grow more self-confident and self-reliant. And as we grow in strength and self-confidence, we can undertake bigger tasks. So, when the First Five Year Plan was over, we undertook a Second Five Year Plan, which is much bigger and much more difficult, than the First Five Year Plan. Now, the Second Five Year Plan is in motion for the last five months or so and we have got to make this into a success. But this will require much harder work than the First Five Year Plan because it is a bigger Plan and because it raises many more problems. That again, as I told you, is a sign of our dynamic growth that we have to face more problems today than we did five years ago. That is a sign that we are growing. Problems, one should never be frightened of. One should face them and conquer them.

Now, in the addresses of welcome that have been read out, my attention has been drawn to various matters concerning the State of Assam and this city of Shillong. Well, with a great deal that has been said in those addresses, I am in agreement. But I want you to consider these matters not in an isolated and separate way, but in an integrated way. The first thing that you must remember is that when we were a subject country and when we were struggling for freedom, how did we struggle for freedom? We did not think Swaraj was going to come to one state or one province separately. We thought of the whole of India and when Swaraj came, it came to the whole of India. So also, when we think of the next step in our pilgrimage—the next is economic and social progress. The next step is our people having higher standards of living, and putting an end to the poverty and unemployment in India. These are big steps. Having achieved the political goal that we set before us, we have now an economic goal, a social goal, of raising the standard of people of India, of making India a welfare state, and of having a socialistic pattern of society and so on. Now, this is a very big thing because India is a big country. And India is relatively poor and undeveloped country. A poor and undeveloped country has to face a very difficult problem. Because it is poor, it has few resources, and it has not got surplus money to devote to future progress. Progress comes when you have a surplus. Suppose you live from hand to mouth, suppose what you earn for yourself, you can just manage to live, some food and some little clothing, and a little house, then you have nothing else to make progress. You have to live a hard life and as most of our people do with just enough to carry on, there is no surplus left to them to make progress. If they have a surplus, they can do many other things. In the same way a country which has no surplus cannot make progress. It remains where it was. And a poor country has very little surplus. The mere fact that it is poor means that it has no surplus. Yet, we have to find the surplus to go ahead. If you want to develop the mineral resources of Assam, you want money for

that. You want a surplus for that. Where is the surplus to come from? We have to save. We are not going to get it from America or Russia or China. We have to find it ourselves. How do we find it ourselves? Not from some big hoarded treasure-house. No. We have to find it by our hard work, producing things because wealth is not money, but goods. Wealth is not gold and silver but wealth is what is produced, the wealth of our fields which produces our food-stuffs, the wealth of our factories, and the wealth of our handicrafts and whatever it is. If the carpenter makes a table, the carpenter has made some wealth for the country. All these goods are wealth. The more a country produces, whether from the factory, or the field or anywhere, that is the wealth of the country. For our convenience, we use gold and silver and money because it is convenient. But that is not wealth. Therefore, if we want to progress, we have to produce more wealth in the country. To some extent, we have to save even at the cost of some inconvenience because then we get the surplus and that surplus is used to put up factories, to build the railway line-tracks etc. To build an iron factory or oil refinery—all this is done out of the savings and surplus of the country. So, we are doing it.

Now, at the present moment, India being an underdeveloped country, it has small savings and relatively small surplus. That is the big problem of India—how to increase the savings and increase the surplus and at the same time not to put too hard a burden on our people. I shall put it differently. If we have some money, some surplus, let us say, we can use it in two ways. One is to give immediate relief to the people. We may say reduce the tax on the people and the surplus will be wiped away but the people will get a little relief and they will be glad. But you will remember that if I do that I am not doing anything for tomorrow, I am not building anything for tomorrow. You remain as poor as you were, and the country remains as underdeveloped as it was. To do something for tomorrow, I have to do something in the shape of more industry, more this and more that, in order to produce more wealth. Therefore, I spend large sums of money over putting up these huge iron and steel plants. Nobody is profiting by these iron and steel plants today. It will take five, six years still. For five, six years nobody will profit, it just eats up money, large sums of money. Hundreds and crores of rupees get spent in building up these steel plants, why? Because after they are built, five years after, then they begin to yield. Iron and steel today are the bases of all industry. I can't build a railway line here unless I have iron and steel. I can't build an oil refinery here unless I have iron and steel. Therefore, it becomes important to have iron and steel produced in the country and we are building those iron and steel plants. Do you know one of our difficulties in not doubling our railway lines and railway links? The difficulty is due to the lack of iron and steel. We are trying to buy iron and steel from all over the world. At present we

are spending vast sums of money for that. So, we do not want to repeat this difficulty in future. Let us shoulder an additional burden today and produce our own iron and steel so that these problems may not arise in the future. Then, we can build our industry and our railway lines. I have just given you an example of how we plan. People don't think of these things. People say give me this and give me that. I am not a magician to bring things out of a hat. Nor do things come by reciting or by just praying for things to happen. Prayers may be good for your spirit and soul and your peace of mind. But it doesn't achieve physical things. You don't get a factory standing in front of you by prayer, you have to work hard. You don't build a bridge over the Brahmaputra by shouting slogans. You want trained men to build it, engineers. So, you see, this problem of planning becomes very complicated and one has to see a hundred things about it, not only money. Of course, money is necessary in the sense of goods. But we want machinery. Now, are we to get machinery from outside? We get it. For how long? For how long may we do that? Therefore, we must make our own machinery. How do we make our own machinery? Well, we must install plants to make the machinery. We must make the machine-making plants ourselves and above all, we have to train people to make our machines. Hundreds and thousands of engineers are needed for that.

Let us take this oil refinery. Wherever it is built, an oil refinery may take, let us say, I don't know, two years to build. But the man who will run the oil refinery will take eight years' training. Seven years, eight years, I don't know how long. Think of that. It is easier to produce, it is easier to produce a factory by getting machinery from some other country. But it is much more difficult to train a man to run that factory, difficult in the sense that it takes time. An engineer's special training after he has passed his various examinations is for another five years. In Bombay we are putting up an atomic energy plant. It is going to take us three or four years, but the scientists who will run that plant will require ten years' training.

So you see, in the ultimate analysis, what we require are trained men and trained men by the hundred thousands, or lakhs. Highly trained men are necessary for every kind of work that we do. All this requires careful planning. We may put up factories, but have no trained men to run them, it is no good.

So, I want you to understand this business of planning because only then will you be able to appreciate what is being done in India and help it. It is not merely a question of making a list of things that you want. You may make a list, of things we want in Assam, one, two, three, four, five and six. Anybody can make a list of things what India wants. But how to supply those things? How to train men who will supply those things? And so on and so forth. It is a much more difficult matter.

ADDRESSING A GATHERING ON GANDHI JAYANTI, RAJKOT, 2 OCTOBER 1956

WITH CHINESE AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE STUDY MISSION, NEW DELHI, 21 SEPTEMBER 1956

You take a country which has gone into planning intensively for a long time. The Soviet Union. Inspite of the terrific effort they have made, inspite of the terrific price they have paid, remember that they have been at it for nearly forty years. They didn't do it quickly. It has taken them thirty-nine years, to be exact. It is a long time. In India we are criticized after five years of independence—why isn't the whole country changed?

So, let us try to understand the things in perspective. Try to understand the questions in India. Now, I find very often that people are prepared to give an answer to a question without knowing what the question is, which is an absurd thing. You are prepared to give an answer, without knowing what the question is, just like a quack doctor who doesn't know what the disease is but he will give you all kinds of pills to swallow. That is a silly way of doing things. We must first try to understand the question and then try to find out the answer, knowing that it is very difficult to find very precise answers, because this is not a problem in mathematics. We have to deal with masses of human beings—three hundred and sixty million. Suppose, if I had to build a bridge, the engineer would tell me the quantity of the iron or the cement required. He will calculate it and tell me exactly. If I am an engineer in India, I have to deal with millions and millions of human beings. Each human being is different from the other, he is not a brick or a stone or a piece of steel that I could say this is his tension and strength and what not. And yet, we have to build India with these varied and different human beings, millions of them all, vital, dynamic living people, with urges and passions, with ability or stupidity, call it what you like, all this mixed up together.

So, think of this problem. Then think of this enormous stretch of India with its unity and its diversity, which is today marching fairly fast forward, towards raising its level, towards industrialization and in the process creating new problems. And new fields are opening out, vast fields of adventure and activity for the young men and young women of today. I do not know how you feel and it is long ago since I was young. But maybe, you have ambitions. What are your ambitions? Sometimes, when young people tell me of their ambitions, I feel sad, that is to say because their ambitions are so low, and so little. Ambition should be made of sterner stuff, whether it is ambition for your country or yourself. Aim high, don't aim low and don't fritter away your energy and your vitality in just futile pursuits and conflicts. If you aim high, you have to conserve your energy and use it to the uttermost for that big thing that you are after. And if you are after the little things of life, you may succeed or you may not. It is a matter that does not interest me, because we in India today have to aim high. I don't want India to be a second-rate nation in the world. I want India to be an absolutely first-rate country and a first-rate country needs first-rate men and women in that country, at least enough of them because a country is made by

the quality of the persons who live there. It is not made by numbers, and by shouting slogans. We have had our three hundred and sixty million people here for long time past. Inspite of them, we were a subject country. Numbers didn't make us free. It was the quality of people that made us free and it is the quality of the people which will make us progress, not quality of one kind, quality of a hundred kinds. Quality in every kind of activity. It is the quality of our scientists that will make our science grow. It is the quality of our engineers that will make our industry grow. It is the quality of our doctors and our administrators that will do something and so on.

In every branch of life it is quality that will carry us, not quantity. I want our young men and young women to realize that and decide that they want to be young men and women of quality, and of high quality. You can take it from me that in India today there is a vast field of adventure for the men and women of quality. You have this whole field of India open to you, in your life time, those of you who are young men and young women. I envy you sometimes. When I see these brilliant opportunities in India today for the young, I envy you and I wish I was young. I would have taken advantage of them. Not that I am sorry for the way I have spent my years, for achievement has come there too. But, nevertheless, the prospect of India today, is the prospect of India going ahead, marching in a hundred and a thousand directions, with hard work, with sweat and with perspiration and all that. When I see this prospect and gradually the dreams we have dreamt coming true and realization coming step by step, I am excited. I feel excited like a fever in the brain, to see this grand prospect stretched out before me. I shall not live to see all that prospect. I shall see much of it, I shall see a bit more. It is the young men and women of today who will see that prospect of India developing. And they have to make themselves fit for it. And they have not only to make themselves fit for it, they have to work to bring about that prospect. How else will it come about? That is why it makes me unhappy to see young men of quality wasting their energy on petty matters of dispute, and not training themselves for the great task ahead, whatever job they may undertake. I don't mind what you undertake, but aim high. If you want to be an artist, be an artist of world repute. If you want to be a soldier, be one of the greatest soldiers of the world. If you want to be a politician, well, aim, to be the President of India and Prime Minister of India. It is open to you, everyone of you, if you have the quality in you to be the Prime Minister of India or the President of India or to have other great opportunities put upon you. Imagine, all this stretches out before you, provided you have the quality and quality comes, maybe by some natural ability but chiefly by hard work and training and application and development of your character, your powers of thought and so on.

I have been talking about the Five Year Plan, I want you to understand this

planning business. You need not read the big tome, the Five Year Plan, unless you want to. But nevertheless, try to understand it, because in those pages, those pages may be dry and the pages may be full of statistics, but if you read about the Five Year Plan with some insight, you will fill in those wretched statistics, the dry bones of statistics, with flesh and blood and then the living picture of India will emerge before you which is not a dull picture. And then that Five Year Plan will become the most exciting story you have ever read. It depends how you look upon it. That is what I want you to do and that is how I want you to consider it.

Now, I go back to something that I said previously. We had achieved our freedom in unity for the whole of India. It is obvious that our next step of economic progress must be for the whole of India. It is quite impossible for me to conceive that one part of India will progress and the other may remain wretched and poverty-stricken. It cannot be. There may be ups and downs here and there. But the whole country has to progress and will progress. That is the whole essence of the Five Year Plan. Of course, different parts of the country have different opportunities. Suppose I want to have an iron and steel works, I have to go to Orissa or somewhere roundabouts where there is iron ore and where there is coal. I can't have ironworks unless there is iron ore in the place. So, much depends on the quality of the minerals they have and other things. That apart, we want India to develop uniformly, that is every part to have equal opportunity. But every part cannot have equal opportunity. Do you think the people living in the desert of Rajasthan have the same opportunities which you have in this beautiful climate and with these mountains and rivers and all that? You are fortunate. We cannot create a mountain and a climate in Rajasthan. They have got the desert to contend with which is a hard proposition. Still, we want to give equal opportunities of development and develop India as a whole. So far as Assam is concerned, I have no doubt it will develop because it has the essential qualities which make for development. I mean the minerals, soil, this, that and other and a people who are capable, given the opportunity, to help in this development. I have no doubt about it. But you will not develop Assam or anything if you waste your time in shouting, by merely thinking that you are doing something.

Take this question of the oil refinery. Now, Assam is fortunate in having oil and it is likely that Assam will have more oil. Good, very good for Assam, because the presence of oil brings riches. Now, it would be a very good thing so far as I am concerned if oil refineries and other things grow up here. But if you ask me to give a final answer, I cannot do so. And none of you can do so, even if you shout yourselves hoarse, because this becomes a technical matter, not a political matter for decision, it is a technical matter to be decided according to

the advice of technical people and the scientists. All my wish and my desire is that it should be done in Assam. But in my wish and desire you will not ask me to do something which is considered technically improper or which is considered uneconomic in a particular way, because then you will suffer for it. Therefore, I have to wait for the advice of our scientists and technical people about it. But I can tell you that so far as I am concerned, it is my wish and desire that the oil refinery, in fact, and other allied activity connected with the development of oil, should take place in Assam. More I cannot say and more I cannot promise without making a fool of myself, even if you shout yourselves hoarse. You do not want people with responsibilities, and I have great responsibilities as Prime Minister, you do not want me to behave like a foolish person, without thought, not acting up to the expert advice that is given to me because some children shout in front of me. I would be unworthy of my place. So, I hope you realize.

What is even more silly, is something that happened, when was it, a couple of months ago more or less, when some boys, in Gauhati and elsewhere, started doing damage, arson, uprooting railway lines. Why? Because they want an oil refinery. Most extraordinary state of affairs. Showing by their actions and showing their incapacity to have anything at all, much less an oil refinery. If more Assamese students did that, it is certain that you will not have the oil refinery or any other project here, till you show your responsibility for running it. Why should I risk putting valuable oil refinery here when tomorrow somebody will go and commit arson on it or break it? What should I do about building a railway line here if people go about uprooting the line? Don't you see the whole thing is a sheer foolishness, and it shows such a bitter lack of the slightest grain of intelligence? They were doing just the opposite which would come in the way of achieving what they wanted. I wrote to the Chief Minister.[3] I said I was in favour of an oil refinery in Assam, but if your people behave in this way, you will not have the oil refinery because we are not going to take risks with our serious industrial products and put it in a place where foolish young people can break it up, and destroy it. We are not going to take such grave risks. You see how this results, this kind of thing. Certainly, you tell me what you want, argue with me, and we talk together, and cooperate together. But if you think that by violence you can induce some decisions, that is wrong. First of all, you will not get that decision that way. Secondly, if you got that decision, the man who gave that decision ought to be sacked. And if I give that decision simply because of coercion, I ought to be sacked. That is not the way the government is to run. So,

3. See *post*, pp. 214-215.

I want you to realize this. We are up against serious problems, and great problems. It is a great adventure, building India. We cannot do that in a trivial way, and in a foolish way. We have to do it with all the strength, wisdom and cooperative spirit that we possess. I find that I have spoken for a long time in English. I forgot that I have to speak in Hindi too. I shall now speak in Hindi and carry on.[4]

4. Nehru spoke in Hindi on similar lines.

4. Anglo-French Military Intervention in Egypt Deplorable[1]

Sisters, brothers and compatriots,

I have often had the opportunity of addressing large gatherings at the Fateh Maidan. I am here once again on a very special occasion, for this day will be engraved in the history of India. But I would like to mention one small thing first. All of you are assembled here and sitting silently. The arrangements are good. In fact, I would say they are a little too good because good arrangements are considered to be synonymous with putting as much distance between me and you as possible. I dislike this intensely and wish to tell the people who are in administration in Hyderabad, that what they are doing is absolutely wrong. They think they are observing rules of protocol but it is not so. The rules may have been framed in Delhi but let them not try to implement them so faithfully and enthusiastically that it puts me at a distance from the people and this distance is widening. They are so scared that I might be exposed to an attack. This has upset me. So, please let it be understood clearly that if I happen to come here again to address a gathering, I should not be placed at such a distance. Secondly, it is obvious that when I am touring in the city, certain traffic arrangements have to be made so that there may be no jostling and pushing. But even these arrangements should not disrupt normal movement of the people and harass them.

1. Speech while launching the new State of Andhra Pradesh, Fateh Maidan, Hyderabad, 1 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.

Well, as I mentioned just now, today is a historic day for us in India. It was purely by chance that this date was chosen to change the map of India.[2] We did not consult any astrologers or gaze at the stars before choosing this date. We selected it for our own convenience and to give us enough time to make the preparations. It was our intention to implement the states reorganization at the beginning of October if possible because Gandhi Jayanti is an auspicious day. But the arrangements could not be completed by then and so it was postponed for a month. So, as I told you, it is purely by chance that this date, when Diwali is almost upon us, was chosen. It is auspicious day in many ways. For one thing, on the day of Diwali we light lamps to dispel darkness. This is a good example of dispelling the darkness produced by our weakness, by our inner strength. I have been told that some people have been perturbed that astrologers have not been consulted to choose a good day. Horoscopes and what not have been consulted to choose an auspicious time in order to escape the danger of the planets. In some states, I believe, the proceedings were begun at midnight. Well, they are welcome to depend upon the stars and the planets to chalk out a programme. For me, the land and the people of India are enough. I want all of you to understand that whatever has to be done in this country has to be done by our own strength and not depend on the skies. What we need is cooperation and hard work. So, I am happy to be here on the day of the new moon when we are celebrating Diwali and lighting lamps to dispel the darkness of the night.

It is a historic day for us because we have changed the map of India which had existed for hundreds of years. As you know, there has been a tremendous upheaval in the country in the process. Anyhow, all that is over. It is possible that there may be some reservation or complaint or bitterness in some people. It is obvious that it is not possible for a major decision like this to be taken in India which would be acceptable to all the millions in the country. But, we have tried to do it by a consensus of opinion and convincing as many people as possible. Now, the decision has been taken and the map of India has changed as of today. It involves not merely the changing of the leaders of various states, though that is also there. I hope the new arrangement will facilitate administration. But, what is more important is that though the people cannot easily forget the past for our roots lie in it, it is very essential that we should give up some of the bad

2. The new structure of the Indian Union with fourteen states and six union territories, came into being on 1 November 1956. These were (1) six new states—Kerala, Mysore, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Punjab, (2) Andhra Pradesh, constituted by the merger of Telengana area of Hyderabad State with the present Andhra State, and (3) Madras, Bihar and West Bengal with restructured boundaries.

things which had existed in the old India. So, this day becomes a symbol of our giving up the old vices. Anyhow, we have begun a new chapter in the long history of India which dates back to thousands of years and are once again embarking on a new journey towards the betterment and prosperity of the country.

While we are engaged in the task of girding ourselves towards a new effort, there is darkness in another corner of the world. You may have heard of the incidents which have occurred during the last two, three days near the borders of Egypt. Extraordinary things and dangerous things are happening and it is unbelievable that such things can occur in these times. But there they are. It would be a good thing to take ourselves out of our day-to-day affairs and cast a glance at this writhing and changing world of today. Not that we are responsible for the actions of others because the burden of running India is already more than enough. Our work lies here in India. Why should we interfere in other's affairs? But external events are bound to affect us in some measure, especially if there is another war. We have declared that we will have nothing to do with wars. But if there is a war anywhere in the world, we are bound to get scorched by its heat and will be affected in a thousand different ways. When the picture is one of warlike conditions, we must pay attention to it. Moreover, it is a friendly country which is in difficulties and it is not proper that we should evade the issue or look the other way.

Do you remember that about two years ago, a great historic conference took place in the city of Bandung in Indonesia where almost all the independent countries of Asia and Africa were represented?[3] We had taken a number of decisions and a manifesto was adopted which was signed by all the participants. The manifesto was an appeal about mutual cooperation, world peace, etc.[4] So, for one thing, this is our policy which we presented to the world. We have worked very hard and served the world as best as we could. Wars have been averted, perhaps not wholly, but at least to some extent through our efforts. Therefore, our policy has been to maintain peace in the world and fight for the cause of freedom. Secondly, this is a pledge taken by us towards our colleagues and friends and we must not forget it.

What is the situation in Egypt today? You may have heard that this morning, British and French aeroplanes bombarded the surrounding areas of Cairo, not

3. The Asian-African Conference at Bandung, attended by 29 countries, was held on 18-24 April 1955.
4. The Conference adopted a joint communique which established ten principles for developing friendship and cooperation among nations. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 97-158.

the city but the airport near it.[5] Some people were injured and killed. You may have also heard that the British and French governments had issued an ultimatum day before yesterday evening, warning Egypt, that if Egypt did not accede, they would take military action.[6] What had Egypt done to deserve a sudden threat like this? I will not go into the past history and nor should anyone try to do so. What has happened now? Egypt is innocent. It is Israel which attacked Egypt.[7] Therefore, the guilty party is the Israeli Government and not Egypt. Israel was advancing into Egyptian territory. The British and French Governments threatened Egypt and wanted her to surrender the Suez Canal to them. Their argument was that if this was not done, there was a fear of their ships being in danger in the war. So, they wished to defend the Suez Canal and wanted Egypt to withdraw ten miles. In short it meant surrendering ten miles of Egyptian territory beyond the Suez Canal. If the Israeli forces advanced, the British and French Governments wanted to defend that territory. It is obvious that Egypt said that it was not acceptable to them. Egypt is an independent country and wished to know what right the others had to capture Egyptian territory on the pretext of protecting it? Only a year and a half or two ago, the British forces had been removed from there.[8] Now, they were on the lookout for some excuse to go in once again. It is a strange situation. I was amazed and so was the rest of the world at these developments.

We have no quarrel with the British. We have friendly relations with them. When our country became free, all our old quarrels were forgotten. They go their way and we go ours. But, we have mutual consultations and often accept one another's views. There is no hostility. We have friendly relations with France too though we do not like many of the things that they do. We came to a friendly agreement about Pondicherry and other French colonies in India.[9] So, we are friendly towards all the countries. The only real complaint that we have is about a small pocket of Portuguese rule in India—Goa—because not only do they continue to hold it, but innumerable Indians are in jails there. They had gone there unarmed and were immediately sentenced to ten or twenty years imprisonment. We have heard that they are being kept locked up in dungeons.

5. See *post*, p. 429.
6. See *post*, p. 421.
7. On 29 October 1956.
8. See *post*, p. 401 fn 7.
9. The French enclave of Chandernagore in West Bengal became a part of the Indian Union after India and France signed the treaty for its cession in Paris on 9 June 1952. The remaining settlements, Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam, were formally ceded to India after another treaty was signed in New Delhi on 28 May 1956.

Among them is a Member of Parliament and the others who are well-educated people.[10] I am very doubtful if any country in the world would tolerate the kind of things that Portugal has been doing. Yet, we have put up with it because we did not wish to take military action. The Portuguese have to go—there is no doubt about that. But, we are putting up with their actions because as far as possible we wish to avoid fighting and military action.

I have given you some examples of where our duty lies. Bombs are being thrown on Cairo and other places because they apprehend danger to the ships in the Suez Canal. If there is danger, from where is it likely to come? It can be only from Egypt. What has Egypt done? In the months since Suez Canal has been under the control of Egypt, nothing has happened. Ships have been passing through peacefully inspite of all kinds of obstacles. If they were afraid of an Israeli attack they could have stopped it in other ways, by taking the matter to the United Nations or whatever it is. But they have threatened Egypt instead. It is a strange thing.

You might have read the fable of the wolf and the sheep. I am reminded of that. Now, Egyptian ships are being torpedoed and Cairo is being bombarded. What I would like to ask is suppose some country, or say a group of countries want to come into India to defend something on some other pretext what will our answer be? We will naturally say that no foreign troops will be permitted to set foot on Indian soil and if they do, we shall do our best to repulse them and shall fight them to the bitter end. If Egypt gives a similar reply, what crime have they committed? It is the right reply and all our sympathies are at the moment with Egypt and its people. I do not know what will happen if any power thinks that by taking military action or by using threats, they can put up a puppet regime in a fellow-country of ours which has recently become free. But, I know one thing that most of the countries of Asia will not tolerate or accept this quietly or bow down before such tactics. You must be familiar with one or two cliches which are often used. It is said that those powers are there merely for police action, to see that Egypt and Israel do not harm each other and especially their ships. They call it police action when the air force and troops have been brought

10. Since May 1955, about eight hundred *satyagrahis* had entered Goa as part of the struggle for freedom. Of these, nine were detained and the others were thrust back into Indian territory. Among those detained were N.G. Goray and Madhu Limaye, members of the Praja Socialist Party, and Tridib Chaudhuri, General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party and a Member of the Lok Sabha. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 388-390.

in from England and France and used against an innocent nation which has not lifted a finger. All this is being done because that country has not agreed to their preposterous suggestion that their troops should be allowed to land at the Suez Canal. I tell you it is an extraordinary injustice and I wonder if there is a blight upon my brain or on that of the others.

This issue has a special importance firstly because Egypt has been attacked. It is even more important because it is possible that the matter may not end there but spread farther afield. War clouds are already looming once again. I do not think aerial bombardment of a city has taken place since the Second World War. This has set a bad precedent and nobody knows where it will end.

As you know, ever since the debate about the Suez Canal started three months ago, we have tried a great deal to help in bringing about an agreement. We succeeded to some extent. Talks were held and some decisions were taken.[11] More talks were to be held soon between England, France and Egypt. In the midst of all this, they have issued an ultimatum and bombarded Cairo. What does it mean?

You will find that a new situation is arising. We saw especially after the World War that the European powers which were ruling over Asia were gradually going away. It was right that they should go because the time was ripe for colonial domination to end. They went from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and other countries. There are some pockets of colonial rule still existing here and there but we are convinced that they will have to go. So, this process of freedom from colonial rule had started and rightly so, for that was the demand of the times. Now, an effort is being made to reverse this historic process when European powers wish to march their troops in and bring in their air force and resort to bombarding and what not. You can imagine what a dangerous situation it is. How can any country in Asia or Africa accept it? It is fundamentally wrong. If we tolerate it this time, it will become a precedent and the moment there is something that goes against the wishes of some European power, it will issue an ultimatum and bring in its troops, all under the pretext of policing the area. Who has appointed Britain or France to be the policemen of the world? It is true that in the nineteenth century they had become the policemen of the world for various reasons. But now we are in the middle of the twentieth century.

Yet another significant development has occurred in Europe in the last few weeks—in Poland[12] and Hungary[13], both communist countries. They had adopted

11. The reference is to six principles arived at in the Security Council. See *post*, p. 419.
12. See *post*, p. 452.
13. See *post*, p. 456.

communism after the Second World War, and have had close relations with the Soviet Union. As you know, in the last year or a year and a half, there has been some relaxation in the Soviet Union. This has had an effect on the other communist countries of Europe too. Now, we see that those countries are rising in revolt against the influence and pressure of the Soviet Union and demanding complete freedom. The matter was settled peacefully in Poland. But there has been a tremendous upheaval in Hungary. But I hope that it will settle down. It is obvious that our policy has been that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of any country, and that the people should have freedom of self-determination. So, it is possible that with the relaxation of outside pressures, these countries of Eastern Europe will enjoy greater peace and prosperity.

I have drawn your attention to these two broad facts about world affairs, though there are tremendous tasks waiting to be done in our own country. I have tried to tell you something about what is happening in the world in which we live because it is a dangerous place and nobody knows when there will be a conflagration. We do not know when the danger in Egypt will affect India. Nobody knows when there will be turmoil in the world and we may be drawn into the vortex. If we become lazy or complacent and feel that the country will progress without any effort on our part, not only will we harm the country but will be ruined in the process. India and the other countries of Asia must be constantly vigilant and prepared to face any eventuality. There is no place for countries which are slack and lazy.

We have adopted a socialistic pattern of society as our goal and drawn up a plan for the future in which the masses will progress and the old disparity between the haves and have-nots is removed. Even if everybody cannot be exactly alike, at least everyone must get equal opportunities and the disparity should be reduced. That does not mean that all the people in India must become equally poor. How can there be a socialist society in which everybody is poor or downtrodden. Socialism means betterment of all the people and every one must have a share in the prosperity. How is it to be done? This is the problem which has loomed large before us ever since our country became free. In this connection, as you know, we have drawn up the five year plans which are directed towards achieving our goal of a socialistic pattern of society. Most of our activities are directed towards this end. After all, a nation cannot progress merely by passing laws, nor can production increase without hard work and efforts of the people. The Western countries like the Soviet Union, Britain, Germany and the United States have progressed, not by passing laws, but by hard work. There was a revolution in the Soviet Union, it is true. But they have had to work very hard during the last forty years. They have borne tremendous hardships and paid a terrible price for progress. As far as the United States is concerned, the process has been going

on for hundreds of years. So, if we wish to make our country well off, it can only be through our own hard work and not by depending on outside aid. There is no other way for it cannot be done by consulting astrologers or by gazing at the stars as some people seem to think. The question, apart from working hard, is how best to utilize our resources so that they are not wasted. When we talk of socialism, it also means a proper utilization of resources to produce wealth and ensuring its equitable distribution.

We have taken up a number of things. First of all, we are vigilantly guarding against the draining away of our resources by some outside power. Secondly, we put an end to the princely states for they were an anomaly. There were both good and bad people among the princes. This was not a personal thing but a matter of principle. Similarly, though there were good as well as bad zamindars and *jagirdars*, the principle behind the system was bad. The farmers could not flourish under the system. You will find that wherever this system existed in India, there is greater poverty than elsewhere in the country. So, we abolished the system and its allied practices in order to give the people a chance to grow. These are the various steps that we have taken to remove the obstacles from the people's path.

Then we have adopted the principle of state ownership, and public control of industries, so that they do not remain in the hands of a few private individuals. This has made a big difference. I am not for a moment saying anything against the capitalists as very often people do. It is not a question of individuals—the system itself becomes irrelevant. Something that was relevant a hundred years ago may no longer be so now. This is how we must look at this problem. It is not a question of goodness or evil. Ever since the great Industrial Revolution began bringing a new force into the world, it has led to a great many revolutions—like the American, French, Russian and the Chinese. The Industrial Revolution which led to the discovery of electricity, locomotives and steam-ships and what not, has turned the world completely topsy-turvy. For the first time it has given into the hands of man, the power to produce enormous wealth. The countries which took advantage of science and technology have become extremely rich and militarily powerful. They acquired new weapons and conquered the world with them. The countries which remained steeped in their old ideas and customs continued to be backward. I do not say that it is all completely bad but everything has a time and a place. There comes a time when a farmer's work is far more important than a poet's though a poet is also necessary at times. But the world needs hard work and the countries which do not respect the people who do manual labour become backward. The countries which look down upon working on land or in factories and respect only the white-collared workers more are useless and their people also grow up to be useless.

England and other countries of the West have gone ahead by adopting new techniques. We must also learn science and technology and set up industries in order to produce wealth which in turn should be distributed among the people. The five year plans are a step in this direction. Firstly, we had to increase food production in the country because when there is food shortage, we cannot take up other tasks. We cannot import foodgrains forever for we cannot afford to pay for it. So, we laid stress on increasing food production and have largely succeeded. Though we are laying stress on industrialization, our first priority is food production.

In this connection I would like to tell you that the laws have been changed also regarding large landholdings. That is quite proper but when individuals own small pieces of land—I think the average in India is not even an acre per individual—progress is very slow. The time has now come to go in for cooperative farming while retaining ownership of land. I want that even you who live in urban areas should realize how essential cooperatives have become, not only credit cooperatives, but cooperative farming, and agrarian cooperation. Only then can we progress fast and food production will also increase, benefiting the farmer as well as the country. This is one thing.

Secondly, we have started community projects centres which should pay special attention to this. It should be their first priority. I have also mentioned that the community schemes have spread all over India and nearly ten crores of people in one and half lakh or more villages are being covered. This is also a revolutionary thing which is transforming the rural areas. The most significant thing that is happening today in India is in the rural areas. I want to draw your attention to it because unless the farmers progress, the country cannot do so. A country does not grow only by the growth of its cities, though cities and industries are also important. But ultimately eighty per cent of our people live in villages. By judging them you can make out how far India has progressed. The monuments and palaces which were built in the olden days in the cities like Delhi and Hyderabad, were built on the blood and sweat of the starving peasantry. Anyhow, we want our cities to be beautiful and the public buildings to be strong and attractive but I do not want them to be built upon the blood and sweat of the peasants. They have toiled enough for others.

Now that we have succeeded beyond our wildest expectations in our First Plan, it has added to our strength and courage and self-confidence. The Second Plan that has been drawn up is bigger and more ambitious and we will have to put our entire strength into implementing it because it cannot be done by a few officers at the top. Therefore, it is essential that you should understand the Plan and read the Draft. Every boy and girl in schools and colleges must read it because unless our youth understands what is happening in the country now,

they will not understand the tasks before them when they have to shoulder the responsibility of running the country in the future. You must take all these into account.

The Second Five Year Plan is a big thing and its emphasis, apart from increasing food production, is on heavy industries because until we set up heavy industries to produce machines we cannot set up light industries on a large scale. We want them to come up in millions which will be possible only when heavy industries and their ancillary industries come up. First of all, it is essential to produce steel. We are setting up huge steel plants at a cost of crores of rupees. It is very difficult for a poor country to spend so much but it is necessary because we cannot set up any industries without steel. I want you to understand the picture well by reading the literature about the Five Year Plan. Even if you cannot read the big tomes, you can go through the pamphlets. You may be aware of the things that are happening in your province, but unless you have the entire picture before you, you will not be able to understand how we are trying to bring about socialism. It is obvious that it will not come by shouting slogans or making a noise. You have to work hard as other countries have done. So, I want you to think about these things. The success of the new demarcation of the state boundaries, which have come into effect from today, will depend on the proper understanding of our efforts and ventures in implementing them. There are certain fundamental principles which should always be borne in mind.

First of all, India can progress only when there is unity and cooperation in the country. I have presented you with a new slogan which says: 'Keep in Step'. It means cooperation and discipline and methodical work as it is happening in China today. In a large nation of sixty crores of people, there is tremendous activity and rapid progress. So, it is essential for us to work together though that does not mean that everyone should hold similar views. There can be different points of view but there should be no obstruction in the national tasks.

I heard that there was a strike here recently.[14] I cannot say anything about that but I would like to tell everyone that our foremost duty is to produce as much as we can in the country. It is only by producing more wealth that we can increase wages and salaries. If production comes to a stop because of strikes or some

14. On 6 October 1956, about nine thousand workers belonging to unions affiliated to Socialist-controlled State Mazdoor Sangh in Hyderabad struck work demanding an increase in wages and dearness allowance. The establishments affected by the strike included the Electricity Department, the Water Works Department and the Municipality. The strike was called off on 30 October after the Chief Minister-designate of Andhra Pradesh, N. Sanjiva Reddy, assured the workers that his Government would consider their problems.

other reason, it causes great harm to the nation. That does not mean that injustice should flourish or that people should be deprived of their rights. But, we must evolve some method of solving these questions without causing harm to the nation for that means loss to the people too.

So, the first thing is unity. There are a large number of provinces in the country. There are many different religions in India. Especially among the Hindus, there are thousands of castes which keep people in separate compartments. All these things create obstacles. Religions have existed in India for thousands of years. But it is being put to the wrong use if it becomes a barrier among the people or creates obstacles in national tasks. Communalism is wrong. People are welcome to follow their own religions but they should have tolerance for other religions. All the religions, Hinduism, Islam and Christianity, belong to India. When they have coexisted for thousands of years, who has the right to say that any particular religion is Indian and not the others? It is wrong and I am telling you this because there are people who incite others in the name of religion.

The second thing is provincialism. What we have witnessed in the last one year in the name of province and language has been painful. The whole thing has been childish and stupid. It is a good thing to love your language and province, but since when has that been synonymous with violence and conflict? Is this how you are going to work for the progress of the new Andhra Pradesh? If, at any time, you think that Andhra Pradesh is more important than India, you will prove your uselessness. Let me tell you quite clearly that the only yardstick to measure anything that happens in India is whether it is beneficial to the whole country. The provincial or local interests take second place. So, we must suppress provincialism. It is perfectly all right if you love your own home, but, if you give so much importance to it, it might lead to rioting, which happened in other places and not here. It is totally wrong.

The third important thing is to work peacefully. It is essential on principle and also because the moment we deviate even slightly from it, thousands of quarrels will break out in the country. I have strong objections to many of the parties in India, because they foment disunity. I have no objection to their policies but if they foment trouble, they undoubtedly harm the country and so they must be opposed. Please remember that we won freedom by patching up our quarrels and by becoming united and working peacefully. This is how India became strong. The moment you forget this, India, may be divided in a thousand fragments, in conflict with each other. The signs of an internal strife were visible last year on the issue of states reorganization. We should learn from that. These are fundamental matters which we must remember and we should work together in the implementation of the Five Year Plan, etc.

I have told you all this. But my mind is full of what is happening in Egypt at

the moment and how it is likely to affect the world. Is this the prelude to yet another world war and if so, what will be the extent of ruin and havoc it will cause? Please remember that this is the age of the atom bomb and of atomic energy and those who indulge in petty violence often forget that the symbol of violence today is the atom bomb which can unleash untold horrors upon the world. These are the times we live in and we must understand them. We must build our society and nation with proper planning for otherwise we will forget the larger issues while we are engrossed in petty issues and bring ruin upon the country.

So, as I said, today, on this First of November, a new chapter is beginning in the history of our country and therefore we must take a look at what is happening in India and abroad, and think about the fundamental principles which we must always bear in mind like unity, peaceful cooperation and the removal of the barriers of casteism. If we remember these things well, we can weather any storm and rectify any mistake that we may make. But if we forget the fundamental principles, we will lose our moorings completely and nobody can save us in this dangerous world of ours. After all, it is up to us to be vigilant and defend ourselves.

Therefore, it is my request that you should think about all these things on this day. As I mentioned right at the beginning, there are all kinds of things behind this new map of India. But there are certain significant factors which are not obvious. We wish to get out of the old feudal outlook in social organization. We have already done so to a large extent. But we want to get rid of it completely. So, we have abolished the post of Rajpramukh, not because we had any complaints, but the system itself was wrong. We want to put an end to it and gradually build a new one in which everyone gets an equal opportunity. Here it was your Nizam who was the Rajpramukh.[15] We did not remove him because we were annoyed with him. It is the principle itself which we wish to abolish. In fact, I am grateful to him that inspite of so much tension and fighting and what not, he, who had been brought up in a totally different kind of world and inspite of the strange advisers that he had in the olden days, has tried to adopt himself to the changing times and succeeded.

So, I am grateful to him and want that he should be given an opportunity in the future also to serve Hyderabad and India. We will certainly like that for it will be a good thing for him as well as the nation. But this is a personal matter. The basic thing is that the system of Rajpramukhs and Rajas and Maharajas has

15. Mir Osman Ali Khan was the Rajpramukh of Hyderabad from January 1950 till its dissolution as a State on 1 November 1956.

AT THE AICC MEETING, KOLKATA, 9 NOVEMBER 1956

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become outdated. They are welcome to add these titles to their names but it has no special meaning today. As you know, according to our Constitution it is wrong to give or accept a title. But we have permitted the princes to retain their titles because it does no harm to us and anyhow, it will gradually die out.

So, I was telling you that it is on a matter of principle that we have abolished the post of Rajpramukh in order to change the feudal outlook of our society. A very big step was taken eight-nine years ago. This is the second, and there will undoubtedly be others. First of all, I want that a time should come when every Indian should get opportunities for growth and development. Every child in India should get all opportunities. It is not so today which is regrettable. I feel bad especially when I see that our children do not get enough to eat, clothes to wear, houses to live in, education, etc. It hurts me and it should hurt you. But I am helpless because these things take time. However, gradually arrangements should be made to provide opportunities so that they can progress as far as they can. I also want that the doors to the highest offices and responsibilities must be open to every child and youth in the country. Any boy or girl in India should be able to aspire to the highest post in the land, that of the President of India, if he or she has the ability to serve the country and the people choose him or her. These are not hereditary posts. Dr Rajendra Prasad is not the President today because his father was a King or Prince. He is one of our most respected elders in the country. But he comes from a very small landholding family of Bihar and is not very rich. He has reached his present position because he has the ability and strength to serve the country. He has made tremendous sacrifices for the country for years and so the people elected him to this highest post in the country.

Everyone must have such opportunities. It is true that it is not easy. But the doors of opportunity should be open to everyone, irrespective of caste and creed. This is the path we have chosen for ourselves. India is a great country which must march in step and gain new victories day by day. I do not mean victory in battles for we do not wish to fight with anyone. We want to fight a great war against the poverty and unemployment in India. These are tremendous problems and there is no doubt about it that we will be victorious. But it will take time and we will have to work very hard. However, we can certainly win through, if we make an effort. Please remember all these things and let us march in this direction. Undoubtedly, this new Andhra Pradesh with the historic city of Hyderabad will progress and go very far and play an important role in the new chapter of India's history. *Jai Hind!*

2
NATIONAL PROGRESS

I. ECONOMY

1. Resolution on the Second Five Year Plan[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman,[2] Sir, my colleague, the Finance Minister[3] has dealt with a number of very important aspects of this Plan and this discussion, and thus my task is much the easier. Nevertheless, when I think of this Plan and the many points that have been raised in this discussion, I feel a little difficulty as to what I should talk about. My own mind is filled with excitement when I think of this Plan, not that there is anything in this particular Plan by itself. It is a kind of a skeleton, if you like, of what we expect to achieve, but it does not appear to me that it is merely a skeleton. But I suppose, my mind fills it with flesh and blood and various other things which make a healthy body, and when I think of that, the variety of India's activities that will go to make up that result come up before me and I could talk perhaps sometimes not very relevantly but certainly continuously about so many aspects of this Plan because they have been all of interest.

Now, my colleague in the Sahitya Akademi Mamasaheb Warerkar,[4] spoke here with warmth and earnestness about the importance of song and dance and literature and other cultural activities.[5]

V.K. Dhage[6]: And the theatre.

1. Speech in the Rajya Sabha, 7 September 1956, *Parliamentary Debates (Rajya Sabha)*, *Official Reports*, Vol. XIV, cols. 3678-96.
2. S. Radhakrishnan.
3. T.T. Krishnamachari.
4. B.V. (Mama) Warerkar (1883-1964); eminent Marathi writer and journalist; founder-member, Marathi Progressive Writers' Association, 1936, and Marathi Journalists' Association, 1939; edited Marathi weeklies, *Dunia* and *Poornima*; nominated member, Rajya Sabha, 1956-64; member, Sahitya Akademi and Sangeet Natak Akademi for several years.
5. Warerkar complained that subjects like art, literature and cultural activities were not adequately considered, even though they were essential for executing the Five Year Plan.
6. People's Democratic Front Member from Hyderabad.

JN: And the theatre. Well, I entirely agree with him, as I agree with many other things, and I wish him all success and I should like to help him where I can, but then I am to pull myself back and to put that—not very important though—aspect of a nation's life to some kind of a perspective in the Plan. I do believe that all the material progress that we might make will be sadly lacking in real foundations if we do not advance on the cultural plane and in the cultural plane I include and give a very important part to song, dance and the theatre. I am not a person who wants individuals or our people to be deprived of the joy of life, to live dry lives, having no pleasure and wanting others to take no pleasure at all in life. Therefore, I am entirely with him, but I do not wish to discuss this matter now and take up the time of the House. I would say this, however, that during the last few years, since our Independence, it has rejoiced my heart to see the progress we have made, maybe we have not put up great buildings, great national theatres and the like, but I have no doubt that there has been tremendous progress among the people, and I have no doubt that this will bear fruit.

Now, again Dr Zakir Husain[7] and Professor Kabir[8] referred to various aspects, chiefly the educational aspect about which they know a great deal and much more than I do. But I do not propose to talk about education here. It is obvious that the more we can afford to spend upon it the better. It is obvious also that we can only spend upon it by spending less on something else, and we have to balance these things. But it is my belief that while education in India requires money, it is not the money aspect that is the most important but other aspects and I think that even without any large increase in our money allocations we can and ought to improve the quality and the quantity of our education.

Now, Dr Kunzru began his speech, I believe, by a remark which surprised me, that is to say, he dealt for sometime with his criticism of what he thought was Government's attitude, in regard to the dislike of criticism of this Plan.[9] I really do not know where he has got this idea from. I asked my colleague the Planning Minister.[10] He repudiated this allegation vigorously, but leave out what he said. What I say is: Look at the history of the past few years, how we have dealt with the question of Planning, whether it was the First Plan or the Second

7. A noted educationist and a nominated Member of the House.
8. Humayun Kabir, historian and Congress Member from West Bengal.
9. H.N. Kunzru, Independent Member from UP, stated that Gulzarilal Nanda had deprecated the criticism of this Plan while for proper functioning of democracy, it was necessary that government measures should be subject to criticism.
10. Gulzarilal Nanda.

Plan, whether it was the first preliminary plan or the second one, how we put it out for criticism for months and months and months or the Second Plan again put out for criticism before it was more or less finalized, and of the period in between—the amount of criticism we have had of this, the amount of criticism we have invited from India, all over the world you may say, has been prodigious, colossal, unprecedented and I am quite surprised that anyone should say that we discouraged criticism of this Plan. After that we are continually criticizing it ourselves, quite apart from others, for six months ago or thereabouts, when we had this Plan, more or less finalizing it in the present form, even then we said that there was no finality about it; we have to work according to some plan; we shall work, but we shall consider this. We shall revise it from year to year, periodically, and I am quite sure that, if we sit down today six months after, if we sit to write it, it will be somewhat different from what it was six months ago. The figures will be different, maybe other things will be different. There is no finality except the determination and final determination to go ahead. That is the finality and that is the determination by which we shall hold. There can be no finality about this, not only because of the numerous factors which change in India but also in regard to other factors outside India. Let us suppose that some developments take place, let us say, in regard to the Suez Canal. It may powerfully affect our planning. I hope no untoward development takes place and I am not hinting that it might take place. I merely mention that for this reason that, apart from other dangers, if our goods cannot come here, our machinery cannot come here easily, even the foodgrains that we have indented for cannot come here at the fixed time, well, we have to think again. We have to think again and maybe we have to revise every plan, maybe we have to take all kinds of special and emergency measures to meet that situation. We believe in a changing situation all the time, and I want this House to consider this always from a dynamic point of view, not static point of view, even this Plan.

Now, it would serve a little purpose if I started a discussion of the broad aspects of the Plan, not in the sense where this factory is put or that. We come to decisions after careful consideration, maybe those decisions might have been different if some wiser head was applied to it. But the main thing is, in discussing this Plan, the broad approaches, broad trends, and even in regard to those, we can and we should vary them when we think they should be varied. We have said that our objective is a socialist structure of society, and sometimes we have been accused of being vague about that, and sometimes we are told that we have stolen the phrase from others who consider it their monopoly. Now, I accept the fact that we have used that phrase vaguely and deliberately so, because we want to escape that horrible contingency of becoming slaves to our slogans and prisoners to all kinds of phrases, and we often find this happening to others. It is

a dangerous thing in a dynamic world to become just tied up as a prisoner to some phrases and slogans that we have been using. The world changes and we remain with the slogans left behind.

What is socialism? Well, I am not going to define it. But there are various aspects and my colleague, the Finance Minister, referred to a definition which has appeared in Mr John Strachey's recent book,[11] an interesting definition. No doubt, socialism certainly means an approach to an egalitarian society, equality of opportunity and the like, but socialism, I would venture to say, does not mean an equality in poverty, and an equality in a very low level of existence. I do not call that socialism. Socialism, the very word, practically came into existence with the coming of the Industrial Revolution. It came into existence when the capacity of man to produce more came in. Before that certainly there have been societies, well, even what might be called, societies of some kind of primitive communism; but nobody calls that communism because at that stage the level of the social framework was so low—the level of production—that nobody had anything; it was at a low level; nor when you talk about communism do you think of, let us say, the picture of some kind of communist society that the great Plato envisaged. You discuss these terms as they grow, not in their historical and dynamic concept. Socialism thus grew up with the idea of the Industrial Revolution. Marx came a 100 years ago and thought and wrote about the development of the Industrial Revolution in England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He was a great man, Marx, and everybody can profit by his deep thinking but am I to be told that what he said about 100 years ago about England, or 160 years ago, is going to apply to India or to any country? It is simply fantastic and completely unjust to Marx, if to nobody else. Marx is reported to have said: "Save me from the Marxists."

So, the position is that the idea, the whole conception comes in when a new factor comes into the world and I submit that this new factor came in 200 years ago, if you like 250 years ago, with the Industrial Revolution. Before that, the capacity for production in the world was so low that there was no possibility of any real advance on that material level. Well, advance did take place. When that came in—this rapidly increasing production—then one could envisage a measure of equality with higher standards and people began to think first about what was called some kind of a Utopian socialism, and then, what was called, the scientific socialism and the rest. The scientific socialism or Marxism, in a large

11. T.T. Krishnamachari suggested that the Members should read John Strachey's book *Contemporary Capitalism* (1956) to find "a more precise evolution of socialism in the modern context of events."

measure, is completely out of date today. Why do I say so? Not because of the ideas of Marx, but because things have changed. That very science about which he talked and the technological aspect which he considered, has changed in such a tremendously rapid way that the conclusions he drew do not apply today. Take the United States of America and the colossal apparatus of production that they have built up. Forget capitalism and socialism; think of it in terms of technology because it is technology that governs the picture, not these terms and phrases of ours. It is the development of that technology, the power resources and technology that has come up to the human being that has changed society. So, we may say that in order to use those power resources and that technology, this is a better method, the socialist method or the other method. That is a perfectly legitimate argument but the basic thing is the technological changes that have occurred and changed the world and the basic thing is, the Soviet Union after its revolution is concentrating on becoming something like America in the technological field because America was most advanced and they looked to America. They may not like America in other ways but they looked to America as the country to be followed in the technological field. Now, they have gone ahead, of course, very greatly. In fact, it was this industrial revolution, or rather if I may put it in this way, it was the use of higher techniques of production that first released humanity from the bondage of poverty. Or, it anyhow tended that way and people began to think on those lines and it is in the measure that man has greater power resources and higher techniques of production that we go towards equality in the world, not merely by cutting people's heads off and bringing them to a dead low level of existence. It is because of that that you might say that if properly used, technology is the most powerful agent for bringing about equality in the world. Equality, apart from individual regional equality, means that power can go easily from one place to another; it means that the Sahara desert can be converted into a garden because power can be brought easily, the technique of production and the one hundred and one things. I am venturing to mention these matters to put this conception of socialism, etc., in a proper perspective. To many of our friends, socialism appears to mean, say, a continuous process of nationalization of this industry and that industry. Now, undoubtedly socialism believes in the State owning the principal means of production in order to use them for the advantage of the public and so that they might not be exploited for private advantage. True, but the fact of nationalizing this industry or that industry does not mean socialism; it has to be seen in the larger context and larger perspective. It may actually, in effect, be harmful. For the time being when you do it, you do it whether it is profitable or not. We talk about capitalism and socialism and we naturally dislike and ought to dislike the big distances that exist in India between the very rich and the poor. It should

hurt every sensitive person. There is this element apart from other things. There it is and we should try and naturally our whole process and our whole approach should be to remove these disparities. Nevertheless, in the act of removal of those disparities, if we succeed in doing something which prevents our going ahead as a people, then we have not served the people or served the cause of socialism. If in the act of doing that the productive apparatus suffers, the wealth producing apparatus suffers, then we have done it in the wrong way. What we have done may be right but we have done it in the wrong way, producing wrong results. We deal with land and in India today we must remember, what do we aim at in land? I take it that we aim at in land small holdings, and peasant proprietors, whatever the size may be. It should not be much too small and uneconomic but anyhow that, of course, shows that the essence of private property is the small holding in land.

There is nothing socialistic or communistic about it. It is obvious. We talk about small industries, cottage industries and the like. That is the essence again of private property. It is not socialism or communism. But our conception of socialism or communism begins to attack some big industry. It comes to that. Does it not? We do not see the entire picture. Our whole picture is based on land, on small and cottage industries, or on private industry. Of course, that private industry you can turn in a particular direction, and you ought to turn it in a particular direction. I must mention that presently. So that when we talk about socialism, etc., we begin to think only in terms of what is called the big industry. As a matter of fact, the big industry in India is hardly developed. It is developed only in a very small way. It is big only when compared to the other puny things that exist in India. In fact, it is not big in any sense of the word as compared to any other country. We have got to make it big. Now, instead of setting about make it big, we spend all our time in knocking out some chimneys here and some chimneys there. I do not understand this logic at all of putting up a hundred more chimneys by the State or by anybody. Why should I waste my resources in going about getting a few odd chimneys and a few odd petty machines, and thus feeling satisfied thereby that I have nationalized this textile factory or that textile factory? If it is necessary from our economic point of view to do it, we shall certainly do it. But the main thing is to increase the public sector, and to increase it in regard to the basic and strategic industries which govern the entire situation, and to leave a field, not only leave a field, but encourage the private sector to function in the other fields. Our country has not got the capacity to take up every field today if we strike out all the private industry from India at the present moment, it does not mean that that is going to be replaced by the public industry all over. That does not necessarily follow. Some people seem to imagine that by a stroke of the pen we can convert everything private into public. And certainly,

it does not necessarily follow that the production will go up. We have to increase our production, and we have to increase the industrialization of our country. There is an enormous and a wide field, and a basic field, which can be set aside for the private industry. There is another enormous and important field which the State proposes to take in hand predominantly, though under certain circumstances, it will allow the private industry also to function. The House knows our Industrial Policy Resolution.[12] I do submit to the House that there is some vague talk about capitalists etc. Casting the blame on somebody and the cartoonist showing a man with a potbelly—a capitalist—absorbing all the money in India may be pleasing to us. But that is rather ridiculous, rather childish and puerile. Of course, there are capitalists who are social menaces, and of course, there are industrialists who have misbehaved, and perhaps will misbehave. But gradually, we are trying to build up, first of all, the structure of public sector—State-owned industries, State-owned banking system, State-owned insurance, and State-owned so many things—which is a basic structure and a steel frame which prevents, well, too much misbehaviour by a person who is capable of misbehaving. Secondly, we actually have other controls also over that matter. The public sector grows and grows, and we want this change to take place always, so that our productive apparatus expands and is not restricted. That is the main test, and I believe that it is not merely a question of resources, or of buying over and giving compensation. I believe that it is desirable from every point of view—even from the point of view of our public sector being kept up to the mark—that there should be a private sector functioning in the other domain. I want that competition between the private and the public sectors. Gradually, of course, as I have said, the public sector should, both absolutely and relatively, become bigger and bigger, and of course, occupying all strategic points.

Now, I think, Dr Kunzru referred to the Ambar Charkha.[13] Now, Sir, I want to make it fairly clear that there is on this subject, in our people, a variety of approaches in regard to the emphasis on this particular point. There is a difference of opinion in regard to emphasis. But basically, I do not think that any person is going to hold to the argument that we must carry on with lower techniques of production, unless there is some special reason or some special consideration to do so. The whole progress of humanity depends on higher techniques. We hold

12. The Industrial Policy Resolution of the Government of India was placed before the Parliament on 30 April 1956. For details see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, pp.372-79.
13. He said that it would be risky to depend on the Ambar Charkha for producing substantial quantity of cloth.

to that argument. We do not believe in lower techniques of production, whatever they may be. But lower technique become necessary for various periods, because the adoption of a higher technique might lead to certain social consequences. That is an entirely different position from accepting the lower technique as something essential. The lower technique is never good as compared to the higher technique, unless, of course, some human problem is involved. Therefore, we aim at using every higher technique. When we say that we shall use atomic power, well, that is the latest and the highest technique available to man, or likely to be available in the near future. That is not a low technique. You may be having textile mills and other things, but they are all things of yesterday, they are not things of today or of tomorrow. If the Ambar Charkha is a thing of yesterday, so the mill today will also become a thing of yesterday, because something else is taking its place. But the Ambar Charkha can play a very important part, provided it is technically capable of doing what is expected of it. And I believe, to some extent, it can improve things and it can play a very important part at the present juncture in increasing our production. But that does not mean—so far as I am concerned—that we should put a barrier to the production of cloth by other means. I am quite clear about that. Let us help the Ambar Charkha, and let us help the handloom weaver fully. But we have seen and we are seeing today also how this increasing cloth consumption—it is a good thing, of course, because it means, in a measure, increasing prosperity of our people, not of everybody, but of certain sections of our people, but nevertheless, it leads to higher prices and it leads to inflationary tendencies, if we do not produce enough. Restricting production merely to help a lower technique for a long time is not, therefore, a right policy at all, and I have no doubt about that.

Now, may I mention that I do not claim that our planning is, in any way, near-perfect. We are very conscious of its deficiencies. This is our second attempt. No doubt we shall improve from time to time. When I say 'we', I do not mean myself, but those who do it, and they, will certainly improve by experience. But it may interest honourable Members to know that a very eminent economist of Poland,[14] the other day, mentioned to his Government in Poland: "Why not follow the Indian example in the matter of planning?" Not entirely of course, because the conditions there are different. But he drew attention to our broad approach to planning. Why? Now, Poland is industrially a more advanced country than we are, in many respects. I am not comparing it, but as the House knows, there was some trouble in Poland some months ago, some industrial trouble, and the

14. Professor Oscar Lange was consulted for the Second Five Year Plan.

rest. Perhaps, it was due to overemphasis on industrialization at the expense of other factors. Whatever that may be, it was not for me to judge things there. But there was this imbalance there, as there has been in some other places. So, the whole process has to be adjusted in a balanced way. But it was an extraordinary thing for this very eminent economist of Poland—who had been here too, and who in fact helped us to some extent in discussing our planning programmes—advising his people and his Government to learn something from Indian planning although one would have thought that they are far more advanced, but in their enthusiasm, they had gone further ahead in one direction and therefore upset the balance. They will recover the balance no doubt. Now, the whole question of planning, apart from priorities, becomes an idea of the objectives to be aimed at, the distant objectives and the near objectives. It involves having some kind of picture in perspective, not of what we are going to do in five years but of what we are going to do in the next ten, fifteen or twenty years, and then gradually working towards that. Of course, the picture might change from time to time. In doing so, you have to see that your five year plans do not come in the way of that longer perspective and adjust them from time to time. What is the essence of planning? Of course, we want to have higher standards of living. That is our objective. It becomes a question of balancing the heavy industries with light industries, of capital goods with the consumer goods. All these balancing factors are vital to people's needs and people's growth. You have sometimes to deal with things in a somewhat restrictive way in order to allow for growth tomorrow, for a surplus. You have to balance all these things. If you deal with consumer goods, you may supply the needs of the public today but it is obvious that you do not advance at all, because you are not dealing with the capital goods, with the industries which are going to produce those goods tomorrow. We have to balance these various factors, heavy industries, cottage industries, agriculture, etc., in our plan. That planning has to be continuously adjusted; it is not a permanent plan. It will have to be looked into and adjusted this way or that way. For the first time in this Plan we have laid great stress, as the House knows, on certain basic industries being set up in India, steel plants, etc.,—machinery for making machinery. Without that, of course, we can have no industrialization at all. We cannot industrialize by buying machines from outside. In the course of this Plan we hope to set up machinery for making machinery so that in the subsequent plan, the Third Plan, we should be able to make, let us say, about 70 per cent of our steel in the country; I hope even more but I cannot say, at least about 65 or 70 per cent. Of course, we will be making other machines. I am talking of steel plants because it is a big type of machine. Small type of machines we are making. That is a very costly thing and a very difficult thing. Costly, of course, but the greater difficulty is having the men to work these. We must

always remember when we talk so much about resources in regard to money, that the resources in regard to trained manpower are far more important and far more difficult. Somebody said[15] the other day that you can put up a steel plant in a certain period of time. It requires double that to produce the metallurgists to run the steel plants. You can set up an atomic reactor in a certain period of time. It requires five times that period of time to produce the atomic engineer who can run that plant. So, the question of training people in this work is of far greater importance. Otherwise, you simply cannot do it. You have to import people from other countries and that is not the way to industrialize this country.

That leads to the question of manpower. More and more we are getting tied up with this question of manpower, i.e., trained manpower. All kinds of Committees have been recently formed to consider this. The Ministry of Natural Resources put up a special committee. I think, the Cabinet Secretariat is putting up some organization. The Planning Commission is setting up a special Division. We knew about it, but this whole question has come with rather tremendous force and suddenly, that if we do not get moving now, we shall not only not implement the Second Plan but we shall not be ready for the Third Plan even, because it takes time to train people. This is a problem of utilization of manpower. As a matter of fact, my colleague, the Minister for Planning and Irrigation and Power, who deals chiefly with engineers etc., has been thinking about his manpower needs. His committee has made certain recommendations. His committee or somebody else's committee have calculated that we will require 4,000 engineers per annum—3,500 or 4,000—and about 5,000 to 6,000 engineering diploma holders, 18 additional engineering colleges and 62 engineering schools, and so on and so forth. They have made all those calculations. We are again thinking that they are totally inadequate. It is extraordinary. If we compare it with what is happening in some other countries, it is really about a quarter of what other countries like India are doing. The question of resources turns more and more on the question of trained manpower that you produce and not so much on money, although money does certainly play an important part.

I now come to the question of food production. There has been some argument about it, and I think Dr Kunzru referred to the matter and criticized my remark that food production should increase even though more money will not be given to it. I want to make it clear that more money will not be given to it. When I say that, I do not mean minor adjustments and all that. What I mean is that, when

15. W.S. Barlingay, Congress Member from Maharashtra.

the Food Ministers from the states sit down and calmly say, 'we want Rs 110 crores more', with all respect to them, I say, well, they are not functioning on the practical plane at all. It is some kind of idealistic plane that they are talking about as if there is an inexhaustible supply of hundreds of crores of rupees to be doled out. It is my firm conviction that we can make very considerable progress on the food front without additional expenditure of money but with an expenditure of a little more brain power and muscle power, and it is this static habit of thinking that everything will flow down from the Central funds that has come in the way of our making much more progress on the food front than we do. I want to speak in terms of great respect of our state governments, because the burden falls upon them, but I shall have to say this that in most state governments, the poor department or portfolio of agriculture is considered the least important. Many other portfolios are considered much more important and more vital. I think, I would submit to them that they should begin to think that agriculture is of importance and of very vital importance. When I talk about the importance of our industrialization, of higher techniques, of heavy industries etc., in India, to be put up—and I attach great importance to them—I don't want the House to forget that our basic prosperity depends upon agriculture. I would go a step further, that our industrialization depends on the prosperity of our agriculture. If our agriculture is not in a flourishing condition, if our agricultural production is not geared up, we just have not got the resources to go ahead fast, quite apart from the other factors, quite apart from the food for the people, quite apart from the fact that we must not import food and spend foreign exchange, that of course is saved, but even apart from this, we want agriculture to have the surplus and the resources to go ahead with industrialization. Therefore, from every point of view it is of the highest importance that agricultural production should go up. When my colleague, the Finance Minister, talked about resources or other Members talked about them, the biggest resource is agriculture. If the average yield per acre in India goes up, let us say by about 30 to 35 per cent well, that means a vast additional sum of money for the country. Apart from the higher standards, it means greater resources for our industrialization programmes so that this, from any point of view, whether it is from the agricultural or from the industrial, the additional yield from agriculture is of the highest importance. How are we to achieve this? First of all, let us remember that our average yield in India is almost the lowest in the world.[16] Why is that so? I refuse to believe that the Indian cultivator does not know his job. Maybe, that he is using a bad

16. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 43.

plough, maybe he is using bad seeds. I refuse to believe that the land of India is bad. It is not. Why is it that we have come to this static condition of terribly low yields when every country, almost, if I may say so, from China to Peru or Timbuktu or whatever you like, yields more? Look at the picture in India a little more carefully. We have very high yields in places, as high as anywhere in the world. It is not that high yields cannot be obtained here. The highest yield in China is comparable to our high yields here. They are not higher but the difference comes in that their lowest yield is much higher than our lowest yield. The gap between their high yields and low yields per acre is not so great as in India. Therefore, because we can produce the high yields here, there is no reason why we should not increase the area of higher yield. I don't say the area should jump up to 200 per cent or 100 per cent. Even in India you can have very high yields in selected plots but there is no reason why the average yield of India should not go up by 30 or 35 per cent in five years' time. China is aiming at, I think, 8 per cent per year increase of yield on an average. It means about 40 per cent in five years. Now, we should think much more in terms of intensive cultivation not so much of fresh land etc. If we get fresh lands, well and good, but I would rather want the country's mind to turn to intensive cultivation because every little increase in the yield by intensive cultivation can be multiplied by millions and millions of acres immediately rather than your getting, let us say, 100,000 or 500,000 acres of fresh land. That is not so important to my mind. It is a very expensive process of heavy tractors and this and that. If that can be done, it can be done but I think, we should have concentrated much more in the past on this intensive cultivation rather than in reducing the jungle to cultivable lands. Now, we have instances, we know, it is no pure theory that where we have proceeded with intensive cultivation, we have got good results, certainly with the use of fertilizers. The use of fertilizer is good but dangerous. Too much reliance on the chemical fertilizer is not only bad, but I am quite sure, dangerous for the land as well as for the cultivator. It is an easy way of trying to get more out of the land for a year or two or three or four years. Therefore, they must think more of green manures and other types of natural manures which unfortunately we waste today. A tremendous advantage that China has got over us in this matter is that they don't go and waste an ounce of anything including human excreta or anything. There everything is used for this purpose. Unfortunately, our social customs comes in the way; not only about that, but with regard to all kinds of animals roaming about and eating up the crops and legislations are passed to encourage this business of more and more animals becoming wilder and wilder and eating up our crops. If we cared a little more in India for the human being, perhaps it would be good both for human beings and the animals. As it is, if you

go on caring too much for certain species of animals and less for the human beings, both will suffer.

So, in our Community Projects and National Extension Service schemes, naturally we have been dealing with agriculture—not that Dr Kunzru made a point of this but I want him to appreciate that the great emphasis in these projects has been and I think rightly has been, thus far on general development programmes, on enthusing the people, on making them feel that they have got to do these things themselves, and all kinds of things—building a road, building a school, a little hospital and so many things and also, of course, dealing with agriculture. That is, energy is being spread out over these aspects of rural problems. There is no doubt that that has yielded good results. It has enthused them. I don't mean to say that in all the vast number of projects that we have got—how many projects that we have got now, the latest figure is, there are 1,160 blocks of Community Projects and National Extension Service all over India and in the course of the next month or three or four weeks, we shall have 311 more blocks—all this will cover a population of 110 million in the villages, that is about a third of the population of India—I don't mean to say that all this area is developed in the same way. But it is true that the standards of development are relatively high—in some places it is very high—and that we have built up a magnificent organization which can take the message, any message that you give right down to the cultivator in these areas and these areas will increase, of course, and by the end of the Second Five Year Plan we hope to cover the whole of rural India. You have got this. Now, we propose to divert the attention of these Community Projects and National Extension Service blocks more to this intensive agriculture. But I wanted to make it quite clear that I attach the greatest importance to their continuing their other developmental activities. I do not want to make them feel that they are merely meant for the agriculture and not for other activities. But about 75 to 80 per cent of their attention and energy should go towards intensive agriculture. If that is done, I have not a shadow of doubt that the yield per acre in all those areas will increase very greatly. Even without this being done, the yield per acre is 25 per cent in the Community Projects in the last period. If it is 25 per cent then I see no reason why it should not go up by at least 10 per cent and become 35 per cent or even more and in some areas 40 per cent but one thing is essential and that is the closest coordination between the workers in the Agricultural Ministries and National Extension Service and Community Projects. Obviously, that is essential and I have a feeling that there has not been that close cooperation in the states. There has been some cooperation. After all, it is the states' responsibility. The states have to run the Community Project schemes. Usually the Chief Minister himself

takes interest in it. The Development Officer is the seniormost officer probably in the state. I am not complaining about it but I still think that the Agriculture Minister of the state has not taken that interest in the agricultural aspect of the programme there as he might have done. Now, it is necessary that this should be done and he should take that interest and the activity should be coordinated. Of course, it should be coordinated at the top here. Of course, they have been coordinating, but we have to coordinate them still further with the work of our Community Projects and National Extension Schemes and in the Food and Agricultural Ministries so that they may function together.

Another aspect of this—and an essential aspect—is the development of cooperatives, agrarian cooperatives. You can only carry on with your peasant farmers, I think, in the future, if you have cooperatives. I have no doubt in my mind that if you cannot develop cooperatives our peasant farmers will go to pieces. They will not yield the results that they have got to yield for the prosperity of the agriculturists or the good of the state. I say this with emphasis because I have heard it said that cooperatives or agrarian cooperatives do not suit the temperament of the Indian farmer. I do not understand this argument at all. Probably, it does not suit the temperament of the person who puts forward this argument, and that is why he has said so. I cannot understand it. You may as well say that planning for industrial development does not suit the temperament of the Indian farmer and therefore, we shall not have any advance. Or we shall not have any railway trains because they do not suit the temperament of the peasant. You don't say so and he does go in railway trains instead of in bullock carts if he can get a train. So, we have got to increase our agricultural production, thereby increasing our resources for the Plan, apart from the other things. We have got to do it through the states, agricultural departments being considered one of the most important and vital of the state departments. We have got to do it in close association with the other departments and with the Community Projects and the National Extension Service schemes. And of course, the Food and Agricultural Ministry at the top here is generally directing these operations. I would not give any figure for this increase, I do not know whether I should put it at 30 per cent or 40 per cent, but I think 30 per cent should be the minimum figure for our achievement; it should be more, if possible. And I do not think this requires any large additional sums of money. If we are making progress in that direction, I am sure some sums of money can be found, for when one sees good resulting and the thing actually yielding profit, then money will not probably be lacking.

Well, I do not propose to take up the time of the House any more. I should like to express my appreciation, as my colleague the Minister for Finance has

done, about the recent agreement with the United States of America[17] and what is called Public Law 480, in regard to agricultural commodities that we shall get from them on terms of payment in rupees and long credit etc., which are very helpful, from the point of view of foreign exchange. And as the Finance Minister has said, there are many things that we are getting in the shape of machinery from the Soviet Union or some other countries round about, for which we are arranging to pay in rupees, which is a great advantage.

So, we have tremendous difficulties to face in regard to resources, if you like, and even more so in regard to trained manpower. But oddly enough, the more progress we make the more problems and more difficulties we have to face. In fact, the measure of your progress is the measure of the difficulties that you have to face. And all I can say is that I do not feel nervous at all about the future of the Second Five Year Plan. Essentially, I say so. You may say and you can argue about it, because it is possible to argue either way about the future. Nobody can be certain about what will happen. We made this Plan with as much thought as we could give it, with as much consultations as we possibly could have. There were months and years of consultations, consultations with all kinds of groups, and panels, with individuals, and economists, engineers, educationists and planners in India. And with many from foreign countries, communists, non-communists, anti-communists, and all kinds of people. We are completely open-minded in this respect. And having consulted all these people, we came to the conclusion and oddly enough, many of those who came from abroad also came to the conclusion that—it was perhaps best to chalk out our own path and not to copy others. That is patent, because that is the scientific approach. In science you deal with the situation that you find, you don't deal with somebody else's situation. It is an unscientific way. It cannot at all be called the scientific approach. So, oddly enough, these experts and others who came from abroad, came to the conclusion that while we can, of course, learn from other people's experience, our problems are our own and we shall have to find our own solutions for them. So, we put forward this Report. Having finished that, the moment we signed that Report, immediately fresh vistas and fresh difficulties opened out for us.

17. An agreement between India and USA was signed on 29 August 1956 in New Delhi under the US Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, providing for supply by US of $ 200,000,000 worth of wheat, $ 26,400,000 worth of rice, $ 70,000,000 worth of cotton, $ 6,000,000 worth of tobacco and $ 3,500,000 worth of dairy products, mainly skimmed milk. The payment for the imports was to be made in rupees to the value of the dollars involved.

And we are beginning to think more as I said, of the fifteen years' perspective planning, because, after all, what is going to be the next step unless we are prepared for that next step? And that leads to all kinds of statistical approaches to this problem. Not that statistics is an infallible test, but after all that helps us and we are proceeding on those lines of perspective planning, manpower planning and all that. But inevitably, there are so many uncertain factors in all this and nobody can be dead sure. But in the final analysis, even a plan, and any major effort that one puts forth, is an act of faith and an act of faith fundamentally in the capacity of the Indian people. All I can say is that I have that faith in the capacity of our people, and it is in that faith tnat we should go ahead with it. And may I say that I do not dislike criticism. Far from deprecating criticism, we invited it. But there is such a thing as an attempt to create an atmosphere to deprecate that faith, to make the people doubt their own capacity, other people's capacity, to make an effort, rather to sneer at other people who are working, and that is not a good thing. I am not accusing anybody here, I am nobody here to do that. But I say some people take up that attitude. One of the major differences in the atmosphere that you might find in China and in India is this.

If you go to China, everybody will tell you, and rightly that the country is full of enthusiasm. It is so and one is impressed by that enthusiasm and the cooperative effort that is being put in but it is also so that no voice is or can be raised even in criticism of what is being done. Now, we do not want to suppress any voices because our system and outlook is different. It is so, nevertheless, there can be no doubt that creating enthusiasm in a country is tremendously helpful in a task of this kind and every person who comes in the way of that enthusiasm, who creates an atmosphere of discouragement, despair, doubt, really is striking a blow at the accomplishment of that task. Therefore, I would like to appeal to this House and to others to accept this; criticize it, do everything in a hundred ways but accept this major effort as an act of faith and let us all live up to it in that faith.

2. To Sri Krishna Sinha[1]

New Delhi
9 September 1956

My dear Sri Babu,[2]
Will you please refer to your d.o. letter No. 9869F dated 31st August 1956 on the above mentioned subject?[3]

2. Your first suggestion is that Central assistance should be given to the states in quarterly instalments and that 75 per cent of the amount debitable to the Centre on the basis of departmental figures should be credited to the state governments regularly every quarter. As you are aware, the bulk of the Central assistance for miscellaneous development schemes, for river valley projects and other major irrigation and power schemes is sanctioned by the Finance Ministry. I understand that in accordance with the suggestion made by the National Developmental Council at one of its meetings, arrangements already exist under which the Finance Ministry sanctions disbursement of loans in quarterly or other instalments if a state government makes a request therefor. The state governments can take advantage of this facility offered by the Finance Ministry and ask for advances of loan assistance in such cases. As you are aware, the scheme of Central assistance for other schemes is administered directly by other administrative Ministries and the adoption of the same procedure in the case of other schemes particularly those involving grants may not be free from difficulty. I am, however, having the proposal examined in the Finance Ministry so that genuine hardship, if any, caused to the states may be obviated.

3. As regards your other request, viz., all Central assistance should be channeled through the Ministry of Finance, I may point out that even under the existing arrangements the bulk of the Central assistance is channeled through the Finance Ministry. The proposition however, that all Central assistance should be channeled only through the Finance Ministry does not seem to be a feasible one at present.

4. It is true, as you have stated, that owing to increase in the size of the Plan a considerably larger portion of the entire outlay both on capital and revenue accounts during the Second Five Year Plan will need to be met by Central

1. File No. 17(93)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. Sinha had written about Ways & Means advances dealing with the availability of Central assistance for financing the Second Five Year Plan.

assistance. We are also alive to the fact that state governments may occasionally find themselves in Ways & Means difficulties in implementing the Plan. In such cases we generally take a sympathetic view of the Ways & Means difficulties of the state governments and are willing to give them necessary advances to enable them to overcome such difficulties over a short period.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To K.C. Reddy[1]

New Delhi
12 September 1956

My dear Reddy,[2]
Your letter of the 12th September, in which you tell me that the Burmah Shell Company have decided to give up the duty protection of two annas per gallon.[3] This is good. I have no doubt that the other refineries will follow suit.

I have little doubt that this gesture has been made because they know that we are now in possession of full information about their working, we have obtained not only from their public accounts, but from Sahni who joined Government service some time ago.

I have also little doubt that this is only a small part of the enormous profits they are making.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(205)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Production.
3. The Government of India had allowed Burmah Shell, Caltex, and Standard Vacuum Oil Companies duty protection of two annas per gallon in 1951. This decision would mean a gain of approximately Rs 2.2 crores per annum to the Government.

4. Constructive Discussion on Second Plan Necessary[1]

Mr Speaker,[2] Sir, in listening to this debate, and reading about it in the reports of speeches, I feel a little lost. And at the same time, there are many points raised in the debate, which are very helpful and which will no doubt help the Planning Commission and members of Government and others, to give further thought to certain aspects of this question. Now, I would like to be forgiven, if I do not deal with all those criticisms, because that would lead me in all kinds of directions, and I shall not be able to deal with them adequately. In fact, I am not competent to deal with all those adequately.

But what I would like to suggest is that the principal criticisms, constructive or other criticisms made, might well be discussed by honourable Members, who have a thought about those problems, with our Planning Commission and with the Ministries concerned. We shall gladly discuss them constructively, and see what improvements can be made, either in the Plan or in the working of Government in that particular department.

For instance, Shri Feroze Gandhi[3] spoke at some length about the working of the railways, which is one of the most important and vital undertakings in India. We shall welcome constructive discussion on that issue with members of our Railway Ministry or the Planning Commission so that we can try to get rid of those deficiencies or failings that were pointed out. After all, nobody here surely is interested in not getting rid of some obvious failing or deficiency in the working of Government or any of its departments. So, I would invite others too to discuss this matter in this way and offer helpful suggestions which might enable us to get rid of those difficulties.

What I would like to say is about something more basic. What exactly are we aiming at? I do not wish to repeat what I have just said in Hindi,[4] except to say that one of the lessons of history is that if we want to get rid of our country's poverty, we can only get rid of it through producing more wealth by our labour in this country, by the country's work. There is no doubt about it. You cannot get money from outside. Secondly, you can only produce much more wealth—some, of course, you can produce always—by adopting higher techniques. The higher

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 13 September 1956, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII, Part II, cols. 7126-7144.
2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.
3. Congress Member from Rae Bareli.
4. Hindi speech not included.

the technique, the more productivity is, that is to say, by adopting the methods and techniques which have come originally out of the Industrial Revolution and have been gradually improved by successive phases of that Revolution. That is to say, if we stick to old techniques, we may by hard work do some good. But ultimately, we cannot go very far. A man may work as hard as two men, if you like. He is a very strong man. He may work as hard as five men. But no man can work as hard as 1,000 men, and the modern technique gives a man the power of a thousand men. Obviously, you cannot compete with that. You have to adopt it in order not only to increase your wealth in the country, but, if I may say so, merely to survive in this world of ours today. It is a difficult world, not a very gentle world; it does not care too much for the weak. And you have to be strong, in mind, in heart, in character and in technique and in the modern ways of life. Otherwise, you go down. I have no doubt about it.

Now, that does not mean that we should give up our ways and just slavishly follow some foreign country, whether it is America or Russia or some other country, because I do believe that no country can really make good if it tamely imitates some other country, more especially, a country like ours which has withstood the storms and stresses of thousands of years, which has some, if I may say so, with all modesty, special virtue in it, some special basic strength in it, which has made it survive. We value that virtue and that basic strength. There is no question about copying anybody. But while we have to stand on our own soil firmly and not allow ourselves to be blown about this way or that way, we have to realize that we have fallen back in the race of man, that other countries have advanced. Other countries have explored nature's ways and understood nature, while we went about to our astrologers and palmists. They looked at nature and understanding nature's ways, got the power hidden in nature. What is all this, whether it is steam, electricity or atomic energy—these are all hidden powers of nature which phase after phase have been discovered by man, not invented, discovered. They are there. He finds them out.

And so because of that, the power in the hands of man has increased tremendously, a thousandfold, or if you take the atomic bomb, a millionfold. A man becomes, therefore, equal to 10,000 men.

Therefore, we have to understand these nature's ways. It is not a question of European or English, British or Russian. We have to understand nature's ways and profit by nature's powers, which America has done and which Russia has done. So long as we do not do that, we remain powerless and weak, and unable—apart from not being able to defend ourselves in case of need—to produce the wealth which will get rid of our poverty. That is the basic proposition.

Now, in dealing with all these wealth-producing matters, one has always to remember what the object of wealth is. First of all, what is wealth? When I

speak of wealth, I am not referring, of course, to gold and silver, currency notes and the like; I am referring to goods, what people require. Now, what do we produce wealth for? Surely, we produce it to enable human beings to lead decent and good lives. We do not produce it for some millionaires to accumulate and flaunt about. It is to enable every human being in our country to lead a good life, good in every way, to have every opportunity for growth etc. That is the object of wealth.

Therefore, the methods we use for the production of wealth should not be such as impair that good life. Otherwise, you have the wealth, but you do not have the human being to profit by that wealth. Therefore, the methods have to be not methods which demean or degrade or ultimately lessen the value of the human being.

Now, you have to see these balances. I have no doubt that the machine and higher techniques are quite essential. But I have no doubt also that I should not use the machine, if by its immediate use I create human degradation and human suffering; ultimately I do not—I am quite sure of it—but I am talking about the transition phase. In the transition phase, we have to balance, therefore, what might be called heavy industry, light industry, cottage industry, village industry and the like. Because our problem is a manifold and difficult problem which has to be seen in all its phases. We cannot see it in one way only, as some people, some enthusiasts do.

I think one honourable Member[5] opposite criticized this whole Plan on the ground that it had watered down the old Plan-frame[6] where there was some mention of some more heavy industry and machine-building industry and the like, and that has been removed and, therefore, there had been probably some kind of decrease, an attempt to water down the socialistic objective or methods first indicated in the Plan. I think, the honourable Member was very mistaken in her criticism. If there is one thing on which we have been laying stress, it is the development of heavy industry, the development of machine-making industry, the development of steel plants and the like, which are basic. She referred to the Plan-frame. The Plan-frame was an initial exercise in drawing up some of the basic features of this Plan. The figures in the Plan-frame, when they were examined, were found to be far out. That was nobody's fault, because at that time, the figures had been rather rough guesses. But when they were examined, they were completely out. So they had to be revised completely and the whole

5. Renu Chakravarti, Communist Party Member from Basirhat, West Bengal.
6. For the main features of Plan-frame prepared by P.C. Mahalanobis, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 29, p. 90.

texture of the planning became somewhat different, because the plans were different, but the strategy remained the same. It is the strategy that is important and the strategy of the Plan in the Second Five Year Plan changed considerably from the strategy of the First Plan. It was not in opposition to it; it developed, you might say. The strategy of the First Plan was, apart from the carrying on of the big schemes, what we had, it was essentially laying stress on greater food production which was highly important and which paid us dividends. I must confess now that it would have been of more advantage to us if in the First Plan we had directed our attention and activities more towards heavy industry. If we had built or tried to start a steel plant, then, it would have saved us much trouble and much money because the later you do it the worse it is. And that is why we are spending a vast sum today over three steel plants. It is an enormous sum for India. We do it because if we do not do it, it means a continuous drain on us of foreign exchange and money being sent abroad to buy steel and buy machines and the like. Steel is important before we start an industry; it is the basic want of industry.

The second thing is heavy industry itself; I mean not heavy industry but machine-making industry. We consider it most important. How to do it? I do not know how many Members are engineers here or who can think about it rather logically. I do not pretend to be an engineer. But I know it is a complicated undertaking and it is no good saying we should produce a big steel plant. It may be much more advisable for us to build parts of the steel plant in the various plants we have got and to develop them instead of having one composite structure. I do not know, it is a matter to be examined. Anyhow, what I wish to say is that we have attached the greatest importance to the building up of the machine-making industry. I think, we are likely to spend more money on it than is provided for in the Plan. I am not sure, I believe the estimates given to me are that by the end of the Second Plan we ought to be able to build 60 or 70 per cent of the steel plant in India.

V. Boovarghasamy:[7] In North India or South India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The safest place is Central India, I suppose. No one can complain. These are technical projects and I cannot argue here how to build a machine-building industry. All I wish to say to this House is that we attach the greatest importance to the setting up of a machine-building industry in India because if we decide to have machines in India, we must have the machine-building industry. We cannot go on buying machines from abroad and cannot rely on spare parts from abroad.

7. Tamil Nad Toilers' Party Member from Perambalur.

We attached the greatest importance to agriculture and food production. There has been a shift in the Second Plan towards heavy industry, a very big shift. But there has been no difference in our thinking about the vital and basic importance of agricultural production and more especially, food production, for a variety of reasons. One, of course, is an obvious one that it is absolutely fantastic for an agricultural country like India to have to import foodgrains. If we are neither industrially developed nor agriculturally developed, what are we? We simply go down.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya:[8] *Dhobi ka gadha.*

JN: The honourable Member has a vivid mind and speaks from experience so often.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya: And thereby hangs a tale!

JN: So, the first thing is we must provide enough food and other agricultural products for our people and for a growing population—quite enough. We have made great progress in the past and there is no doubt about it. And, our present troubles are not quite so serious, I believe, as they appear to be. It is true that for the last year or two we had very bad harvests that made a big difference. But oddly enough, the troubles are due to almost marginal differences. A little marginal difference in our present structure makes a difference for the prices to go up. But honourable Members know that already there is a tendency for prices of wheat etc., to come down, so that it is not so bad as people think. Anyhow, we have to produce enough food. It is not enough. We ought to produce a large surplus quantity of food and other agricultural products so as to make good the deficiency on the industrial side, so as to pay for what we import from abroad. Instead of paying for food we should pay in food for the machines or other material that we have to get from abroad. That is the only surest source of improving the wealth of the country that we can command. If we do enough of that it would make a difference. All these gaps that you see, the gaps that people lay stress on, the difference of Rs 800 crores or whatever the gap is supposed to be in our foreign exchange or other matters, all these gaps can be very largely covered, if we can increase our agricultural production. In fact that is the surest and easiest way of covering.

8. Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, Independent Member from Vijayawada.

Some people think that it is very difficult and it is rather absurd for Shri Nanda[9] or for me to talk about 40 per cent increase in five years or even 35 per cent. I have a great disadvantage that I am not an agriculturist. But, perhaps, that is not such a great disadvantage because I can apply a clear mind to the situation, not a mind stuck in grooves which finds itself unable to get out of these grooves. I find that the produce in India per acre is practically the lowest in the world. Why is that so? Surely, our peasants are fine people. It is not that they do not work hard. But why is it? Because they have fallen into evil ways, because their advisers have fallen into evil ways, because even our experts have sometimes fallen into evil ways. When I say 'evil ways', I am not talking about tractors and all that. That is modern mechanized agriculture. Not that but some other things like better seeds, somewhat better ploughs, better this and better that; everything that can be done, better manures, very simple things which each peasant can do, with a little help no doubt, and which can make an enormous difference. And the difference will be enormous because his produce is so low at the present moment. Even a little difference means 20 to 30 per cent progress.

You can say in another way that we have in India at the present moment production per acre which is as good as almost anywhere in the world—in selected places, not the average production, not one or two but a number of selected places, the production is as good as anywhere in the world. That is to say, we can do it, and there is no doubt about it. Maybe that particular selected place is not a good example because it was tended too carefully, and nobody can tend hundreds of thousands of acres in that way. Let us not take that. Take half of that and then the yield is double or treble.

Therefore, in theory or in practice there appears to be not the slightest difficulty except the difficulty of removing masses of human beings. Of course, it is a difficult proposition always. Take one, ten or hundred, you can do it; take a thousand, you can do it and there is no doubt about it. I repeat I am not talking about mechanized agriculture, I am talking about more or less our present—with improvements which I shall mention—agriculture with such things as better seeds, better manure, better implements, simple and better ploughs and all that, and a little more attention to some of the modern knowledge.

P.N. Rajbhoj[10]: Slum clearance and landless labour.

JN: If the honourable Member wants the slums to be cleared and converted into

9. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power.
10. Scheduled Castes Federation Member from Sholapur.

fields, his observations might be pertinent; otherwise it is not.

Another thing which, I think, is necessary, and in fact essential, is the development of cooperatives, agrarian cooperatives. Here we have a certain initial difficulty, that is in the sense that we cannot do it by decree; we have to get people to understand and agree to it. But I think, we can get them to do that, and we should try our hardest. The real difficulty always I have found is not in converting the peasant but in converting ourselves. If we are not convinced, how can we convince somebody else? And I find many people have grave doubts about their being able to put across to the Indian farmer this idea of agrarian cooperatives., If I may say so, I am quite convinced that unless you have agrarian cooperatives, the farmer will go to the wall—not everywhere in India, I mean—and it will not be a sudden process. But I say you cannot take advantage of many of the modern techniques unless you work on more or less large farms. You can have it if you like either large farms or large landholdings. I do not want that. The only alternative, therefore, is for the small farmers to come together and have a cooperative. That is the other alternative. Of course, there is no rigid size or pattern of the cooperative. In a country like India where climatic conditions differ and where the type of farming differs, all this will have to be adjusted, but the basic thing is that agrarian cooperatives are an essential thing to aim at.

How are we to do all this? Essentially, this is the business of the state governments, agriculture, I mean, with our Food and Agriculture Ministry helping them in every way as they have helped them in the past with money, this, that, advice and in other ways. But it is the job of the states administration.

I said the other day in the other House that the impression I have gathered—I hope it is not right—is that in our states, the Agriculture Ministry is considered a kind of poor cousin; it is not considered the most important Ministry.

P.S. Deshmukh:[11] During the last four years, the position of the Agriculture Ministries has improved considerably.

JN: I am glad with the persistent and insistent efforts of Dr Panjabrao Deshmukh, the position of the Ministries has improved. It is a most important subject—agriculture—obviously. Meanwhile, in the last three or four years, we have built up a rather remarkable and a rather, if I may use a very strong word, wonderful organization, and that is the Community Development Organization, both for the Community Project aspect and for the National Extension Service. At the present moment I have not got the exact figures here, but roughly, it covers a

11. Union Minister of State for Agriculture.

hundred million people in our rural areas, and that is a fairly large coverage. And this is increasing, of course, every year. This is not the coverage for show purposes. You cannot show several hundred thousands of villages; a few might be. In the process of the next few years it is intended to cover the whole of rural India with this organization.

The first thing I should like the House to appreciate is the organizational aspect of it. For the first time, we have built up an organization whereby in those particular areas which come within the scope of that organization we can reach from the top to the cultivator. There are links. The great difficulty in the past has been that by the Government of India or the state governments very fine decisions were taken and resolutions were made, but they never trickled down to the poor farmer. Sometimes vaguely they might have heard that printed circulars in the English language were distributed no doubt to various officials, and my friend, Shri Tandonji[12] would say: "How can you reach the farmer if you issue circulars in the English language?" Of course, you cannot and you did not. Really, Government functioned in an isolated way from the people who were working in the field or in the factory.

For the first time in our Community Development Organization we have built up a magnificent organization. I am not for the moment talking about the work that has already been done. It has been very good, and I can assure Acharya Kripalani[13] that he will find quite considerable measure of enthusiasm if he goes there—not quite, of course, equal to the enthusiasm for the things which he mentioned he saw and which are prevalent in this country where people get excited over old social customs but quite like a heartening degree of enthusiasm.

There are at the present moment—I wish I had the figures with me—about 1,50,000 people, *gramsevaks* and *sevikas*, and others working and we are training them. We give them a year's training. By and large, the *gramsevaks* and *sevikas* are a fine lot, earnest, enthusiastic, knowledgeable to some extent, and disciplined. They have done a very good piece of work. The Community Development Organization has been interesting itself in agricultural matters. That is one of its chief jobs. But now we want to turn its attention much more pointedly and aggressively towards this agricultural development and make it almost its chief function. I do not wish to deprive it of its other functions which are highly important because, to some extent, it is the other function that has given the tone to that organization and that has brought enthusiasm of the people. Therefore, the other functions are important but having built up that, we now want and we are turning it in this direction.

12. P.D. Tandon, Congress Member from Allahabad West.
13. J.B. Kripalani, Praja Socialist Party Member from Bhagalpur-cum-Purnea.

How can we do that? The first thing is that the Community Projects Development Organization should, here at the Centre, be brought in close touch with our Food and Agriculture Ministry. Secondly, it should be in the closest touch with the State Agricultural Ministries. There has been, in the past, a fair measure of cooperation between the Community Projects Administration and the Food and Agriculture Ministry—not that there has not been. But, we want to bring them much closer together so that they may think alike and work alike and push alike. I would appeal to the State Agriculture Ministries also to cooperate and to receive the cooperation and help of the Community Development Organization in the fullest measure and utilize this great organization. The Community Projects in the states are not worked by the Government of India or by the Planning Commission; they are worked by the states, of course. I have found that, although they are worked by the states and worked very well by the states—the Chief Minister is usually interested in this, the principal development officer is an officer of a very high degree and therefore one of the best—yet, in some of the states, subject to any recent change, the connection between their own development officer working in the Community Projects and their Agriculture Ministries, is not the closest. They work in different compartments. We want to remove that. I have not got the shadow of a doubt that if this marriage between the Agriculture Ministries at the Centre and the states and the Community Projects Administration takes place, the results will be very gratifying in the shade. The offsprings will be numerous.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya: Let us not mix up 'issues' after that.

JN: I think the honourable Shri N.C. Chatterjee[14] criticized the Planning Commission and he has said that the Planning Commission had three separate duties—planning, executing and then, I think, inspection. There is some confusion in his mind. The Planning Commission had no executive functions. Their chief function, of course, is planning, which means thinking, evolving plans and submitting them to the Government. That is the chief function. The Government may consult them. We do consult them about any scheme but that is a different matter. The state governments may consult them. But, they have no executive functions at all.

So far as inspection and appraisal are concerned, personally I think that it is not a direct function of the Planning Commission. They do not do it; they organize

14. Hindu Mahasabha Member from Hooghly.

it. After all, what do we inspect and what do we appraise? The implementation of the Plan in Madras or Travancore-Cochin or Punjab or whatever it may be is not being done by the Planning Commission. I entirely agree that it is completely wrong for the scrutinizing authority to be the same as the working authority; it is just like audit being given to somebody else and not to the person who does the work. It is important that some independent authority should appraise the work done. In regard to these Community Projects etc., the Planning Commission appointed an appraisal committee of which, I think, Prof. Karve was the Chairman.[15] He is an independent person. So, it was not the Planning Commission doing it. That Committee produced an excellent report of appraisal which many of the honourable Members might have seen. The Planning Commission may have many faults; it may require gearing up; it may require many things. But, this criticism, I submit, is not justified—the criticism made by Shri N.C. Chatterjee.

In this connection, I should like to say that this question of appraisal of work, the audit of achievement, is the most important. We do not do it properly. Previously, nobody did it; nobody thought of it. There was a good deal of argument about the Auditor-General and audit here. The Auditor-General is the most important functionary of the Government and the Constitution has given him a high place. But, the Auditor-General is not always competent to audit the achievement. He can audit the spending of money—whether it is rightly spent or wrongly spent. Suppose, it is a scientific achievement, only a scientist can audit it; if it is an engineering achievement, an engineer can do it and so on. Therefore, it becomes very necessary for us to organize this audit of achievement, whatever it may be called. I should like, along with that, a kind of statistical appraisal also. All this means that our statistical apparatus must grow. It is growing and we have the Central Statistical Institute.

Now, I come to another matter which I had referred to previously—that is the question of manpower, and more especially, trained manpower which is of the highest importance. I confess quite frankly to this House that sometimes very important matters, which we know to be important, somehow escape our attention and then, suddenly, we wake up to their extreme importance and try to catch up.

15. In fact, the committee to study and report on the Community Projects and National Extension Service was constituted under Balvantray G. Mehta in 1956. It recommended expeditious sanction of adequate funds for the Projects to enable their completion within the target date. And under the Chairmanship of D.G. Karve, the Planning Commission had set up in June 1955, the Village and Small Scale Industries Committee which recommended a separate Ministry at the Centre for Village and Small Scale Industries.

The question of manpower is one such. We really ought to have thought of it in much more concrete terms at the beginning of the First Plan, not at the beginning of the Second. Here we are. Of course, we vaguely thought about it and there is something in the First Five Year Plan Report about it.

Now, having come up against this basic difficulty, we are putting up machines, not having trained men to run them. We are putting up steel plants, not knowing who will take charge of them when they are ready. Remember, it takes less time to put up a steel plant than to train a man to look after it. We have to have much more men. We find that every estimate that we had made previously, of the number of trained engineers or trained this or that, so completely short. In fact, we can have as big an estimate we like; even then, it will probably fall short of the needs. We come to this conclusion that whatever estimate we may make about our needs in trained personnel, it is likely to be short.

Renu Chakravarti: What about the unemployed engineers and technicians?

JN: There may be one or two; I do not know. But, I should be very glad if the names of any unemployed engineers or competent technicians are sent to us; I shall be very happy. There may be some fractional unemployment, some difficulty, some human factor comes in, whatever it is. But, the fact is that we require more—not so much now, but a year later or two or three years later—when these big plants come up; we shall then require them by their thousands; it is not a question of a few.

Renu Chakravarti: The D.V.C. personnel are all technicians, but they were not taken over.

JN: Anyhow, we are at the present moment setting up a number of committees. First of all, in the Planning Commission we are setting up a division of the Planning Commission to deal with statistics and manpower and one or two other matters. Secondly, we are setting up a committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research also dealing, specially with scientific, including engineering etc., manpower. These two will closely coordinate their activities. Thirdly, I believe that there is some kind of a 'Manpower Directorate' which is being considered.

Renu Chakravarti: Skilled, unskilled or both?

JN: Obviously, all these things are for skilled. You do not keep records of unskilled people. You want employment for unskilled people, I understand, but you do not

keep a kind of record of their training and all that with a view to see where to fit them in.

Renu Chakravarti: I raised this question because the whole of the D.V.C. personnel are skilled, but they are being thrown out. I cannot find an answer to that.

JN: I do not think they are all being thrown out. I think, nearly all of them will probably be absorbed elsewhere. Anyhow, we are taking steps and we are thinking about it. We cannot do that with everybody, but certainly the scholars—our scholars—who go abroad, we offer them, subject to their passing their examinations, assured employment when they come back. If they cannot get jobs immediately, nevertheless, we keep them on our rolls at least and send them to some factories or somewhere till they get jobs. So, these are the various approaches that are being made.

If I may refer back to what I said right at the beginning, the enormous changes that have taken place in the world, and are taking place, require a fresh mental approach to all our problems. We require all the new minds to understand the new world which is growing up around us. That new world is a highly scientific, technical and technological one. I would be the last person to suggest that in paying attention to these various matters—scientific, technical and technological—we should ignore or lessen the importance of cultural and spiritual values. I do not see any conflict between the two. In fact, I think it has little to do with culture for any person to tell me to stick to some outworn custom which has no place today. Certainly, there are basic standards and basic values which may be said to be timeless. Undoubtedly, those we must adhere to. But every odd old custom which has no relation to facts or lives today is really a degradation of culture today. Therefore, we have really to develop a basic cultural climate in this country which suits all this that we are going to do, that we intend to do. If we do not develop that climate, then whatever we do, we may do it well, but it really is not integrated in our lives; it is something added on, if you like. It is an annexe, something separate and added on as if—how shall I put it—we may put up some kind of a factory, we may travel by a railway train or go in an aeroplane. But there you sit in it and your mind and your habits might belong, well, possibly, to some age, possibly a few hundred or a few thousand years ago. That is the type I call "something being added on" and not being integrated. We have to develop some kind of an integrated culture; that is, standing on the soil of India with all that we owe to India, retain that tremendous thing that we owe to India and taking all that that scientific advance has brought us.

And, scientific advance is not a monopoly of Europe, America or Russia. It is

something belonging to the world. It is something in which, in a certain measure, our own scientists have taken part and in which, I think, in future our scientists will give even greater results. It is a common property of mankind. So, we have to develop this scientific temper, understand it, develop it, integrate it with our own basic culture and thus have this integrated culture.

Now, we have been talking about this Second Five Year Plan, about finances, resources and so on and so forth. We have talked about prices going up or down, about the possibilities of inflation and all that. There are so many factors outside our control, and we have to adapt ourselves to things that happen elsewhere. In regard to prices going up, we think of our prices, but think of prices going up in other countries. They are outside our control. If we have to buy a machine and if the price of that machine goes up what are we to do about it? We buy it or do not buy it; we pay the new price or do not pay. So, we have to suffer for inflation in other countries, apart from any tendency to that here. And that is again another reason why we should somehow, as rapidly as possible, get out of this dependence on foreign countries. We can only get out of dependence, to a large extent, when we have built up our own heavy industry and light industry—heavy industry being the basic industry and after that will come the light industry; otherwise we will continue to depend and will have to pay fancy prices. When something happens there or some upset takes places we suffer for it.

Only today news came about a certain development in the Middle Eastern regions between Europe and Asia in regard to the Suez Canal.[16] Now, none of us can say what further developments might be. We hope for the best and try to be optimistic. But it is folly to ignore the grave dangers that face the world in this region and to forget that it is not that region only that is affected if any conflict occurs but other regions are affected, India is affected, our Second Plan is affected and so many other things I think. So, this dark shadow again begins to hover over us and it is not in our power to remove, to do anything today. We try our best. Sometimes, it may be that we succeed to a small extent in influencing events but obviously, we cannot shape world's destiny. We have to suffer for what happens in the world and we have to prepare our minds here and now to any possible developments and to see that we stand up to it and maybe, shoulder heavier burdens because of these developments and yet carry on with the Second Plan, because it is only in that way that we escape future disasters and burdens.

16. See *post,* pp. 399-403.

5. To T.T. Krishnamachari[1]

New Delhi
15 September 1956

My dear T.T.,
I have just written a note to you about the Kolar Gold Mines[2] and, with this, have sent you some papers that Secretary, N.R. & S.R.,[3] had sent me. I now see your letter of the 15th September.

Broadly speaking, I entirely agree with the proposition that the compensation that we pay should be fair, at least in our opinion. Reading B.K. Nehru's note,[4] it does appear that the old calculations were not adequate. Let us then have a fairer basis for calculation. It appears, however, that this basis is largely a matter of choice for us and no firm rule might apply. However, the various factors can be taken into consideration, and some odd figures arrived at.

I agree that it would not be right for us to save a few lakhs at the expense of the ill will of the British people, also to lose the services of John Taylor & Company in managing the Mines. What exact figure we should arrive at, partly depends on our own views and calculations, and partly on what we can get John Taylor to agree to, within reason.

B.K. puts two questions: (1) finding the necessary finance and (2) making a settlement which is considered politically possible.

In regard to the first, B.K. suggests that we should lend Mysore the difference between the two figures. Would it not be better for us to have a share in these

1. File No. 17(11)/56-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Situated in Kolar district of Karnataka, the Kolar Gold Mines were started in 1885 by the John Taylor Company of London. In 1955, the Government of Mysore nationalized the Mines. It was agreed that the Government would take over all assets and liabilities of the Company for a net payment of Rs 1,6400,000. On 29 November 1956, the management of the Mines passed from the control of John Taylor Company to the Government of Mysore. Finally, on 1 December 1962, the Kolar Gold Mines were taken over by the Government of India.
3. R.K. Ramadhyani.
4. B.K. Nehru, the Secretary in the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, commented in his note of 14 September 1956: "if the Mysore Government feels it is unable to give fair compensation for local political reasons, the Centre would be justified in advising the President to refuse assent to a measure which went contrary to the expressed policies of the Union Government and to the repeated assurance of its Prime Minister."

Gold Mines to the extent of the money we give? Anyhow, I suppose that there is not much choice about it. We have to give the balance whether we lend it or take a share for it. This business has gone much too far to be dropped. That would certainly create difficult political consequences in Mysore and, to some extent, even for the Government of India. If, therefore, we have to go ahead with this nationalization, we have to find the money that is needed.

I do not quite understand what B.K. means about the settlement being politically possible. Does he mean that the Mysore Government will not accept it or that the public reaction in Mysore or in the rest of India would be embarrassing for us? So far as the Mysore Government are concerned, they are likely to accept almost anything if the Government of India pay the difference, either in the shape of a loan or otherwise. So far as the other public reaction is concerned, in the sense that we have paid more than we need have, we should be in a position to justify by facts and figures what we have paid. I do not think local political reasons should come in the way if otherwise we are satisified.

I think that you should not hesitate to show B.K.'s note to the Mysore Ministers as also to Reddy.[5] Don't give a copy of the note to the Mysore people.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Production, belonged to Kolar district.

6. To Swaran Singh[1]

New Delhi
13 October 1956

My dear Swaran Singh,[2]

I saw some papers from the Planning Commission today in regard to the expansion of the rayon silk industry. I do not remember having seen this previously. I presume they originated from your Ministry or from its predecessor, the Ministry of Commerce & Industry.

In these papers the question of the extra foreign exchange involved was considered. In fact, this was practically the only question considered. This is no doubt an important aspect. When we are so short of foreign exchange, should we permit it to be spent on the expansion of an industry which can by no means be called essential and which is in the nature of being a semi-luxury industry.

I have no objection to rayon silk or art silk. But it is something we can easily do without. On the one hand there are our cotton textiles and on the other there is the real silk which we produce and which is no doubt more expensive. In fact, rayon silk will come in the way to some extent of real silk.

I think that these questions should not be considered in isolation. Nobody can be opposed to the expansion of rayon silk if the question is considered by itself. But, in planning, we have to deal with these matters keeping in view all the other aspects. Here we are hard put to it to find foreign exchange, apart from domestic finance, for our heavy industry programme or for our oil developments or for drugs etc., which we consider essential for development. Can we rather casually encourage a consumer industry of this kind at the cost of more important matters we have undertaken or we hope to undertake?

The whole point is that there must be some unity of purpose in our approach to planning.[3]

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, and Commerce and Industry.
3. V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, informed Nehru on 15 October 1956, regarding the 17 October meeting in the Planning Commission on this issue.

7. Importance of Cooperatives[1]

Ajit Prasadji,[2] brothers,
I do not see many women here, there are a few. Yes, there are one or two.

I wanted to know who all the people assembled here were. I know many of you for you are my colleagues. But I wanted to know about the others who have come from all over the country, what their professions are and why they are here. So, I came to know that most of you have been associated with the cooperative movement and are experienced in that field. I have not had any formal relations with the cooperative movement except in a purely academic way. I have been interested in it and read and written a little about it.

So, it will be somewhat meaningless for me to talk in any great detail about the cooperative movement.[3] But there is another aspect to it. Cooperatives have been established all over India for a long time and there is no doubt about it that in some places, good work has been done. People have worked very dedicatedly. But inspite of all that, enough has not been done. There is no doubt about it that it has made very little impact on India. Books, pamphlets and reports are

1. Speech while inaugurating the National Cooperative Development and Warehousing Board at the Central Hall of the Parliament House, New Delhi, 7 November 1956, AIR tapes, NMML.
2. A.P. Jain, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture.
3. The cooperative movement in India was initiated in 1904, when following a report by Frederik Nicholson, a Madras civilian, the Cooperative Credit Societies Act, a measure designed to combat rural indebtedness, was passed providing for the formation of credit societies only. In 1912, another Act was passed to provide for non-credit forms of cooperation in production, insurance, housing etc. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, cooperative became a State subject. However, the Government of India continued to be interested in the movement and, in 1946, the Rural Banking Enquiry Committee recommended that the Reserve Bank should provide greater assistance to cooperatives.

published for show. But if you ask what the impact on thirty-five crores of people in India has been, it is quite clear that it is almost nil.[4]

What have we achieved in India in this period? We have held conferences and published reports, established some credit societies and satisfied ourselves that we are doing cooperation. I cannot understand this. This has never been my idea of cooperation. I want to point out that the first thing to be understood is that the method that we have been following so far was wrong and useless. That is the first thing.

Now, I am venturing to talk about something which you know more. But I am judging it merely by the impact on millions of people in India. There is only one yardstick for me to gauge this and that is the impact that has been made on 80% of India's population, the peasants and others who are dependent on land. From that yardstick it is obvious that it has made very little impact except in some corners here and there. I agree that it is beginning to make a greater impact now. But the problem is that though the methods of administration that we learnt from the British have their good points, they are too time consuming and it takes ages to complete a job. Now, life is very short in this nuclear age. It is very frustrating to work at a slow pace.

Secondly, on the one hand our pace is so slow and on the other, the population is increasing so rapidly, creating innumerable social problems which can submerge us. It creates revolutionary conditions in the country. So, our thinking must also change. The first thing to be clear about it is that the method which we have been following so far, inspite of all its good points, is irrelevant for India and too slow. There is no vitality in it. So, first of all, we must adopt a new way of thinking and working, new ideas and greater speed, towards cooperation.

The rules and regulations governing cooperative societies are such that when someone wants to start a cooperative very often the officers in charge try to create obstacles. It is really strange. They quote rules and laws, point out various conditions which have not been satisfied and in short, make it difficult for an individual to make any progress. It is possible that I am exaggerating. I do not have much experience. But I do get reports and occasionally, I have been involved in starting some cooperatives. So, I was amazed when something that I felt should have been done in twenty-four hours took nine months of correspondence and was still not accomplished. Then I said—to hell with these cooperative rules and regulations.

4. The total number of primary agricultural credit societies in India in 1950-51 was 1,15,462 with a membership of 51.54 lakhs serving 10.3 per cent of rural population. In 1955-56 the figures rose to 1,59,939; 77.91 lakhs; and 15.6.

Let me tell you my experience in the matter about Punjab in particular. I want Choudhary Saheb[5] to know what I think of the cooperative laws in the Punjab, specially I do not mean the people of the Punjab. I think that the laws governing the formation of cooperative societies in the Punjab are absolutely useless with umpteen rules and obstacles which make it impossible for anything to move.[6] For instance, if you buy a motor whose engine has innumerable brakes, it cannot move at all.

Another thing which we inherited from the British is the breed of officials. We are slowly getting out of it though we have not done so completely yet. During the days of British rule, everything was in the hands of officers and bureaucrats. The common man was considered to belong to another world and had to go to them for everything. But there were innumerable obstacles in the way including a long hierarchy of officials and then peons. It is only after going through all these personages that an individual could meet the high official by which time he would lose heart completely. The official would talk to him pompously which would further drain all his enthusiasm.

Things have changed considerably since then. I am telling you what it was like in those days. The complexion of the cooperative movement also felt the impact of clericalism. There were great barriers between the common man and the cooperatives. It is obvious that no popular movement can function in this way. Five year plans too cannot succeed by bureaucratic methods. The cooperative movement in particular has nothing to do with officials except to the extent that they can guide and advise. They should have a low profile. The cooperative movement is something which needs spontaneous vitality. It is the job of the officers to mould the programme, guide and advise, and give it a sense of direction. But they must not run the whole show. The moment it is directed from the top, with the Government of India and the state governments and officials playing a major role, the scope for the common man to do his bit becomes less. The entire complexion of the programme changes.

Ajit Prasadji mentioned what has happened in China.[7] China has done some excellent thing though there are other things too which we do not like. Our method is different. But we must learn whatever we can from them. There are some points of similarities between India and China. Both are vast in size and

5. Choudhary Brahm Perkash.
6. Nehru had written to A.P. Jain on 15 October and 2 December 1952 on this subject. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 19, pp. 164-165 and Vol. 20, p. 197.
7. Ajit Prasad Jain pointed out that China had achieved great success in cooperative farming and expressed the hope that cooperative societies would grow in India as in China.

population, and predominantly agricultural countries, at least at the moment.

We cannot compare India with the United States, England, Germany and the Soviet Union. It is obvious that we can learn from all of them. But their conditions are different. For one thing, their populations are not so large. Secondly, they are not predominantly agricultural countries like India. They have laid great stress on industries. In fact, agriculture has also become an industry. Moreover, the land and man ratio is quite different from what it is in India. For example, the Soviet Union is five or six times as large as India with a population half the size of ours. So, some of the methods that they have adopted for agriculture may be relevant for their conditions but totally unsuited to ours. In India the number of human beings dependent on land far exceeds the amount of land available. So, we have to look at our problems from a different angle. Ultimately, whatever programmes we draw up here have to take into account human beings and their welfare. It is not enough to draw up plans on paper or set targets for production while people starve to death.

So, we can learn from other countries. But we must bear in mind that our problems are somewhat different from those of the industrialized nations. It is possible that the complexion of our problems may change in the years to come. As far as China is concerned, though they have adopted a different path, there are great similarities between them and India. With a huge population, the majority being dependent on land, the size of the land-holdings is extremely small. It is amazing how they manage to produce anything. So, in that sense, our problems are similar and we can learn from them. But ultimately, we have to find the solutions to our problems ourselves because no two countries can be exactly alike. Moreover, China is a communist country and there are differences in climate and other things. But the fundamental thing is that the number of people dependent on land is far in excess of the available land. One solution is to channelize the manpower into industries to ease the pressure on land and step up the production of basic consumer goods in the country. That has to be done. One of the features which distinguishes a poor country from an affluent one is the number of people dependent on land and agriculture. If the number is too large you can say without any hesitation or looking at statistics that it is a poor country. India is in that category.

What is the other solution? We cannot allow the old system of *jagirdari* and *taluqdari* in which the landed gentry lived off the labour of the poor hardworking peasants. It cannot be tolerated either on principle or by the norms of the modern age. If it is allowed to continue, it will lead to chaos and revolution and the people would be justified in doing so. If we found ourselves in their position, we would also do the same. We must try to put ourselves in the other man's shoes. Many things which happen in India are pretty intolerable. If I had been in

the other place, I would have rebelled. It is a different matter that as the Prime Minister I have to control myself. Moreover, violence does not yield any fruitful results. I am trying to show you why it is necessary for us to understand the emotional anger and frustration of others. There is anger against one's own hardships but they can be alleviated. But there is a greater degree of anger against those whose eyes are deliberately closed and they refuse to see beyond their nose. Content with their lot, they refuse to understand the difficulties and problems of others. This creates great resentment and rightly so.

These are the social conditions in the country over which we have no control. There is only one solution and that is to make an effort to remove the present ills. We must expand industries, etc. But as far as agriculture is concerned, firstly, we have to increase production of foodgrains, through greater effort and by sweat and toil. We cannot sit back and declare that it is beyond us. Those who fail to do so will fall flat on their faces.

Ajit Prasadji mentioned the dangerous times we are passing through. In the last two-three days, the world has suddenly come to the edge of a big war.[8] A war in this nuclear age can lead to total destruction. If a war did break out, what would happen to our food situation when we are having to import foodgrains? Anyhow, last night we got the news that the situation is under control. But we are living on a razor's edge these days. We cannot continue to sit in our offices producing reports. It is a dangerous world and unless we are fully prepared, we can easily go under.

So, the most urgent priority is to step up food production in the country even if we have to face great hardships. If others can do it, why should we not be able to? If there are obstacles in the way, we must remove them, whether they are old traditions and customs or new difficulties. I am not prepared to accept it if someone says it cannot be done.

It is obvious that we can solve our problems only by enlisting the cooperation of the common people because it is they who will do the work. It is the farmer who has to understand. My experience of the masses in India is that they are extremely intelligent provided things are explained to them in a friendly way and demonstrated practically. If officials go in their ties and collars, they cannot get their confidence. I have no objection to the western dress. But to talk to a farmer, you have to dress simply.

I remember I used to go into the villages forty years ago in my western clothes. They used to come out of affection. But once I changed my style a little, there was a great difference in our relationship. Now that they know me, they may not

8. On the issue of nationalization of Suez Canal.

mind any dress I may wear. What I am saying is not insignificant. Officialdom will not work with the farmers. Take the example of Mahatma Gandhi. Not that I want everyone to switch over immediately to loin cloth. But you must at least try to understand the thinking behind it. If you have something to tell them, you have to capture their hearts and minds instead of behaving pompously. You can teach them a great deal if you win their confidence. No great tasks can be accomplished in India without the cooperation of the people on a large scale. We have a long way to go quickly.

Now, as far as land is concerned, it is possible to set up big farms taking advantage of science and technology and increase production phenomenally. But we come round again to the problem that there are too many people for the available land. It is impossible to achieve something at the cost of human beings and inflict greater hardships upon them. Ultimately, our goal is the betterment of the masses. We cannot have large landholdings by depriving the small farmers. It would become a thorn in the flesh and a source of tensions. So, whatever policies we adopt will undoubtedly see to it that nobody owns very large farms. It is a different matter as to where the laws draw the line. But we cannot allow a few landholders to have vast acres of land.

Once we adopt this line, the danger is that we cannot benefit fully from science and technology. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt the method of cooperation and get 20, 30, 40, 50 or 100 farmers together to do joint farming. I do not mean merely for credit but regular agrarian cooperatives. Each member will be an equal shareholder and there is no doubt about it that the income will increase. Once it has been experimented with and succeeds, others will follow suit. Cooperation is not something that can be forced down the throats of people. But once it is shown to yield results, you will see how quickly it catches on. I am fully convinced that in a sense agrarian cooperatives are absolutely urgent and imperative and an all out effort must be made to form them. I am aware that many people in India are opposed to cooperatives. They are all great individualists who could not care less about their neighbours. But if we cannot do this, we will have to give up all thoughts of a better future. It is not only a question of land but the entire structure of government and society stands to benefit by the system of cooperation. Gone are the days of individualistic enterprise. We cannot continue to adhere to outmoded habits in the 20th century and if we do, we shall definitely be ruined. I want you to understand this. I am convinced that there is no alternative to agrarian cooperatives. The only alternative is collectives which are even more drastic. If we do not succeed in agrarian cooperatives nobody knows what forces may propel us even beyond that and that will certainly create problems.

The Board that is being constituted has great responsibilities of warehousing

and what not. I will not go into all that for you will undoubtedly take them up. But I want to lay stress on one thing in particular. I shall repeat that the entire cooperative movement must put down roots in the villages. They must be helped. But it must be borne in mind that it is the responsibility of the villagers to make the cooperative a success. I am prepared to accept their mistakes. They will learn from them. Arrangements must be made to see to it that they are not costly mistakes. But it is only by handling responsibilities and shouldering burdens that they will gain experience.

I have outlined a few broad general facts. The problems are enormous. As you know, we are laying stress on heavy industries under our five year plans. Huge steel plants are coming up. But the fact is that our most urgent priority is to step up food production for that is the base for all our industries. If the foundation is not strong, the heavy industries cannot take off. Therefore, agriculture is our number one priority and nothing can change that, no matter how many other things we take up. This is a great responsibility of yours.

Well, you have invited me here. You are constituting a Board. I want you to tell others about these things with a missionary zeal and convert those who drag their feet or hesitate. I have no doubt about it that we will definitely succeed if we go about it in the right way.

II. SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL MANPOWER

1. To T.T. Krishnamachari[1]

New Delhi
1 September 1956

My dear T.T.,
You sent me, with your letter of the 30th August, Hilliard's report on manpower.[2] I think, this report should be sent to some of our other Ministers also. There is a strange lack of perspective in regard to this subject.

I do not know what the Home Ministry are doing now. But I do not think they are in a position to think of the future. This requires a very careful examination of all our plans in a comprehensive way. No Ministry, by itself, can do it. The Irrigation & Power Ministry has done something in this connection in regard to the engineering personnel required by them. But, as Hilliard[3] points out, their estimates are likely to be very wrong.

Last year I agitated for the extension of the Roorkee Engineering College, so that it could take in more people.[4] It was fully equipped to do so and it was much cheaper for them to take another 100, as they had the necessary equipment or nearly all of it. I was actually told that it would be difficult to absorb these additional people later. Anything more absurd, I cannot imagine.

1. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. At the request of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, J.F. Hilliard, a manpower consultant from the USA, studied manpower plans and problems in India and submitted his report on 28 August 1956 to the Ministry. He pointed out that there had not been adequate organizational arrangements and the manpower planning had been uneven even in important areas. Further, he suggested a national training policy, and stressed the need for more and better qualified engineers, scientists and skilled craftsmen.
3. John F. Hilliard (1912-2004); a leading expert on manpower planning from the USA; worked with the US Employment service and the War Manpower Commission; taught personnel administration at the Southern Methodist University, 1947-49; Manpower Adviser to the Indian Government, 1956-57; retired as Director, US Agency for International Development in 1973.
4. During his visit to the University of Roorkee in November 1955.

I think that this requires both a practical and statistical approach, keeping in view not only our Second Five Year Plan but future plans. Essentially, it is a statistical matter. I have suggested to the Planning Commission to open a Manpower Division where this work can be done and that this should be under Mahalanobis.[5] In fact, we asked Mahalanobis to do this early this year, but he did not have the material.

I shall send Hilliard's report to some of our other Ministers and possibly some of the Chief Ministers also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. P.C. Mahalanobis, member of the Planning Commission.

2. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

New Delhi
1 September 1956

My dear Maulana,[2]

. . .2. This question of giving technical training to our people has assumed a much broader aspect. The more we consider it, the more far-reaching are its implications. I have received a report on manpower in India's development plans from an expert in manpower, Mr J.F. Hilliard. I enclose a copy of it. You will see from this how important it is that we should, from now onwards, think of not only the immediate future but the distant future. As Hilliard points out, it takes much longer to train a good metallurgist than to build a steel mill and five times as long to produce a nuclear engineer as to build a nuclear reactor. Therefore,

1. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Union Minister for Education, and Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

unless we plan our training schemes carefully now not only for the Second Five Year Plan but the Third and possibly the fourth also, all our work will be hung up for lack of trained personnel.

3. This training and organization of manpower personnel has to be planned on a comprehensive and integrated basis. It cannot be done by separate Ministries functioning in their own spheres. We shall, therefore, have to set up a special organization for this purpose.

4. I have received some notes from the Cabinet Secretariat. I am enclosing these. Among these papers is a particular note on the problem of technical manpower where some suggestions are made, which deserve consideration.

5. Even apart from this, it has seemed to me that the approach to a manpower organization has to be on a highly statistical basis, taking into consideration all our future development plans. Because of this, some months ago, we had asked Professor Mahalanobis to undertake this work, but not much had been done so far. I have now suggested to the Planning Commission to start a new Division for this specialized work under Professor Mahalanobis's direction.

6. I think that these questions require very full consideration by the Cabinet. I am asking the Cabinet Secretary[3] therefore to circulate the relevant papers to all Cabinet Ministers and to put up this matter before the Cabinet on a convenient date. This relates to the larger question.

7. Immediately we have to deal with this German team[4], that is coming here, and get ready for it. I would suggest to you again that immediate steps should be taken to set up an ad hoc committee for this purpose, as suggested by me previously.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Y.N. Sukthankar.
4. A German team was coming to India to discuss the German offer to set up a technological institute in India and for scholarships for Indians.

3. Utilization of Technical Manpower[1]

I have received your note of the 1st September about the proposal of the German Government to set up a technological institute in India.[2] Also about the scholarships offered in Germany.[3] I have written on this subject to the Education Minister more than once. I am now awaiting his reply to my last letter. I am writing to him again, copy enclosed.[4]

2. I think that the question of technological institute and that of the scholarships stand on a somewhat different footing. Nevertheless, to begin with, the same committee could deal with them, that is, could lay down the general principles. The committee would not choose the scholars. I had suggested an ad hoc committee for both these purposes. Obviously, this committee would not be the final committee for the technological institute.

3. I have seen also the note on the meeting of the Economic Secretaries held on the 7th August. Also, another note by the Cabinet Secretary on the problem of technical manpower. I agree that the latter note should be put up before the Cabinet. With that may be put up also the other note of proceedings of the Committee of Economic Secretaries.

4. The more we consider this subject, the bigger it becomes. In fact, it embraces the whole question of technical manpower in the future. While I think it would be desirable to set up a Directorate of Manpower Coordination, as suggested, the approach has to be a long distance one. Because of this, I have suggested to the Planning Commission to open a special Division to deal with the long-term approach to manpower. This would take into consideration not only the Second Five Year Plan but later plans, because it takes a long time to train people. This would involve a very close study of all our planning, short-term as well as long-term, and statistical methods to be applied to it. Therefore, I have suggested that Professor Mahalanobis should be asked to take charge of this Division of the

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 1 September 1956. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. During Nehru's visit to Bonn in July 1956, the Government of West Germany had offered to set up a technological institute in India with necessary equipment. Technical experts to impart training to Indians were to be supplied for five years.
3. West Germany had also offered to India one hundred scholarships for technical studies in German universities tenable for one year.
4. See the preceding item.

Planning Commission so that he can approach this question from the statistical point of view. Naturally, he can only do so if we are broadly clear about our long-term planning and we receive adequate information from the Ministries and state governments.

5. In this connection I have recently received from the Commerce & Industry Ministry a note on manpower in India's development plans written by Mr J.F. Hilliard, manpower consultant.[5] The note is an interesting one and I enclose a copy of it. This should be circulated to members of the Cabinet at the same time as the other papers.

6. I am sending your note and the papers you sent to the Education Minister.

7. You should, therefore, circulate these various papers to members of the Cabinet and the matter will be considered at a meeting of the Cabinet to be fixed later. At that meeting the Planning Commission should, of course, be represented. Also Professor Mahalanobis should be invited.

5. See *ante*, p. 110, fn 2.

4. Integrated Approach to the Problem[1]

I am glad that this Committee[2] has started working. The terms of reference are broad enough, but I imagine that it would not be enough for the Committee to consider the needs of the Second Five Year Plan only. That is, no doubt, important, but if we are to train technical personnel, this often takes five years or more. In fact, if we do not begin thinking of the Third Five Year Plan and prepare technical and like personnel for it, we shall not have them when we need them.

1. Note to M.S. Thacker, Director, CSIR, 5 September 1956. File No.17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The reference probably is to the High-Power Committee of CSIR whose formation was suggested by the Special Committee of CSIR in February 1956. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, p. 88.

2. Some work in this connection has been done by the Ministry of Irrigation & Power. It is obvious, however, that this kind of work cannot be done by separate Ministries. There has to be a comprehensive and integrated approach to the entire problem for the whole of India. This means not only the needs of the Central Ministries but also of the States.

3. The problem thus becomes a very intricate and fairly difficult one. Nevertheless, we have to take it up.

4. References to the Ministries and, more especially, to the Planning Commission are, of course, essential. But the approach will have to be a very thorough one, involving a fairly clear idea of our future planning and progress. It is because of this that I have suggested that a Division be established in the Planning Commission, chiefly dealing with manpower and perspective planning. This Division would work under the direction of Professor Mahalanobis.

5. Your Committee should, therefore, get in touch with Professor Mahalanobis and keep in full contact with him. He might be invited to your meetings so that his approach to these questions should be clearly understood.

6. This question will necessarily include the award of scholarships etc., for technical and scientific training. These scholarships will have to be given not to study general subjects so that people sent are trained for specific types of work which would be needed in our Second or Third Five Year Plan and later.

7. Also, it has to be considered that trained personnel might be kept in a pool as soon as they are available, even though there might not be a specific post for them at the time. They can be drawn for this pool when they are needed. Till then, they can be attached to any of our plants or institutes.

8. I enclose a copy of a memorandum submitted by Mr J.F. Hilliard to the Minister of Commerce & Industry. This deals with the subject of manpower in India's development plans.

5. Train More People in Technical Institutions[1]

Soon after my return from Saudi Arabia,[2] I hope that a meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Manpower, which was formed today, will be held.

2. I am noting down below some ideas on this subject.

3. It was decided today that the Directorate of Manpower[3] should be a small one, not exceeding four or five. I entirely agree with this.

4. I think that the Manpower Division of the Planning Commission should also, to begin with, be fairly small. It should consist of ten to twelve selected and well-trained persons who have had a considerable experience in technical and engineering matters. They will, of course, be given small clerical staff.

5. The Committee of the CSIR will function in close cooperation with the Manpower Division of the Planning Commission. I do not think it is necessary for that Committee to have a separate secretariat. There need only be one secretariat for this Committee and the Manpower Division of the Planning Commission. Of course, Professor Thacker, who is Secretary of the CSIR Committee, will deal directly with his National Laboratories and Institutes.

6. My point in suggesting the above is that we should start at a high level, with small numbers.

7. It has always seemed to me rather a waste of money and resources for big institutions like Engineering Colleges, Medical Colleges and the like to produce a relatively small number of trained persons. Very large sums are absorbed by buildings and equipment, and only a small number of students are thus provided for. Is it not possible for us to use this expensive equipment for a much larger number of students?

8. I am not expert enough to offer any worthwhile opinion. But, I know that, in China and, I believe, many other places too, a very large number of students study in engineering colleges. In one engineering college in China, they used to have two thousand students. This number grew rapidly and became nearly twelve thousand. I have little doubt that this number is far too big for any adequate

1. Note to Y.N. Sukthankar, Cabinet Secretary, 22 September 1956. File No. 17(60)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nehru visited Saudi Arabia from 24 to 27 September 1956.
3. The Directorate of Manpower was set up on 1 October 1956 to tackle the question of manpower potential in relation to the Second Five Year Plan.

training, however good the college. But, still, the difference between thousands in China and the hundreds that we train in India in a college, is very marked. Can we not devise means to train more people in our existing institutes and colleges?

9. It must be remembered that there are some essential features of a technical college, which can easily be used for larger numbers of students. Thus, it is not necessary to duplicate big libraries and some big equipment. Some types of equipment will necessarily have to be duplicated, if there are more students. But, some efforts could be made to utilize our existing technical colleges for a much larger number of students with only some additional equipment.

10. I remember that, when I visited the Roorkee Engineering University last year, I was told by the Principal that he could easily train a hundred or a hundred and fifty more students with his existing equipment. All he wanted was some hostels for the students and, perhaps, some additional teachers. I am sure that he could have added another hundred or two to that number if asked to do so.

11. There is another point to be borne in mind. While we should not bring down our standards and should produce fully trained engineers, technicians, etc., we can well have separate course of about a year or, perhaps, two years for persons specializing in some particular types of work, which are needed by us.

12. It would be desirable to invite Professor Mahalanobis when you have the meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Manpower. I think, Pitamber Pant[4] should also be invited as he is likely to be assisting both the Manpower Division and the CSIR Committee.

4. Private Secretary to Nehru as Chairman of the Planning Commission.

III. EDUCATION & CULTURE

1. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

New Delhi
5 September 1956

My dear Maulana,
I think, I wrote to you some time ago about the Dargah Khwaja Sahib at Ajmer and, more particularly, about the Shahjahan Mosque situated inside that Dargah. I had been informed that this mosque was in a bad way and repairs were necessary. I wrote to the Ajmer Government and they have sent me some papers which I enclose.

I suggest that the Archaeological Department might examine this Mosque specially. It is not, I believe, in the list of your Protected Monuments. Nevertheless, I think we should interest ourselves in its preservation.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. To K.M. Panikkar[1]

New Delhi
11 September 1956

My dear Panikkar,[2]

You came the other day with Poet Vallathol[3] about the Kalamandalam.[4] As I said then, I think it is important that a properly run centre of the type of the Kalamandalam should flourish in the south. What I am not quite clear about is as to who will run it. I do not want it to go into undesirable hands.

I am writing to the Education Ministry drawing their attention to this institution and recommending a grant if this is at all possible. I doubt very much, however, if they will be able to give the capital funds necessary for buildings, etc., in the foreseeable future.

Meanwhile, I am prepared to give Rs 50,000/- out of a fund at my disposal. I should like your advice as to how best this Rs 50,000 can be used with advantage.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Kerala Kalamandalam.
3. Vallathol Narayana Menon, an eminent Malayalam poet.
4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, p. 110.

3. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit[1]

New Delhi
28 September 1956

Nan dear,[2]
I have just returned from Saudi Arabia and seen your letter of September 19th,[3] with which you have sent a copy of Sir Ifor Evans's[4] letter.

From this letter, I cannot make out the nature of this proposed India Academy for English. He refers to the French Academy. The French Academy[5] is a famous institution for the French language. I do not understand how we can have an English Academy in India on those lines. We have a Sahitya Akademi (of which I am Chairman) which deals with the encouragement of literature etc., in all the Indian languages. We have included English in its scope also.

The other day, I read about a proposal to have a special school for the study of English in India. I think, this was being sponsored chiefly by the Ford Foundation for the initial four or five years.[6] Our Education Ministry approved of the idea, and I liked it also. I believe it is being processed now. The idea, presumably, was that there should be some place in India where there should be really high class teaching of English. The danger we have to face is that even our teachers of English will not know that language at all well.

1. File No. 40(106)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. India's High Commissioner in the UK.
3. She informed Nehru that Ifor Evans, Provost, University College, London, had written to her suggesting the establishment of an India Academy for English on the lines of the French Academy.
4. Ifor Evans, (Benjamin), Baron Evans of Hungershall, (1899-1982); scholar and administrator; lecturer in English, Manchester University, 1922-24; professor of English, Southampton, 1925-26, Sheffield, 1926-33, and Queen Mary College, London, 1933-44; educational director, the British Council, 1940-44; Provost of University College, London, 1951-66; Vice-Chairman of the Arts Council, 1946-1951; Chairman of the Royal Society of Literature, 1975-77 and its Vice-President in 1974 and trustee of the British Museum.
5. French Academy, a learned society of France, was registered by the Parliament of France in 1635. Its aim include the governance of French literary effort, grammar, orthography, and rhetoric and award literary prizes.
6. The Ford Foundation announced on 13 October 1957 a grant of 685,000 dollars to the Indian Government for establishing an English Language Training Institute.

Such a really good school for learning and teaching English in India would, I think, be a very good thing to keep up English standards here.

You might write to Sir Ifor Evans and say that I am certainly interested in a proper study of English in India and we have some projects in view. I do not quite understand, however, his proposal for an India Academy for English. If he could, perhaps, explain this a little further, we would be grateful.

Yours,
Jawahar

4. To Satyajit Ray[1]

New Delhi
29 October 1956

Dear Satyajit Ray,[2]
Your letter of the 25th October.

I think your film *Aparajito*[3] was a very good one. Your photography is extraordinarily good. I hope you will produce more first-class films.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Satyajit Ray (1921-1996); well-known film director; before beginning career in films worked as commercial artist in Kolkata; among his films, *Pather Panchali* (1954), *Aparajito* (1956), *Apur Sansar* (1961) and *Shatranj Ke Khilari* (1977) became more popular; received Magsaysay Award for Journalism and Literature, 1967; Berlin Film Festival Prize for *Distant Thunder*, 1973; Publications include: *Our Films, Their Films* (1977).
3. A sequel to *Pather Panchali* (based on a novel by Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyay) won Grand Prix in Venice Film Festival and the award for direction at the San Francisco International Film Festival in 1957.

5. To Swaran Singh[1]

New Delhi
3 November 1956

My dear Swaran Singh,
You may have seen in the Press strong criticism of the decisions of the Committee of Artists or others that has been appointed to decide about the paintings, frescoes, etc., in some of our public buildings. I remember that a year or two ago I was partly instrumental in suggesting that our public buildings should encourage our artists and sculptors. If we spend 50 lakhs of rupees over a building, surely we should not grudge some money to make it more beautiful and to encourage our artists etc.

This proposal was accepted, but the way it is being given effect to is alarming. Indeed, I feel inclined to withdraw that proposal of mine. It is better not to have any such artistry inside or outside the building than to have something which is totally inadequate and second-rate.

The whole approach appears to me to be wrong. Somebody here decides that a space in a wall, say 4 ft. x 5 ft. has to have a panel. An odd subject is chosen and an artist is asked to go ahead with it. The artist has probably not even seen the building. This approach means that the fresco or mural has no relation to the building. It is just like any painting which may be hung there. The essence of a mural is that it should fit in with the building and only the artists concerned can judge of this, not somebody else.

I am anxious that something should be done to stop these wrong approaches. Let us not have anything at all at least for the present.

This Artists Committee recently rejected a portrait of Lala Lajpat Rai by Gujral.[2] I have seen this portrait and I consider it very good. I am inclined to think that some of your artists in the Committee have a grouse against Gujral, or his style of painting. I have written to the Speaker about this matter, as the portrait was meant for Parliament House and asked him to see it for himself.

1. File No. 2/129/56-71-PMS.
2. Satish Gujral (b. 1925); renowned mural painter; promoted his skill to sculpture and architecture also; worked with Le Corbusier and other architects.

Dr Chakravarti[3] was, I believe, the Chairman of the Parliament Committee of Artists and others. He died recently. I wonder who is going to be appointed in his place.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. N.P. Chakravarti.

6. Paintings and Murals on Public Buildings[1]

Mr Speaker[2] and members of the Bengal Assembly,
You have done me honour in inviting me on this occasion to unveil these portraits. I have not seen the portraits, but, in view of the eminent people—artists—you chose in your Committee, I am sure they will do credit to this place. You mentioned in your brief remarks about the statues, paintings, etc., remainders of British rule here which are especially in evidence in the great towns like Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and Madras. It is somewhat of a problem for us to know how to utilize them best. We have kept them although Independence is nine years old, because we did not wish to show any discourtesy even to those who were our opponents, but it is clear that those statues and portraits do not represent the India of today. We may keep them—certainly some of them—as reminders of a certain historic period in India's story. We have no objection to that; we may keep others in our museums—that is, we do not wish to do anything denoting ill will, but at the same time it is clear that it is not in the fitness of things for our walls and open spaces to be crowded by relics of British rule.

1. Speech while unveiling the portraits of national leaders at the Assembly House, Kolkata, 10 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Saila Kumar Mukherjee.

Now, you are putting up these paintings, and in other parts of India too, many paintings are being put up. I am afraid that in some other parts in India, unlike yours, they have not taken too great care about the quality of the paintings or the statues put up, with the result that sometimes it is rather painful to see a statue of Mahatma Gandhi, which far from doing him credit, gives one a headache even to see, because it is important that the paintings and statues and architectural decorations that we make should be of artistic value, should be something which should not only inspire our people with memories of great men but also should develop their artistic sense of beauty. Unfortunately in India, broadly speaking, during the British times especially, our sense of artistry and beauty rather suffered. Not Bengal. I do not wish to compare states with each other, but Bengal is one of the state where there has been throughout this period some artistry always in evidence, and it is right and proper that Bengal, therefore, should take a lead in this matter.

It may be that there are many ways of looking at history. I remember a great orator of Greece once describing history as a gallery of famous men. The modern view of history is perhaps somewhat different and it lays greater stress on impersonal forces rather than on individuals, and yet always the individual has counted even though that individual may represent that impersonal force. A Gandhi is a Gandhi. It may be said that Gandhi represented all kinds of conscious and unconscious urges in the mind and spirit and soul of India which would be true, yet the fact remains that there was that representation of these great forces to be found in Gandhi; and so it is right that we should remember ourselves and make other people—the generations to come—remember the great people who have moulded our destiny not only in the political filed which attains usually a great deal of prominence—whether it is in newspapers or otherwise—but in the other end, in the final analysis, more important fields—the fields of the mind, of science, and of culture. I do believe ultimately a country is more built up by these than by the activities of pure politicians. I am particularly happy to find that in the list of your portraits you have included famous men of letters, of science, and in many other fields of national activity other than politicians as such. Bengal, of course, is a treasure house of these and it is right that you should bring them back to the memory of our younger generation. I find that the public mind—I am not referring to individuals but the public mind—is strangely forgetful. Individuals may remember but the public rather rapidly forgets. Already the events of my youth when Gandhiji started his great movements are matters of history in India and for the younger generation, who never saw them and who only heard about it, are possibly as remote as the time of Raja Rammohan Roy—almost that, not quite—and they are absorbed by the figures and events of the day. It is necessary, not only desirable but necessary,

that they should have a more intimate and—if I may use the word—emotional memory of past events and past great figures. Thus, the history and the life of a country become an integrated whole growing from one step to the other. It is important I think, therefore, that we should have these memories of the giants of old.

There is another aspect not directly connected with this particular matter, but you make some brief reference to it in your address and that is the aspect of decorating—if I may use the word, it is not a good word—our public buildings with sculptures, monuments, architectural establishments, paintings, etc. I think, we should pay attention to that only because it is good in itself but in order to develop the public taste in the right direction. We spend large sums of money on new buildings—public buildings. There is no reason why we might not add a little more to it by these sculptural or architectural additions to them, thereby not only having something for the public benefit and public artistic education but encouraging our younger and older artists and sculptors and others who are not adequately encouraged today. In a few days time, very soon, I think, probably within three or four days, a very famous mural painter of Mexico is coming to India—Siqueiros[3] and, I believe, he is going to spend two or three weeks in India.[4] He has to go back to Mexico earlier than he intended because there is going to be a national celebration of his birthday in Mexico. In Mexico, it might interest you to learn that the most famous people are not the politicians—they are the mural painters and sculptors. Why is that so? Well, partly because they are great mural painters, sculptors and others there, but because their mural paintings and sculptures are such as to come in contact with the public. What I mean is that they are not the sort of things preserved in art galleries for the public. They are huge things on public walls that you can see from a distance. So, the public know about them. They are spread out—I am told, I have not been to Mexico—they are spread out on huge walls and other things so that the public know and every villager in Mexico knows the names of the famous mural painters there.

Now, again take paintings—mural paintings specially. There are attempts being made in Delhi at the instance of some of us to add these mural paintings, etc., in the new buildings that are put up. But I confess that I am somewhat alarmed at

3. David Alfaro Siqueiros (1896-1974); well-known Mexican mural painter; notable for his experiments with modern synthetic materials; his works reflect support for revolutionary socialism.
4. Siqueiros arrived in Delhi on 13 November at the invitation of the Government of India on a four-week tour to meet Indian artists and deliver lectures on Mexican art.

the way this is sometimes done. What is a mural painting? It is not a painting which you make somewhere and come and hang it on the wall. A mural painting is something that grows out of the architecture of the place, that fits in with the place, with the spirit of the buildings and with all kinds of things. It can only be made there, it cannot be made somewhere else and brought and hung up there. And yet, sometimes the idea is that you commission an artist "Oh, we want you to decorate, shall we say, 6 ft. x 4 ft.of wall space, make something out of it" and he makes something which is stuck on. Well, that is not mural painting. There is something extraneous in it. It may be good in itself but it does not fit in. Now, the whole tradition—the old tradition—of India was a tradition of public architecture, public sculpture—not the kind of *durbari* for princes and others, but huge things on temples and big buildings outside, magnificent things that you all know which we lost and produced all kinds of hybrids later on, but the old tradition I am referring to is the one which the public could see and be influenced by both in a religious sense and a spiritual sense and an artistic sense and grow up under the influence of that magnificent sculpture which was public. Now, I should like to encourage this public kind of thing, not the kind of private art gallery—that is all right, I have no objection to that, let that be there in its place—but this kind of public mural paintings, sculptures, etc., among our young people.

All this, of course, has not much to do with the present occasion, Mr Speaker, but since you encouraged me by inviting me, I took advantage—perhaps unfair advantage—of the occasion. I am very happy to be here and to perform this unveiling ceremony of the portraits of our national leaders.

7. Encourage Intellectual Freedom[1]

I am sorry for the delay in dealing with these papers.[2]

2. I agree broadly that we must encourage intellectual freedom, more especially, in our universities. And yet, even in the land of Thomas Jefferson,[3] this freedom has been greatly limited. I wish that it was not so. The fact remains that there is hardly a country in the world today, where there can be said to be complete intellectual freedom. In some, there is more of it than in others. Thus, in England, there is more of it than in the United States. In the communist countries, of course, there is practically none. In most European countries, there are some limitations to it.

3. The fact is that intellectual freedom is one of the first casualties in war times. Since we have been living in the days of cold war, necessarily, this also tends, in varying degrees, to limit this freedom. The whole concept of intellectual freedom is largely based on the stability of the social structure. When that basis is attacked, then an atmosphere which is rather akin to war psychology, is introduced. Unfortunately, the communist movement, quite apart from its ideologies and objectives, brought in an atmosphere of conflict, violence and intolerance, and this produced its reactions on others. Or, it may be said that the mere fact of old established social structures being attacked, produced this reaction.

4. There it is, anyhow, and to talk of complete intellectual freedom is really to ignore the passions and conflicts of the world today.

1. Note to Union Minister for Education and Education Secretary, 23 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. K.G. Saiyidain, the Education Secretary, had forwarded a note of the Education Minister addressed to Nehru and a letter of Zakir Husain, Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, regarding the cases of two Professors and an official of the Aligarh Muslim University. In his letter of 23 August, Zakir Husain defended the cases of Saeed Ahmad, Assistant Registrar; Mahmud Husain, Head of the Department of English; and Abdul Aleem, Professor of Arabic, whom the Ministry of Home Affairs had identified as men having communist leanings. Zakir Husain stated that "perhaps the most essential condition of the development of university life is intellectual freedom." Abul Kalam Azad, in his note of 19 September 1956, urged Nehru to go through the letter of Zakir Husain and send him his reaction.
3. (1743-1826); American statesman, President, 1801-9, author of Declaration of Independence, 1776.

5. Nevertheless, we should aim at it and try to achieve it as far as possible. Ultimately, it means that our broad approach to this problem should be that of encouraging intellectual freedom. But, we must recognize that there are certain limitations which cannot be ignored. To give an instance, a communist who may otherwise be a good worker, can seldom keep a secret to himself. He passes it on to his Party. It is, therefore, difficult to employ a communist in dealing with secret matters.

6. Thus, we have, to some extent, to keep in view this difficulty and consider each case separately, always trying to maintain intellectual freedom as far as possible, more especially in the universities.

7. I only know one of the persons mentioned in these papers, that is Dr Abdul Aleem.[4] That is to say, I knew him about twenty years ago. I have hardly met him since. I would certainly consider him as a desirable person to keep in a University.

8. There is another aspect to be borne in mind at present. Recent events have struck a blow at many fixed ideas, including communist ideas. Many sensitive communists are much troubled and are in a state of mental confusion. We should not push them out merely because of their past records, unless there is some special reason for it. We should rather help them to adjust themselves anew on a broader basis and more tolerant of thinking and action.

4. Abdul Aleem (1906-1976); left Aligarh Muslim University during the non-cooperation movement and joined the newly born Jamia Millia Islamia; obtained Ph.D in 1931 from the Berlin University; taught in Jamia in an honorary capacity; taught Arabic in Lucknow University and in Aligarh Muslim University; Vice-Chancellor, Aligarh Muslim University, 1968-1974; Chairman, Urdu Taraqqi Board, 1974-76.

IV. LANGUAGE QUESTION

1. To Ramdhari Singh Dinkar[1]

New Delhi
9 September 1956

My dear Dinkar[2],

Thank you for your letter of the 5th September.[3] I have read it with some surprise and I am indeed sorry that anything that I have said should have distressed you so much.

I did not speak there on any resolution and I have not seen the resolution[4] that was passed subsequently by the Conference,[5] though I have heard some vague account of it. I inaugurated the Conference. In doing so, I laid special stress on our Second Five Year Plan and subsequent plans.

I did not say a word against Hindi. Indeed, I said something in favour of it and I took it for granted that Hindi was going to function more and more as our language of education and administration, except in certain parts of India where the regional languages would be the principal languages in use. I did not say anything about the medium of instruction. About this, I have no doubt that it will have to be either Hindi or the other regional languages.

The point I stressed was that if we had to develop and industrialize our country and fulfil the objectives of our planning, then it became essential for us to produce vast numbers of engineers, scientists and technical people. It is not possible to train them without a full knowledge of a foreign language, such as, English,

1. File No. 40(99)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Eminent Hindi writer, and Member of Rajya Sabha at this time.
3. In his letter, Ramdhari Singh sought clarification from Nehru about his speech of 2 September 1956 at the Education Ministers' Conference, held in Delhi. In that speech he said that Hindi should take the place of English, but felt that English was likely to have an important place in the foreseeable future.
4. On 3 September, the Conference recommended the study of three languages, including English, at the secondary stage and compulsory teaching of English at the university stage. It also recommended that, state governments should take greater interest in the propagation of Hindi.
5. The States Education Ministers' Conference was held in Delhi on 2 and 3 September 1956.

French, German, Russian, etc. Therefore, a knowledge of some such foreign language is essential for all such persons as well as for many others such as those engaged in work or trade connected with foreign countries. Although I said that one such foreign language should be learnt fairly thoroughly, it was obvious that English was far easier for us to learn and carry on with than French, German, Russian, etc., though I would like people to learn these other languages also.

Thus, my positive stress was on English being learnt adequately for these various purposes. Certainly, it is not necessary for everybody to learn English, though the knowledge of a foreign language, whichever it might be, is always a desirable acquisition and broadens the mind. But, perhaps, people do not realize how many technical people we are going to require if India industrializes herself. These numbers will go up to several hundred thousands or even millions. In the Soviet Union today, 75,000 fully trained engineers are being produced every year. This does not include people of lower grades. In the United States the figure, I believe, is 50,000. Even China is aiming at about 40,000 a year. This refers to engineers. But there are many other types of technical and scientific people who will be required.

It may be that we may not aim so high, but there can be no doubt that our plans cannot succeed unless we have a very large number of highly trained technical people. The biggest problem before us today is to organize this training so that our future work may not suffer for lack of trained people. We have to train people from now for the Third and the Fourth Five Year Plans, apart from the Second. Training takes time. As I pointed out, it takes twice the length of time to train a metallurgist as it does to build up a steel plant. It takes five times the period of time to train a competent atomic scientist than it takes to put up an atomic reactor.

I am afraid that many of our people, who have not given thought to science or technology, have little conception of the world we live in and, more particularly, the new atomic age that is gradually coming upon us. This is a struggle for survival for our country and not merely of achieving somewhat higher standards. We go down if we cannot keep pace with these technological developments and indeed keep ahead of many other countries.

We have thus to train not only a large number of high class scientists, technologists, engineers and the like, but also to create a background out of which these people grow. Our major problem today is to organize this trained manpower and this subject is being approached now at last in a systematic and comprehensive way. It is not good enough to train some engineers or agricultural specialists in a few colleges, but to have people ready in large numbers to take charge of our numerous plants and institutes and laboratories and factories that

will grow up. Even now, although we have plenty of unemployed, we are very short of trained personnel.

Scientific or technological training is not just the elementary training that may be given in our schools with some textbooks. Standards are very high now. No man can be an efficient scientist today in England unless he knows some foreign languages, like German, French or Russian. Most scientists know three or four languages at least to be able to read scientific books and periodicals. No one can keep up-to-date without keeping in touch with modern developments in various countries. It is not a question of reading a textbook. A textbook is out of date almost by the time it is printed.

In India it is not possible for anyone to acquire adequate scientific or technical knowledge through any of our Indian languages. He may learn some elementary science or technology through the Indian languages and through textbooks translated or written for the purpose. But he will have to stop at a very elementary stage unless he knows some other language.

It is obvious that English is the easiest foreign language for us to learn and also English is so far the most widespread and important of world languages today. About two-thirds of all the scientific and technological literature in the world is being published in English today and books in other languages are translated into English. The vast literature that is coming out on these subjects from day to day is rather overwhelming. It is not possible to translate it into Hindi or other Indian languages. Some simple books or textbooks might and should be translated.

For these reasons, it appears to me quite essential, from the point of view of our general development and advance, that a large number of persons should know English adequately and further that a number of persons should know enough of it to be able to read books in it, that is, for the latter English would be a language of comprehension. This means that English should begin to be taught from a fairly early stage in our secondary education. It is obvious that a person cannot learn a language adequately at the university stage. Universities specialize in subjects. A person may go to a university and take up some subject for which English is not at all necessary, or he may take up some scientific or technical subject for which a foreign language is essential. The point is that a foreign language, which is likely to be English, has a great importance for us as a secondary language. There is no question of English replacing or pushing out Hindi. Hindi must necessarily be a language, progressively, of education and administration and all our work. In my mind, there is no conflict between Hindi and English because they function on different plains. I do not think of English as the medium of instruction at any stage. I do think of it as a second or third language which should be studied by a large number of persons.

It is not necessary, of course, for everybody in India to learn English as a second language even. I would like, however, many people to learn a foreign language so that they may have an opening to the world of thought outside India. I consider this very desirable and indeed necessary.

I believe that Hindi and our other national languages will progress far more swiftly by contact with the thought of the rest of the world, scientific, technical and other, than if they were left without these contacts to grow in an isolated way.

I would repeat that the medium of instruction should be Hindi or the regional language. This medium can be and should be used even for science teaching in the elementary stages. But a knowledge of English becomes necessary to go beyond that stage. The time will no doubt come when English will not be necessary at any stage of teaching science or technology. Even then a knowledge of English will be desirable to keep in touch with foreign developments and thought.

There is no doubt that our standards have fallen in all our universities. This is due to various causes and not merely to the language difficulty. You refer to some English university having said that our young men being weak in English are not good enough for them. I have not heard of this, but it is obvious that there is no point in our sending people to any foreign country unless they know the language of that country and can profit by the lectures and teaching there. This does not apply to England alone, but to every foreign country.

I think, you are unfair when you say that the Government of India wish to push Hindi down or that it is opposed to national language. It may be that some people in South India or elsewhere might feel that way. I am quite convinced that India cannot progress without developing Hindi and our other languages. We cannot progress by having a select elite in English. It would be a tragedy if we continued to have this linguistic caste system in India as we had during British times. The whole point is that Hindi must be helped to develop and pushed on in every way, and that it should be used progressively for all our purposes. But education today is far from complete without knowing a foreign language. More particularly, in this technical age we cannot function in an isolated way and cut off from revolutionary changes that are taking place in the realm of technology and science. It is for this reason that other countries are encouraging more and more the study of foreign languages. In the Soviet Union, English has become practically a compulsory second or third language all over, although Russian is a highly developed language with a vast scientific and technical literature. I do not know the exact facts, but my impression is that in their middle schools a foreign language is compulsory and usually this language is English.

We are passing through a period of transition with all its disadvantages. The

next generation will undoubtedly be one which has been trained in Hindi and the other regional languages. That is right, but it would be unfortunate if this coming generation could not take full advantage of the changes taking place in the rest of the world.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V. TRIBAL AFFAIRS
(i) The Nagas

1. Allegations Made by Naga Hostiles[1]

I think that there is some misunderstanding about this matter. I did not suggest that enquiries of a formal or public kind should be made. All I meant was that the Army authorities might informally or privately find out what happened in some cases mentioned.[2] Some of these cases, as has been pointed out by the Defence Secretary,[3] are patently false. Some may or may not be false or may be grossly exaggerated.

2. I find that two-three of them deal with girls.

3. It must be remembered that the Naga hostiles presumably give a great deal of publicity in their own areas and perhaps outside to these allegations. The allegations may be quite improbable but possibly people there believe in them. We should be in a position to deny them absolutely. I do not mean that the Prime

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary, 7 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. The Naga extremists under the leadership of A.Z. Phizo, President of Naga National Council, incited serious disorders in the Naga Hills District of Assam for the establishment of an independent Naga state. The District was declared a disturbed area on 31 January 1956, and the Indian Army was despatched in March 1956 at the request of the Assam Government. There were reports and allegations that the Army committed atrocities by shooting Nagas, burning their villages and indulging in rape, pillage and murder. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 154-155.
3. M.K. Vellodi.

Minister or somebody here in Parliament should deny them or even refer to them. But our publicity in the Naga Hills should counter such allegations. Merely to ignore them does not seem to be to be wise.

4. As a matter of fact, in the discussion about the Naga Hills in Parliament the other day, I referred generally to the wild and baseless allegations made by the Naga hostiles.[4] That is enough so far as Parliament is concerned. But for the good name of the Army and our own satisfaction, some private enquiries could well be made in regard to such as are capable of this enquiry. There need be no fuss about it and no formality. Indeed, the first thing is to enquire from the officer or man in charge at the time what happened.

4. Nehru spoke on 23 August 1956 in Lok Sabha and refuted the allegations on the Indian Army by the Naga hostiles. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 165-167.

2. Solemn Pledge[1]

I have just seen a seven-point solemn pledge which has apparently been circulated by our military authorities in the Naga Hills.[2] We have received a copy of this from the Public Relations Office, Headquarters, G.O.C., Assam. It is stated that five thousand copies have been cyclostyled and sent to villages in the Angami area, and it is proposed to have more copies made for other areas. It is said that

1. Note to Defence Secretary, 9 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. According to the pledge, circulated in September 1956, every Naga should abide by the following: (1) he should denounce Phizo and his followers for bringing misery and suffering on Naga people and sever all connections with them; (2) he should cooperate with the Government to fight the armed gangsters; (3) he should not help, harbour or shelter the Naga hostiles who were murdering innocent Nagas and Government servants; (4) he should testify that the destruction and suffering brought upon Naga people was due to armed gangsters under Phizo and not on account of others; (5) he should not involve himself in such activities which the hostiles were indulging in; (6) he should surrender his arms and ammunition on the condition that the Government should not take any action against him if he was not involved in heinous crimes; and (7) he should take the pledge that he would not violate the above bindings and the Government might take away his properties in case of violation.

this is being done under the directions of the Commissioner of the Naga Hills Division.[3]

2. There is also a copy of an appeal issued over the signature of eight Angami Naga leaders, which has been distributed.[4]

3. So far as this appeal is concerned, I have no objection to it. It may, perhaps, do some good.

4. But, I am surprised to read the seven-point solemn pledge. I do not know who is responsible for the drafting of this pledge. I do not like the drafting at all. It is not a natural pledge to take and, on the face of it, it is a pledge which a person will only take under coercion. The seventh point is particularly objectionable.

5. I do not like the emphasis on Zaphu Phizo either in the first point.

6. I do not know what can be done about this, as this has already been widely circulated. But, in so far as possible, I suggest that this circulation should stop. In any event, it need not be sent to the Tuensang Frontier Division where, I understand, different ways and methods of getting pledges from the villagers had been previously adopted. This was in accordance with the local custom.

3. G.P. Jarman.
4. The appeal, issued in September by Jasokie, T.N. Angami, N. Zao Angami, Thino Angami, K. Khieya, Vilhume Savino, K. Phewhuo and Silie Haralu, said that a wrong path was followed due to the lack of unity among Nagas and that greater sufferings and miseries were in store for them if they further cling to violence. The NNC Reforming Committee, the appeal said, was formed to save the Nagas from impending disaster and to restore peace and tranquility in the Naga Hills. It would give all possible help to any group that was convinced about giving up violence.

3. To S. Fazl Ali[1]

New Delhi
9 September 1956

My dear Fazl Ali,[2]
I enclose a copy of a note which I have sent to our Foreign Secretary today.[3]

2. I have been much concerned over the behaviour of some of our officials. You know that we have not seen eye to eye with the Assam Government in regard to some matters. But we do not shout about it, nor do we try to undermine their authority. As a matter of fact, so far as the present situation in the Naga Hills is concerned, there is no major difference of view. Anyhow, it is a military matter and we are dealing with it.

3. I find, however, that some of our officials in NEFA have worked themselves up to such an extent that they are hardly on terms of normal discussion with the Assam officials. Each distrusts the other and apparently, to some extent, works against the other. Our chief NEFA officials appear to have a fixed idea that the only course to be adopted now in regard to the Naga Hills is to make a declaration that the Centre will take them over. This is what they call a political approach to this problem.

4. You have yourself advised, and I entirely agree with you, that this is no suitable time for us to take a step of this kind or even to announce it. I have no doubt in my mind that it will be harmful to us if we made any such announcement. It would be harmful of course in so far as the Assam Government and people are concerned. But it will also be definitely harmful in so far as the Nagas and other Hill tribes are concerned. No step which is taken through weakness yields good results. More particularly, in dealing with persons like the Nagas, weakness

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Assam.
3. Note not printed. Nehru wrote that K.S. Thimayya (GOC-in-Chief, Eastern Command), in the course of their discussion on the Naga Hills, told him that there were differences of opinion and distrust between the officials of the Assam Government and NEFA, producing a great deal of confusion in the minds of many people including the Nagas. Nehru further wrote that the NEFA officials must learn to cooperate with the Assam officials and not carry on a private campaign against them or act contrary to the instructions of the Central Government. It should be made clear to them that so long as these military operations carried on and the Naga hostiles not subdued, the Government were not going to discuss any political settlement, he added.

is something approaching a sin. Friendliness of course should always be there, but no step which appears to be a surrender through weakness.

5. I have repeatedly stated this clearly. In my speech in the Lok Sabha, I went very far in making a friendly approach to the Nagas generally.[4] Indeed I was to some extent misunderstood. But I made it clear even then that there is no question of our giving in to this Naga revolt. Thimayya was entirely of the same opinion.

6. In spite of our having declared this policy repeatedly, I find that some of our officials go on pegging away at their pet theme. That is, a political approach should be made and we should announce that the Naga Hills will be under direct Central control. I am surprised at this persistence and irresponsibility and lack of discipline. They should be made very clearly to realize that it is none of their business to lay down broad policies. That is for the Government to do. They have to follow that policy, publicly and privately. They should further be made to realize that the mere fact that they are looked upon with so much apprehension and suspicion by the Assam Government is not a good thing. Even if they differ from them, they have no business to make themselves so unpalatable.

7. Both Mehta[5] and Yusuf Ali,[6] both of whom I think are good officers, have erred in this direction. They seem to be obsessed by this fixed idea which has entered into their heads and go on repeating it in and out of season. I have little doubt that they repeat it to our Naga officials and thus encourage the latter to think that something of this kind is going to be done by us. I hope you will speak to both of them quite frankly and tell them that this behaviour is not at all proper and has caused us much concern.

8. When you see our Naga officials, as you no doubt do from time to time, you might explain our position to them quite clearly and make them realize that this is the only way to put an end to this trouble and then work for the advancement of the Naga people in peace and cooperation. It is fantastic to imagine that the Government of India is going to be terrorized into some action by Phizo and company. But, whatever happens, we shall always try to win the friendship of the Nagas and work for their betterment. To the hostiles we shall put up a stiff front. There is going to be no weakening on this issue.

9. I had an interesting talk with Thimayya and I broadly agree with the policy he intends to pursue. When he goes back to Shillong and Kohima, he will of course keep in close touch with you.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 161, 167 and 169.
5. K.L. Mehta of the Indian Civil Service was Adviser to the Governor of Assam for NEFA.
6. Rashid Yusuf Ali of Indian Frontier Administrative Service was at this time, the Deputy Adviser to the Governor of Assam for NEFA.

10. I have seen your letter of September 3 to the President and read it with interest.

11. The violent agitation in the plains, at Gauhati and elsewhere, in connection with the refinery question, has been childish and absurd.[7] If anything, it has demonstrated the incapacity of these people to undertake any responsible work. Quite frankly, my views about the refinery being situated in Assam have been shaken by this. If people imagine that government decisions are going to be made by such violence, they are mistaken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. See *post*, p. 214.

4. To S. Fazl Ali[1]

New Delhi
10 September 1956

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of September 7th. Yesterday I wrote to you and sent you some papers in connection with the Naga Hills situation.[2] That letter and papers will answer some of the questions you have put.

I am quite clear in my mind that we cannot give any assurance to the Nagas or any others about political changes. I have already given an assurance that we

1. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.

are prepared to consider a change of the Sixth Schedule[3] or any other proposals when the time comes.[4] That time will only be when we have adequately dealt with the hostiles or they have surrendered.

I realize fully that Jasokie[5] and company cannot deliver the goods. I do not expect much from them. But, since they wished to see me, I have agreed to do so and I shall have a talk with them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India was intended for the administration of the six autonomous districts of Assam which gave the tribal people of those districts, a considerable control of their own affairs and protection of their land and customs. The Nagas and other hill people, who were thinking in terms of a separate state, found the Sixth Schedule unsatisfactory.
4. For Nehru's assurance given on 23 August 1956 in the Lok Sabha see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 168.
5. John Bosco Jasokie (b. 1926); joined Naga National Council and was its Publicity Officer till 1955; broke away from A.Z. Phizo due to disagreement on use of violence; organized Naga People's Convention, 1957; Executive Councillor, Interim Body of Nagaland, 1961-63; member, Nagaland Legislative Assembly, 1964-67; appointed Cabinet Minister and held different Ministries, 1964-69; Minister for Forests, Geology, Mining and Soil Conservation, 1969-74; Chief Minister, Nagaland, 1975; re-elected in 1977 and was Opposition leader till 1980; formed a new regional party, Naga National Party; re-elected in 1982 and 1987; Minister of Planning in Hokishe Sema Government, 1987.

5. To Verrier Elwin[1]

New Delhi
13 September 1956

My dear Elwin,[2]
Your letter of the 6th September[3] enclosing a letter from Professor Hutton.[4] I am returning the letter.[5]

I have given a lot of time to this question of the Naga Hills and what the Army has been doing. We all know about the Haralu incident and I think it was very bad indeed.[6] We have taken very strong action in regard to it and in regard to some other matters.

I think, however, that Professor Hutton's sources of information are not likely to be very reliable. Probably, he is getting reports issued by a person who calls himself the Information Officer of the Naga National Council. I have seen these too and enquired into some of them. Most of the charges made there are

1. JN Collection.
2. A British anthropologist who worked amongst tribals in Central and North East India and became an Indian citizen in 1954.
3. Elwin wrote that he had received an unexpected and disquieting letter from J.H. Hutton who was Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District for some years during the British regime. Hutton acquired international academic stature as an authority on the Naga tribes, especially Angamis and Semas, and wrote out of sincere love for them, Elwin added.
4. John Henry Hutton (1885-1968); entered ICS, 1909, retired, 1936; William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology, Cambridge, 1937-50; Frazer Lecturer, Oxford, 1938; Honorary Fellow of St. Catherine College, Cambridge, 1951; author of *The Angami Nagas*, *The Sema Nagas*, *Report on the Census of India* and *Caste in India*.
5. Hutton wrote that he was getting the most disturbing news about the Naga Hills where Indian Army was shooting anyone on sight, burning villages and had shot Dr Haralu "by mistaken identity". Hutton asked Elwin to convince the Indian MPs to insist on an impartial enquiry into these incidents. The only solution to the Naga problem, according to him, was to put the Naga Hills under the Central Government with a Deputy Commissioner with real powers. Phizo was a scoundrel but there were other Nagas who were gentlemen and did not deserve the treatment they were getting, he added.
6. In July 1956, an eighty-year old Naga doctor of Kohima, Dr Haralu was killed by an Army patrol. He was the father of Silie Haralu, a Naga leader of liberal moderate group and one of the members of the delegation that came to Delhi for talks with Nehru on 15 September, and of Niechulieu Nikki Haralu, an Information Officer in the Ministry of External Affairs.

fantastically untrue. Because of this, probably Professor Hutton has naturally been led to believe much that has not happened.

I think it is true that there have been cases of Army misbehaviour and we have come down rather heavily on those responsible. So far as burning of villages etc. is concerned, we have strictly prohibited them. Indeed we have issued very strong orders in regard to the treatment to be given to the Nagas. My information is that most of the burning has been done by the Nagas themselves and they have otherwise behaved very badly to their own people.

Our military operations would probably have been much more successful in a military sense, if we had not put a large number of restrictions on our Army.

The question of putting the Naga Hills under the Central Government may certainly be considered. For all practical purposes, they are under the Central authority at present, that is, under the army commander. I do not think it is desirable for political changes, involving a change in our Constitution itself, to be made at this state.

You must know that Lieutenant General Thimayya has been put in overall charge of the Naga Hills operations.[7] He is our ablest and most sensible General and he is enlisting the cooperation of the Nagas themselves in many ways.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. K.S. Thimayya took over as General Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Eastern Command, in August 1956.

6. Talks with the Naga Leaders[1]

The Prime Minister saw the six liberal Naga leaders[2] on 15-9-1956 and talked and listened to them for about two hours. Following is the verbatim record of the talks:-

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am glad you have come here. I got your wire in which you referred to my speech in Parliament.[3] You seem to have got mixed up with what I said and what Mr Rishang Keishing said.[4] My speech was a long speech. The basic things I said were carefully considered and our policy was carefully stated in that speech. I would suggest you read it.

Jasokie: We have read that speech now. But we were misled by the headlines given in the newspapers.

JN: It is a little over nine years since India became independent. During this period we have faced many problems. We have drawn up our Constitution and solved many problems. We are hard at work to improve the living conditions of our people. Have you read our Constitution?

1. New Delhi, 15 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. The delegation, led by John Bosco Jasokie, included T.N. Angami, Silie Haralu, Virulie Angami, K. Khieya and Satsuo Angami. They belonged to the Naga National Council Reforming Committee, which did not subscribe to the demand of A.Z. Phizo for an independent Naga state.
3. For Nehru's speech in Lok Sabha on 23 August 1956 see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 160-172.
4. Participating in the discussion, Rishang Keishing, Lok Sabha member from outer Manipur, said that the Government dealt with the Naga problem from a position of strength and the Naga attempts to have discussions with the Government failed because the latter had always put some conditions before the meeting. This led to violence followed by military operations in which the Army behaved ruthlessly with Naga hostiles but at the same time could not give protection to peaceful Nagas. Lastly, Keishing suggested that to solve the problem: (a) the Government should declare general amnesty and have talks with NNC representatives and others, (b) a separate administrative unit with Naga Hills, Tuensang division and Tirap Frontier region should be formed, and (c) a parliamentary delegation should visit the disturbed areas to restore goodwill and confidence.

Jasokie: Yes.

JN: The whole or only the Sixth Schedule?

Jasokie: Mainly the Sixth Schedule which we were interested in.

JN: You should read the other main provisions of the Constitution also. We gave a lot of thought to it, but we had so many problems facing us at that time. We had to look after millions of refugees from Pakistan. Speaking for myself, I could not then give much thought to the Hill areas of North East India, although I was very much interested in them. Broadly speaking, I wanted them to have as much autonomy as possible and share with us the freedom of India, that is, freedom for all the people.

We drew up a complicated Constitution protecting the rights of everybody through the Judiciary, Parliament and other safeguards. We thought the Sixth Schedule was a step which should be worked out and then changed, if necessary. I did not give much time to it then. The Sixth Schedule applied to various areas, but the Naga National Council did not cooperate in working it. We have, therefore, had no chance to get it going or take further steps.

We met some Naga representatives during this period. I met Phizo twice or thrice and some others too.[5] Everytime Phizo met me he talked about independence. I told him I was not prepared to discuss it as I considered it an absurd claim. The result was that we never discussed the other problems either. It is quite possible if other matters had been discussed many problems could have been solved in a friendly and cooperative way. The situation grew worse and Phizo gave a lot of trouble. I came to the conclusion that Phizo should not be relied upon and he was out only for mischief. I said then I was prepared to meet Naga representatives but I would not meet Phizo, unless he gave up violence and the claim for independence. Then the trouble started and we were faced with this situation.

Before I say more, I should like you to tell me what your feelings are. I will say this that the violent step Phizo and others took was a foolish step and a step which no country could tolerate. India is a big country, a proud country. Our pride is that we live up to certain principles. If you have travelled in India you must have noticed a great variety of our customs, religions, languages, etc. We maintain all this variety, but, nevertheless, we all have a national unity which is

5. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p.176.

based on this variety which our Constitution tells us to maintain. We have to maintain the unity and integrity of the country. It is necessary at all times and more especially now when we are anxious to advance and preserve our freedom which we have won by our struggle against the British.

During these nine years we have made considerable progress and also gained prestige in the world. Therefore, for us to go in for fighting and use our Army is against our past record and present policy. It is distasteful to us. But, if violence is used against the State, we cannot help using force to suppress violence.

Our outlook is to give people local freedom and to build up the whole country.

The world today is a very complicated world. Now we have the Suez Canal trouble, for instance. In this state of the world, the first question for the country is to keep its unity and integrity. Because that unity and integrity was challenged in the Naga areas, we had to use force. Until peace and order are adequately established there, we have to use force.

I said in my speech in Parliament that we are anxious to win over our Naga people. Not only is Naga territory theirs, but the whole of India is theirs. It is their duty to build up their local area and the whole of India, preserve their customs, language, etc., within the integrity and unity of India. Besides, it is a frontier area and we have to be particularly careful about it.

Jasokie: The loyal leaders are very much agitated that Government will meet Phizo. We are directly concerned with the Naga people and we want to know the Government's stand. Apart from this, we want a political platform to convince our people and we want to know the Government's policy in that regard.

JN: I will be very brief. We intend to be firm with the hostiles until peace is restored.

Satsuo Angami: We are only six Nagas here, but we represent a large body of Nagas. Those who have resorted deliberately to violence are few, hardly two and a half per cent. We have been deputed by the Naga people to represent their wishes. The villagers are facing trouble on both sides; the hostiles threaten them if they do not give food and shelter to them and the Army, not knowing who are friendly and who are hostiles, sometimes kills innocent people. Therefore, to save innocent people, we have arranged to send some youths to go with the Army and tell them who are innocent villagers. We want to end this trouble as soon as possible. We have, therefore, to tell you certain things and ask for your advice and suggestions. The question of independence is not there, but some political status for a settlement is necessary. Those who

are cooperating with the Government and the liberal group of Nagas had their differences with Phizo, even before the start of the struggle. Phizo's group said they would not budge an inch from independence. We said independence would not lead to anywhere. But we want to know definitely from you what we can offer to the people when we go back. Without a promise from you and a political platform it is very difficult for us to convince the people and restore peace. Phizo's political platform is that of independence under which he is promising the people all kinds of things possible on earth. We need a good political platform to convince and win over the masses of the people. We asked the Foreign Secretary if all the Naga areas can be put in one administrative unit within the Union of India and within the framework of the Constitution.

T.N. Angami[6]: Some of our misguided people are killing our own innocent Nagas, yet we feel for them. Therefore, we would ask you to grant amnesty to those who surrender their arms and ammunition. If this amnesty is granted, we believe many armed Nagas will surrender. In the case of those who have committed heinous crimes, the law will take its course.

JN: An amnesty has been declared.[7] What more do you want? We can deal with heinous crimes in accordance with the Naga customary law, depending on the merits of each case. We do not want reprisals or punishment for punishment's sake, but serious crimes have to be dealt with and the offenders punished. You have your own methods of punishment. We have declared an amnesty for those who surrender arms and we should like to use people's cooperation in dealing with them.

6. Thepfulo Nakhro Angami (b. 1913); served in Indian Army overseas during Second World War; in Indian Civil Service, 1946-50; active in the political life of Nagaland since 1950; member of the Naga National Council but broke away from it in 1955 on the question of violence; helped in the formation of Naga People's Convention and member in its Select Committee since 1957; Chairman, Interim Body, Nagaland, 1961-63; Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Nagaland, 1964-66; Chief Minister, Nagaland, 1966-69; Minister of Public Works and Electricity, Nagaland, 1969-72.
7. Raj Kumar Kochhar, who was appointed General Officer Commanding, Assam, in April 1956, issued a declaration in May 1956 assuring full protection to those who surrendered their arms, unless they were involved in murder or heinous crimes. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 185, 187 and 189.

You mentioned that some of you have started going with our Army to guide them. When did this start?

Jasokie: Two months ago.

JN: We started it because we felt that the situation should be dealt with in cooperation with our Naga friends. A new General, General Thimayya, has taken overall charge of this area. We have sent him there not because he is a great General, but because he is good in seeking the cooperation of the people. There must be mutual trust. Your views may be different from mine, but we must be frank with each other and trust each other.

I was very much distressed and unhappy at some of the incidents that occurred at the hands of our Army. The saddest incident was the death of Dr Haralu and we are trying our best to punish the guilty.

I want to change the whole approach to this problem. We have to deal with the hostiles firmly—they are hostile not only to Government but also hostile to the Naga people. We, therefore, want the trust and cooperation of the people and act in consultation with them. This takes time and trust does not grow suddenly. General Thimayya has been given these instructions and understands things. Therefore, our policy is:-

(1) to deal firmly with those who continue their hostilities; and

(2) to cooperate with those who are not hostile and to seek their help and advice.

Difficulties will arise in following this policy; but the main thing is that there should be frequent consultations between our authorities and our Naga friends so that misunderstandings can be removed. The final authority will be that of our General and we expect him to carry out our policy successfully.

You mentioned that independence appeals to the people and you also mentioned a separate state. The cry of independence has, instead of bringing peace or comfort to the people, only brought them distress and trouble. A mere slogan or a cry does not mean anything. Therefore, you must remember that what you are after is not merely a slogan but the giving of a feeling and sensation to the people that they can live their lives as they want to live them and not to change their customs, unless they want to change them, to develop hospitals, schools, roads, etc., about which there can be no difference. Do you have any Community Projects or National Extension Service blocks in the Naga Hills District?

Jasokie: We have five National Extension Service blocks but no Community Project. They almost cover the whole District. They began in 1954 but Phizo's

propaganda came in the way. Since hostilities have started, they are not working.

JN: These Community Projects are meant to build up rural areas like yours, to develop their own leadership and their community cooperation. We do not mean to crowd your areas with outside officers; they are there only to train the local people. At the end of the Second Five Year Plan period, we shall cover the whole of rural India with these Projects. At the bottom we have a village worker, then the doctors, engineers and others. The whole idea is to train the people of the area. This is the real great work we are doing in India today—to build up the people to produce their own leaders and not to thrust outsiders on them.

We have inherited the administrative system from British days—it has some good points and some bad points. We are making it more democratic so that the people themselves could control their own affairs, through Parliament, through Community Projects and the like. The Community Project is the biggest programme in the world today. We have about 25,000 village workers at present and are training 10,000 more every year.

Why I am saying all this is because sometimes people try to capture people's imagination by mere slogans, but that is not enough. I can understand the Naga people not wanting officers from outside. I myself spent 10 years in British jails and although I am Prime Minister today I can well understand the dislike of the people to be administered by officers. But what did we do when we became independent? We did not dismiss all the officers because we would have no trained people left then. There were many good people among them and some bad also. Many of them have done and are doing very good work. Even some who did badly during British times are doing good work with us now. You cannot disrupt all these things suddenly; so one has to accept things and then change them. If one upsets things suddenly, it may please some, but that would be childish. All great countries need trained people to do the work and public meetings alone cannot solve problems.

Therefore, in the whole of India, we are changing the people from inside and we are trying to remove the differences between the officers and the people which existed in British times. We have to work hard and it takes time—it may take 20 or 25 years to develop our country fully. All these five year plans are meant to build up not only industries but the people—the people come first. The kind of people we lack most today are engineers. We cannot afford to waste trained people. Therefore, we accepted a system which was built by the British even though we did not like it. We accepted even some British officers, but we are changing the system. My stand is that we have to build up the Naga areas.

The only people who can build them up are the Nagas themselves. We can only send you experts, but we want to train Naga engineers, Naga doctors, etc. They must build themselves up not only for the Naga areas, but for the whole of India. I want you to understand and know how our minds work; as we have to work together. We must understand each other. We can then help each other.

I cannot change India by law or a decree. I am not a dictator. It takes time. For instance, there is still unemployment in India. I think we can get rid of it only by careful schemes and not by law. Even among independent countries there has to be a lot of cooperation. These independent countries, like Nepal, Burma, Malaya and some African countries, are constantly asking for all kinds of help from us. We ourselves have taken the help from Germany, Russia and UK in the three big steel plants that we are building.[8] The next plants will be built by Indians. We want the people of each area to take charge of the area and develop it. Officers from outside are there only to help and not to rule and govern; but one cannot remain cut off from the world. For instance, the countries which were most cut off from the world, like Tibet, are now moving fast. It used to take four weeks to reach Lhasa from India and now it takes only two hours by air. The world is becoming small and we cannot remain isolated. Quite apart from my wishes and your wishes, you cannot simply consider the Naga territory as apart from the rest of India or the world. But what is necessary is to realize that it has its own special ways and customs—in some ways it is more advanced and in some other ways it is more backward than the rest of India. Therefore, a certain helpful protection from outside exploitation is necessary; but one cannot entirely remain away from the rest of the world, and isolated existence is not politically or economically possible today. We want you in the Naga areas to train the people to govern themselves. We want you also to work in the rest of India and to have a knowledge of world affairs. One must have this larger picture of autonomy.

You have talked about a Naga state and you said that it has nothing to do with independence. I want to point out to you two things:

(i) Our states have to fulfil some qualifications. They must be large enough in resources, trained personnel, etc. We cannot make any small area into a state which does not fulfil those qualifications;

8. It was decided to set up three integrated iron and steel plants in the public sector with an initial capacity of 10 lakh tons each at Rourkela in Orissa, Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh and Durgapur in West Bengal during the Second Plan period with the help of West Germany, the USSR and the UK, respectively.

(ii) this applies particularly to frontier areas. We have to take special care of them, even though we are friendly with our neighbours China and Burma.

We do not consider it right or desirable to make any announcement about the future. This cannot be made while the trouble created by Phizo and others continues. When there is peace and order, we can consider these matters.

One promise I can always make, because that is in accordance with our policy. We want all parts of India to develop fully and to rely upon themselves and not have interference from outside. This applies to the Naga area also. The present set-up in the Naga Hills can be considered when the trouble is over and not before. We are prepared to evolve a new set-up which may be considered more suitable. This will have to be done by our Parliament, but we wish to consult the Naga people fully about it when the time comes.

You feel that it will be easier for you to deal with your people if you give them something solid. I am convinced it is not safe or right to do this at the present time. It may appear as a surrender as long as trouble continues, but as soon as the trouble is over, it will be a cooperative attempt to solve the problem in the direction that the Naga people should shoulder the responsibility not only to run the Naga area but also the other areas. It involves constitutional changes. I am not a king or an emperor and cannot issue a decree. I have to go to Parliament and convince them. I think I can convince them but only at the right time and in the right way.

Our objective is to develop the area and train the people to govern themselves. The Community Projects are the basis for self-government of areas, especially areas like yours. You have to build self-government from below and that should go on. But apart from this, when the time comes for you and us to consider what proper steps to take, I do not propose to take any steps without consulting the Naga people. I am not frightened by Phizo and company and I do not propose to deal with them.

Jasokie: What do you advise we should tell the people? They want to get independence. We have to remould the people to other ideas. We cannot offer them autonomy within Assam. They will not accept it. At the same time, we do not want to exploit hostile activity to secure a settlement.

JN: The first thing they should understand is:- (1) the method of violence and fighting will bring misery and trouble and not independence; (2) this talk of Naga independence has no relationship to modern world. I say Nagas are independent today because they are part of independent India, as India is a sovereign democratic State. I can understand you when you say that you have not had the opportunity of taking active and full part in the activities of

independent India. Therefore, you should try to explain to your people that this talk of independence has landed them in trouble. You are independent, as independent as others in India and have the same individual freedom. But this is within the Union of India.

You mentioned your feelings against association with Assam. I do not rule out any proposal you may wish to make for our consideration. Only two considerations are supreme:

(1) national security; and (2) national unity.

Subject to these two supreme considerations, I want the Nagas to have the fullest freedom, the exact pattern of which we can discuss and settle later.

Jasokie: The Nagas want a straight answer "yes" or "No". Lengthy explanations make them suspicious.

JN: If the question is "Independence", the answer is "No". For instance, here, at our doorstep is Delhi State. It is an advanced State, but we have to deprive it of its statehood; statehood is not necessary for freedom. But I realize you have to counteract a lot of slogans thrown out by Phizo. You want self-government for the Naga areas within the Union of India. I agree with you, but we have to consider it when the proper time comes.

Khieya: We have some followers and supporters. We do not want to fool them any more. We want to give them a straight answer. We have told them that independence is out of the question but we want a political status and the first thing we want is unification of the Naga areas. The second thing we want is a separate state completely cut off from Assam. We must be sincere and frank with our people; otherwise 50 to 75 per cent of Nagas may perish because they are not acquainted with military operations.

JN: What is your definition of "Nagas"—Angamis, Aos or Semas? How has the term "Naga" come to cover them all?

Jasokie: Naga is a Sema word, meaning 'Village people'.

JN: I thought the British had coined this word. Now you have different languages. There are some Nagas in Burma. Then there are Nagas in Manipur, which has been a separate state for hundreds of years. You cannot bring all these Nagas in one state and upset states that have existed for centuries. Then you talked about Assam—that you do not like to be associated with Assam. Am I right?

Jasokie: We want to be treated on an equal basis with Assam and not as a District of Assam.

JN: Many states in Central India are being joined in one larger state and in Western India also the same thing is happening, but nobody there thinks his status has become less by joining a bigger state.

Silie Haralu: What we want is that the Tuensang Frontier Division and the Naga Hills District should be one administrative area for the time being and we can give it any name—a state or anything else—after peace has been restored.

JN: At present Tuensang Frontier Division is in NEFA. which is directly under the Centre. The Naga Hills District is an autonomous district under the Assam State administration. Our tendency is to abolish smaller states. You are suggesting something which goes against our policy. You want to create smaller states. I can understand that the Naga Hills and Tuensang Frontier Division are similar areas and should be dealt with under one administration.

Jasokie: Yes, but under a separate administration.

JN: We can consider that when the time comes.

Jasokie: We have understood your point, but we want you to understand ours. For a political platform we want a Naga state when peace is restored. You said if it is given now it will be a sign of weakness. I want to ask you "Can this be considered when peace is restored?"

JN: I am not ruling out anything when peace is restored. We will consult the Naga people and consider everything that is put up. We want the Naga people to run their own show.

T.N.Angami: We understand, but we feel pained because we will find it difficult to explain to our people who have suffered and who are still suffering.

JN: I understand. I am as anxious as you are to stop this suffering. I want to win the goodwill of the Nagas, but I do not want to bribe them. They are a proud people and I am proud also.

T.N. Angami: If the situation is prolonged for a few months more, it will wipe out the Nagas.

JN: I have told you that we want to give Nagas full measure of autonomy in consultation with them, but I cannot give you any definite promise about a political future. I could give you a state which will be the shadow of a state but lacking the substance of a state. But I do not want to do this. I want to come to Shillong and, if possible, to Kohima in the next month or two and I hope I shall meet you then.[9] I am glad you came here and am glad to have met you.

9. Nehru was in Assam from 17 to 20 October 1956.

7. To S. Fazl Ali[1]

New Delhi
29 September 1956

My dear Fazl Ali,
On return to Delhi[2] I have seen your telegram to Home Ministry about the proposal of the Sema leaders, including Kaito, offering to surrender on behalf of Sema Naga hostiles. I understand that Pantji has broadly approved of the line you wish to take in this matter.[3] A subsequent telegram has just come stating that the meeting scheduled for the 3rd October is being postponed to some future date.[4]

1. JN Collection.
2. Nehru returned on 28 September after a brief visit to Saudi Arabia from 24 to 27 September.
3. In his telegram of 26 September to G.B. Pant, Fazl Ali wrote that he had advised the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of Naga Hills District to be present at the talks and to be firm without wounding the susceptibilities of Sema leaders.
4. Fazl Ali, in his subsequent telegram of 28 September to MEA, mentioned that the meeting was postponed because the Sema leaders asked for more time.

These talks, when they take place, require a good deal of tact and care. The Sema representatives should be received courteously. If they refer to any political question, they should be told that our representatives are not authorized to discuss any such matter. As we have already announced, amnesty will be offered to all except those involved in heinous crimes. It is our desire to establish peace in all this area so that normal conditions might return and the Naga people should be able to live there peacefully according to their customs. Our attitude should be firm but friendly.

You may remember that in the course of my statement in the Lok Sabha I said something about Naga hostiles accused of serious crimes being tried according to tribal customs.[5] I felt at the time that this policy which we had followed elsewhere in NEFA might be understood and appreciated better by the Nagas. I do not, however, quite know what their customs are in this respect. This question need not arise at this stage. I am merely mentioning this to you so that you might keep it in mind.

I agree with you that this must be kept absolutely secret.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. On 23 August 1956.

8. To K.S. Thimayya[1]

New Delhi
30 September 1956

My dear Thimayya,
I have decided to go to Assam on the 17th October.[2] I leave Delhi by air that morning, reach Gauhati about mid-day and spend three or four hours there; then to Shillong where I reach about 6.30 p.m. on the 17th. I shall spend the 18th in Shillong and leave on the 19th morning for some places in the interior of Assam.

I should like you to be in Shillong on the 17th evening to meet me there and also on the 18th. Perhaps you might accompany me on the 19th morning to one or two places I am going to in Assam, which probably include a game sanctuary where you can see the rhinos, if you are lucky.

I presume you have heard of some developments in the Naga areas. The Sema leaders have approached us apparently with a view to surrender. October 3rd had been fixed for this meeting but it is now being postponed at their own instance.[3] I do not trust very much these preliminary advances till something more certain emerges. But this does appear to be something fairly definite. We must, of course, keep this matter completely secret as otherwise it may fall through.

Such a meeting will have to be with our military chiefs, one or two civil officers attending. The Governor is in touch with the situation.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Nehru was on a four-day tour to Assam from 17 to 20 October 1956.
3. See the preceding item.

(ii) The Khasis

1. Representation of Khasis[1]

I enclose a copy of a representation made to me on behalf of some tribal people, Khasis I think, who live on the borders of Assam and East Pakistan.[2] There can be no doubt that they have suffered greatly because of the Partition. Something has been done for them during the last two or three years, but they have still to face great difficulties. The demand made in this representation appears to me to be impractical. The money asked for amounts, I believe, to about rupees eighteen lakhs.[3]

2. But, they do require every help that we can give them. Ultimately, I suppose, the most helpful thing that we can do is to provide proper communications.

3. Anyhow, I feel that special attention should be given to these people.

4. I am sending a copy of this to the Chief Minister of Assam.[4]

1. Note to G.B. Pant, Union Minister for Home Affairs, 16 September 1956. File No. 33(31)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. Copies of this note were sent to S. Fazl Ali, Governor of Assam, Bisnuram Medhi, Chief Minister of Assam, and L.M. Shrikant, Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
2. The representation made on 5 September 1956 was for financial aid for rehabilitating some Khasi families resettled in Bhoi area of the Khasi-Jaintia Hills District of Assam.
3. On 17 October 1956, L.M. Shrikant informed Medhi of allotment of Rs 90 lakhs for setting up six intensive development blocks in the Hill Districts of Assam, of which one might be reserved for the Khasis resettled in Bhoi area.
4. On 23 October 1956 Nehru wrote to Bisnuram Medhi expressing the hope that the latter would give consideration to this matter.

2. To G. B. Pant[1]

New Delhi
20 November 1956

My dear Pantji,
When I was in Shillong recently, the Governor as well as some other people spoke to me about the Cherra Punji coal dispute. There has been some kind of non-cooperation in this matter also, and there is considerable feeling. I asked the Governor to send me papers about it. He has now sent me this bundle which I enclose.[2] I need not add that I have not read these papers. I have only read the Governor's letter.[3]

Fazl Ali, having been a Judge of the Supreme Court, his opinion on the legal aspects is naturally valuable. Nevertheless, I think it would be a good thing for the Attorney General[4] to look into this matter and advise us.

The Khasi leaders of the agitation wanted this matter to be referred to the Supreme Court for their opinion. I do not know whether this is necessary or

1. File No. 57/242/56-Poll. (I)-MHA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Raja of Cherra Punji in 1840 executed a perpetual lease in favour of the British Government in respect of the coal hills of Cherra Punji reserving to the Khasis the right of digging up coal of the area free of charge. In 1930, Assam Government granted two mining leases for extracting coal in Cherra area to a British Company which in 1936 applied for a third lease to the Assam Government in respect of new areas in Cherra. This was granted by the State Government and approved by the Central Government in 1950. Several representations were made against this lease pointing out that it would adversely affect the existing rights of the Khasis extracting coal in the area covered by the third lease. The Central Government approved the lease in respect of revised area, which was finally executed in 1953. Some people of Cherra Siemship represented to the Government to get final interpretation of legal position of ownership of minerals in Khasi Hills from the Supreme Court.
3. Fazl Ali opined that: (1) constitutional provisions had not extinguished all rights of a private owner in the minerals in the Autonomous District and given over to the Assam Government; (2) any interference with the rights of the Khasis of Cherra Siemship would cause great hardship to them; (3) the Government were the owners of the coal lands; (4) reconciling the rights of the Khasis with the rights of the Government was difficult. The Assam Governor supported Nehru's suggestion of seeking the Attorney-General's opinion in the matter.
4. M.C. Setalvad.

worthwhile. In any event we should, to begin with, have the Attorney General's opinion.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

VI. Youth

1. Receptiveness to the External World Necessary[1]

Maulana Saheb[2] and young men and women,
I have been ordered to declare the Festival open. That is easily done. But what am I to say to you after that? I was invited on the last two occasions and had the opportunity of being with you and listening and talking to you.[3] In a sense, thoughts crowd into my mind and there is a desire in me to share them with the youth because their lives are just beginning whereas ours are almost over. This is why I keep repeating many things perhaps more than necessary. But just now I am wondering what I should speak to you about. I can talk about many things but after all, they ought to be relevant to the present occasion. If I merely try to find an outlet for my fevered brain, it will become a burden to you instead of reassuring you.

You are here for a week or so in which there will be sports and games, music, dance, etc. This itself is a great improvement because I have seen that in India,

1. Speech at the third Inter-University Youth Festival at Talkatora Gardens, New Delhi, 22 October 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. The Festival, an annual feature, was attended by about 1,600 boys and girls from thirty universities. During the seven days, the students took part in dance, music, drama and other competitions.
2. Abul Kalam Azad, Union Minister for Education and Natural Resources and Scientific Research, presided over the Festival.
3. Azad inaugurated the first Youth Festival, held in the Central Hall of Parliament House on 1 November 1954. The second Festival, inaugurated by Nehru, was held at the open air theatre in Talkatora Gardens on 23 October 1955. For Nehru's inaugural speech on the occasion, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 30, pp. 96-107.

no matter what the occasion is, whether it is a party or a reception, there are always speeches as in a public meeting. People are tremendously interested in giving and hearing speeches. Giving speeches is almost a passion and as you know, I am also guilty of this. Giving speeches or listening to them is not a bad thing. But there should be an occasion for it. But here almost every form of celebration is like a public meeting and political issues are generally dragged in, or sometimes, exaggerated paeans are sung. This vice has even begun to afflict our students and youth for they are also willing to give speeches on every occasion and express their views on complex issues in long-winded speeches. It is a good thing that they should think about these problems and express their views. There is no harm in their getting rid of some of the fever on their brains in this way. But if one's entire life revolves around such things, life becomes a little constricted. After all, there are other things in life. If attention is not paid to them at a young age, the heart and mind do not grow and develop well. Therefore, it is extremely important that there should be opportunities for all-round development. Such opportunities are available to some extent in India. But they are limited compared to other countries. Therefore, it is a good thing that the Education Ministry has started this Festival which is evident from its success.

For a long, long time, we in India have been the victims of a sad malaise. During the days of the British rule, every spirited individual in India was engaged in trying to set the country free. So, everyone's attention was focussed on that which was proper in the circumstances. But to some extent, it limited the development of the people though one advantage of being wholly engrossed in something takes one faster towards a goal. However that madness does not leave one easily and though the British rule has been removed, we still tend to lean in that direction. To some extent, this is due to a lack of proper opportunities for all-round development, and also because old habits die hard.

During the days of the British, there used to be a debate whether students should take part in politics or not. It was an absurd question then and it is so even today. What is the meaning of politics? In those days it was considered to be a confrontation with the existing government. I do not know what politics is understood to be these days. It is obvious that instead of taking part in politics, the foremost duty of a student is to read about it and grasp it. It is a fundamental part of our lives and is essential to understand it well. But in India, politics has come to mean taking out processions and making demands as in the days of the British. It has taken on a strange garb here. Last year I was in England and visited Cambridge, where I was told that the students show no interest in politics. The same is true of Oxford. As far as I know, the students in the United States

have never shown any interest in politics. When I was in England as a student,[4] there was some interest. But I was told that now nobody has any real interest in it. Some students here and there may be interested because they have some idea of entering Parliament later on. Even the debating societies in the university do not ordinarily have debates on politics because they feel that the subject is not interesting enough. This was strange and to some extent I felt that it was not quite right just as showing no interest in anything except politics is not right either. There should be a middle path which does not lean too far this way or that. As a matter of fact, interest in politics is only one aspect of our lives which have several facets. There should be interest in various aspects of human lives which involves several angles. Some may be more interested in certain aspects and others may be interested in others. But especially, at a time when you are reading in universities, when your minds are growing, it is essential that you should show interest and curiosity in various things, that there should be an effort to understand the world from various angles, all of which must produce the faculty of creativeness in you so that you do not learn merely to copy.

What is the yardstick to judge a nation's greatness by? It is obvious that mere numbers do not make a nation great. There must be something else, some quality, an inner spirit, among the people which makes it great. A country in which the number of such people is large goes very far and makes a name for itself. Even if an average number of people have that quality, the country rises above the ordinary.

I will not go into the quality which makes for greatness. But it is obvious that there is something. The British ruled over us for over 150 years. We may complain about their atrocities and exploitation, etc., all of which is true. But ultimately, the conclusion cannot be avoided that they came here in the first place because they were better than us, stronger and more intelligent. It is a different matter that they used cunning to build an empire in India. But the basic thing is that a nation progresses due to its innate qualities, strength and good points, and not by making a noise.

India today presents a strange picture. The world is changing rapidly and so is India. There are good points about these changing times as well as drawbacks. The drawback is that there are no moorings. The advantage is that it is an extremely interesting era to live in and it constantly demands people of special calibre and qualities and spirit. To carry on with the old system may require some qualities, but they are far more essential to run a new and changing system.

4. From May 1905 to August 1912.

This is the situation in India just now. You must be aware as I am, of the interesting contrast between the picture of India which has existed for thousands of years and the changing times of today. A new history of India is being written today by the millions of Indians just as they were responsible for winning freedom. There were great leaders but ultimately, it is the people who fought for freedom.

Freedom brought tremendous responsibilities with it as is natural in a free country. Secondly, there were additional responsibilities because we were backward and wished to advance. Thirdly, we are living in a revolutionary, fast-changing world in which new forces are emerging from day to day. Finally, the most revolutionary thing that has happened in the world is the discovery of atomic energy which can transform the world or destroy it. We, and more especially you, have been born in these times and nobody can escape from the times that he lives in. During the Russian Revolution, there was a leader called Trotsky who is no longer heard of much, but was very famous in those days. When somebody complained about the hardships they were having to bear, he is supposed to have replied that they had chosen the wrong time to be born in, for the times cannot change because a few individuals are displeased. So, times cannot change at the whims and pleasures of individuals. We must understand the times that we live in, our country and the world and prepare ourselves in order to participate in their affairs. I do not agree that we are absolutely helpless. It is true that we cannot change the times entirely. But even so after all, it is human beings who mould the times and in turn are moulded by them. It works both ways and we can alter it to some extent, especially in our own country and perhaps in some other places too.

So, it is important for us to understand the strange times that we are living in and shoulder the responsibilities which can be very rewarding. I do not mean money. It can be rewarding because we have got the opportunity to work and to shoulder responsibilities, and to try to translate dreams into reality. These things will take time though.

It is obvious that a special quality is required to be able to do these tasks, apart from book-learning. Reading in a university is the beginning of education, not the end. The general feeling is that education is over once a degree has been acquired. It is wrong because that is the first step towards learning something and if you acquire the ability to learn by yourself in future, the purpose of a university education would have been served. So, it is important that you should get opportunities for all-round development so that the windows of your mind are opened.

I was in Assam only the day before yesterday and visited a game sanctuary to

see the one-horned rhinoceros.[5] It is an animal which is found only in Assam in India and nowhere else in the world. It is an extraordinary animal. You cannot believe your eyes because it seems to have no connection with the rest of the world. It looks like one of the prehistoric animals like we see pictures of in zoology books. I kept staring at it unable to believe whether it was real or not. It was extremely ugly.

Well, anyhow, I would like to know how many people can recognize any except the most ordinary animals, or even know their names. How many birds can you recognize by their singing? Can you identify the stars or trees or flowers? Ask yourselves these questions. Everybody knows of the common varieties. When I was in the Almora jail,[6] many migratory birds used to come during the winter from the Soviet Union, Siberia, Germany, etc., and I was greatly interested. I asked one individual in the jail if he could recognize any of the birds and he replied that he could certainly recognize a crow. This is generally the situation in this country. It is possible that people may even recognize a parrot and a mynah. But they would find it difficult to go beyond that. Why is it so? If you go to any school in Europe, the children will be able to tell you the names of hundreds of birds and animals. It is a hobby.

Now, there may be nothing great in knowing the names of birds. But it shows a sense of perception and observation of the external world. Internally also, you must grow. Normally, these things are talked about in the country and spiritual development is considered very essential. But my suspicion is that it is talked of more than it is practised. This is one thing. Secondly, you must develop your external personalities and keep your eyes open and evince an interest in this extraordinary world of ours.

I lived for a year or eighteen months in the Almora jail. It was a small cell with a tiny patch of green in the front. But I began to observe many new things which I did not earlier, like insects and tiny flowers which people do not normally notice. Since I had nothing to do I began to recognize every little thing. I came to know where a lizard lives and there were many beehives and I tried to understand their lives. Once I witnessed a terrible war between the bees and the wasps. Have you ever seen it? It was a ruthless war and I was helpless. It was obvious that the wasps were terribly strong and destroyed the bees completely. I tried my best to save them. But then I felt that it was absurd of me to try and interfere in their parochial feuds.

5. On 20 October 1956, Nehru visited the Kaziranga game sanctuary in Assam which had about 250 rhinos.
6. Nehru stayed in Almora jail from 27 October 1934 to 4 September 1935.

What I mean to say is that since I was forced to live in isolation, these little things caught my imagination. In a small little place like that, life was to be found in innumerable forms, small and innocent animals, things of which people are scared of. In the beginning I did not like the bees. In fact one stung me and I killed some in my anger. Then I came to the conclusion that it is better to make friends with them rather than fight with them. So I made friends with them and they left me alone. I began to recognize almost every blade of grass and its growth.

Anyhow, I have given you an absurd example. What I mean to say is that life is a wonderful thing if your eyes and ears are open and your minds are receptive. I do not know if you have seen the Walt Disney[7] films on animals. I have seen one on a desert and its animal-life there.[8] You must be going to commercial movies with songs and dances which may be good. But you must let your perceptiveness grow. As it is, we are becoming limited in our outlook by becoming engrossed in political matters. I do not say that we should not take an interest in politics. We should, for it is an important aspect of our lives. But we seem to be closing our minds and eyes to the world around us. We do not ever look closely at our neighbours and are often annoyed that others are not a mirror image of ourselves. You come from various corners of India and there must undoubtedly be a feeling among you that you are the real Indians while the rest are not fully so, that you are the heart of India and it is your customs and traditions which reflect the true Indian way of life. The general feeling is that your own particular compartment is the real India. You may wear a different dress from the others or you may wear chappals while the others wear something else. But none of us has the right to claim to be more of an Indian than the others.

I am coming just now from Assam where there are many tribal areas. Some portions of Assam are very backward while the others are advanced. But all of them are a part of India and have as much right as an Indian as any of you.

We send our officials to the tribal areas. In the beginning, they found it very difficult because of the loneliness. For one thing, it used to take ten to twelve days to reach their destination by road and then they had to lead extremely isolated lives. They could not relate to the tribals who were very backward. So they were bored. In fact a couple of our officers went mad. Then we began to

7. Walter Elias Disney (1901-66); American film maker; produced first full length animated cartoon film, *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* (1938); noted also for nature films including *The Vanishing Prairie*.
8. *The Living Desert* (1953).

select our officers more carefully for posting in these areas. We took some men from the armed forces and others from outside whom we considered fit to serve there. These officials showed a special aptitude for serving in tribal areas. Otherwise, an individual would get bored. Our new policy of selection has been more successful because for those who were interested, there were a thousand new pictures to understand. For those who get used to these exotic sights and sounds, city-living seems tame and boring. But it requires a receptiveness to the external world and a deep empathy with the people.

People of my age often tend to become rigid in mind and body. In fact, rigidity is the sign of old age. If your mind loses its flexibility, it becomes old. It is true that often people are old from their very birth. That is a different matter. Their minds lack flexibility and what little there is of it in their bodies disappears pretty fast. So, the question is how long you can retain the flexibility of your mind and body. So long as you do, your development will not stop, no matter how old you are. The moment you lose it, you become old and rigid, and cannot grow in mind or body. Therefore, it is essential that in the schools and universities, your training should give you a freshness of outlook. I do not know how far it is happening today. But the moment you lose that, you fail to contribute anything significant as a human being. There is a life force in all of us which tries to emerge. You can either open the windows of your mind or merely keep repeating lessons learnt by rote which is meaningless and fails to impress anyone after a while.

It is often felt that there are many shortcomings in our education which is no doubt true. Everything has scope for improvement if an effort is made. There is often a complaint that the youth of today is very indisciplined which is also true. But there is no use talking about it. It is obvious that an indisciplined, noisy, lively human being is better than a silent lifeless one. If an individual lacks vitality, he is of no use. He will then be incapable of even making noise. So the most important thing is vitality. It is true that vitality can be used for good as well as bad. If it is used creatively, it will benefit others. If it is used for some social purpose, the society will benefit.

I was reading a report yesterday of a Quaker team of Englishmen who had gone to China recently. It was a very good report. They have mentioned in it that there is an emphasis on the Five Virtues in China. Let me try to remember what they are. I can only remember the English phrases—(1) Love of Motherland (2) Love of Labour (3) Love of the people (4) Love of Science (5) Protection of National Property. As far as I can remember these are the five things and all of them are very good. We can accept all five very willingly. Love of motherland is an obviously good thing. Labour is the basis for the whole world and we must respect it. It is a dangerous tendency in our country to look down upon labour.

People prefer to do white-collar jobs to digging the earth. It is absurd. You must remember that there is a difference between the love of the people and love of motherland. The former involves a social outlook and the latter is political and national. It is obvious that both of them overlap. Then comes love of science. What is science? It is a search for the truth, whether it is in the outer physical world, or in the internal, spiritual sphere or anywhere else. Nobody can understand the modern world without understanding science. We cannot progress unless we adopt science. We must do original research and not merely copy others.

So, we are living in strange times and all kinds of problems arise. It is obvious that everyone cannot excel in all the fields. It is impossible. The world has become a complicated place. In the olden days, that is four or five hundred years ago, the educational system in Europe and India or in the Greek city-states, included everything in the curriculum—religion, philosophy, medicine, logic, history in a broad way and other things as well. So, an educated man was a complete man, knowledgeable about most things in the world. Nowadays, a very good engineer may be useless in other things. It is possible that he may be a bad citizen because his education and training is not complete and he is unable to fit in the society.

Nowadays, hundreds of books are available and we read them. But that does not mean that we are more capable. There was once a very famous man in Europe who is associated with learning.[9] He had in all fifty books in his library, all of them extremely good volumes. What I mean to say is that there has been so much advance in all fields of learning that it is absurd to try to absorb all of it. We must certainly learn a profession but at the same time our development should not be one-sided. We must learn how to live in society. This is very essential.

So, it is essential that while you are in the university, you must develop and expand your mental powers by learning about the complex world that we live in. You must be receptive and perceptive, so that your mind is not closed. Therefore, I feel that if a man makes too much noise, it shows that his mind is empty. Such people get carried away by momentary passions and their minds are closed. The world is an extremely complex place and we cannot afford to shut our minds to the outside world. Emotions are all right in their own place.

There are tremendous problems before us in India and all kinds of new avenues of working and thinking are opening up. Now, if an individual says that one way is infallible, he is useless and stupid. First of all, it is amazing that anybody

9. Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466-1536), a Dutch philosopher and scholar.

should dare to say that only one way is right. Secondly, it is not correct either, and in my personal view the person who says it, has not the first idea about reality. First of all, the world is a more complex place than that and there are several ways which we must try to understand through humility, and not allow ourselves to be steeped in pride and feel superior.

I have been talking to you at random to make you think a little and to make you realize that by participating in this Festival, you are removed for a time from your ordinary, day-to-day tasks. So it brings you out of your shell and gives you an opportunity to see the other side of the picture . You make new contacts and expend your energies in new ways. That is far more important than mere book-learning. Reading is a good thing and I feel that our young people read very little apart from their textbooks. Your reading should be wide. But apart from reading, you must try to understand the world a little. India is a small world in itself, full of diversities and we can live in such a vast country only when we have tolerance in us. Tolerance and understanding for one another are not possible without the other. Otherwise we cannot exist in such a large country and there will be constant feuds and tensions.

History has posed a very big question to us and we are searching for an answer. Sometimes we are led astray but we are ready to retrieve our mistakes. The answer is not easy to find. Time will provide the answer. But all of us have to keep searching and ultimately provide the solution by our actions and our thinking when the time comes. We must prepare ourselves as far as possible, not merely by going through universities, but by participating in various activities like the Festival for which you are assembled here. *Jai Hind!*

2. Girl Guides Movement for International Fellowship and Cooperation[1]

Dr Kunzru,[2] Mr Pakvasa[3] and Commissioners of the Girl Guides,

I have gladly come here at your invitation to inaugurate this conference,[4] but not without some apprehension. Firstly, because I have not been associated directly with this movement. Obviously, I could not be a girl guide anyhow, but not even otherwise its sister or brother organization, the Boy Scouts. I have watched them from a distance, liked them, admired them, and welcomed their activities, but I have never taken any intimate part in them. Then I felt also that coming here among a large number of enthusiastic young women, I might be rather out of place but I am emboldened when I see my colleagues to the right and to the left of me.[5] There is still some place for a person of my age here.

I was wondering what you would expect me to say on this occasion. Dr Kunzru has talked about citizenship, high ideals, and putting well the other person, giving the other person precedence over yourself, that is, some kind of selflessness. These, obviously, are very desirable ends to aim at. Not only now but throughout history great men and philosophers have told us that that is the way an individual or a social group should develop. But would you expect me merely to give you good advice and repeat some well known truths of old? Sometimes, I have found too much repetition of a good thing makes it almost look like bad or, at any rate, people get a little weary of hearing it and react in a contrary way. In so far as I can remember my own reactions when I was much younger I recollect that that I reacted rather strongly against too much advice being given to me and so I have always felt a little chary of advising others at least directly. Indirectly, of course, one is always doing that. That is a trick of the

1. Speech at a seven-day conference of International Commissioners of Girl Guides for the Asian region at Sapru House, New Delhi, 22 October 1956. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. H.N. Kunzru, Member of Rajya Sabha, was National Commissioner of the Bharat Scouts and Guides.
3. Mangaldas Pakvasa was President of the Bharat Scouts and Guides.
4. The conference was the second meeting of the International Guide Commissioners and the first to be held in Asia and India. Delegates from Australia, Pakistan, UK, USA, Singapore, Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Egypt, Japan and the Philippines attended the meeting.
5. On either side of Nehru on the dais, sat H.N. Kunzru and Mangaldas Pakvasa.

trade. But saying that bluntly and directly may not perhaps have the same effect as is intended.

Now, it is obvious that in the world today even more than any other time this feeling of cooperation, of thinking well of others also, not only of oneself—I don't think anyone can get out of one's self—is obviously necessary, if for nothing else, because it is a very crowded world and, we are constantly, well, rubbing each others' shoulders. If that is so, either we live with some measure of peace and cooperation or in trying to knock each other down.

Sometime ago it was possible for countries to live, more or less, a separate and isolated existence. In our time there is hardly any country that can do that. Perhaps the nearest approach to such a country was, not now, but say three or four years ago, was Tibet. It was isolated and what is called modern civilization, had not entered it at all. Even that is changing there fairly rapidly. Anyhow, in the rest of the world, whether one likes it or not, one is constantly thrown against one's neighbour. And in the ultimate analysis there are only two ways of meeting this situation. Adjustment and cooperation—that is one way. And the other is a struggle and knocking each other out or trying to knock each other out. As a matter of fact, the other way, that is, the one of conflict is hardly a way. It is only an angry reaction, because you don't succeed in doing anything. You may knock a person down, then the other person thinks of knocking you down the next day and it becomes a continuous process of conflict of this kind. That does not help. And the big things of the world cannot be done, because, all our energy is spent on the wrong way. That was bad enough as it was. But now when the process of knocking down each other might involve the use of such things as the atomic bomb, then it becomes a little more dangerous, because that might knock out both the parties to the dispute, apart from others too, who are not in the dispute. So, really quite apart from any high ideals that we might have—and we should have ideals, of course from the strictest practical consideration of affairs in the world today—it becomes not only necessary but inevitable for people to try to cooperate, try to understand each other, and try to adjust oneself with each other, which means, of course, also not to interfere too much with each other, because if there is interference then there is a reaction to that interference.

Now, you may have heard of what our country, India, and some other countries have said in regard to international affairs. Some principles we have suggested which we have called the *Panchsheel* or the five principles, which essentially are our recognizing each others' individuality and not interfering with each other and and cooperating in the international sphere, or in the smaller spheres, if you like. In the smaller spheres, of course, it is, more or less, recognized. The *Panchsheel* is nothing wonderful. It is just commonsense. The alternative is, as I said, big conflict, which nobody wants.

Now, it seems to me that the ideals and principles which the Girl Guides movement[6] has closely approximate to that, maybe in different language. Indeed, any thinking person is bound to arrive at that kind of thinking, because the alternative cannot be accepted.

Well, these are big things and I just do not want the Girl Guides to bother themselves too much about world affairs. But it is rather necessary even in the early stage of our lives, when we go to school or even for that matter the nursery school, that we should help a child or a girl or a young woman to look in a particular direction and not to develop habits of conflict in preference to habits of cooperation.

Therefore, movements like the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides, which are based on cooperation, service of others, are good. They are good not only in the sense of doing good to others—that is a wrong way to look at it—that they do far more good to the person concerned rather than to others. It is never good for any one of us to be wrapped up in ourselves and think of ourselves all the time. In fact, the worst sufferer from that outlook is ourselves, for we don't grow. So, all these activities seem to me highly important, which draw us out of ourselves and make us think of larger problems. They make us think of our neighbour, our country, and make us act, therefore, in this larger sphere. Most of us have to function in a small sphere. That does not matter. But if that small sphere becomes part of a large sphere in our thinking we get the benefits of that larger association.

Apart from that, what do we want in an individual? What do we wish an individual to develop into gradually? Well, many things. Dr Kunzru has mentioned some.[7] We want, certainly, a peaceful person, but not a passive person. A passive peacefulness is not much good. It is just passivity. We want a dynamic and active life; peacefulness and dynamism in life, in fact. How do we develop that without associating with it certain undesirable features of aggression, whether it is individual or national? Rather difficult. But one should develop life, it is likely to assume rather aggressive tendencies, whether it is with your neighbour, or with next door neighbour country of yours, because after all, the basic thing is life and creativeness in an individual, the capacity to do things, to create things, to labour, to think—these are the basic things which make an individual or a group grow. But all those basic things

6. A youth organization for girls established in 1910 in UK by Lord Baden-Powell and his sister Agnes Baden-Powell.
7. H.N. Kunzru said that the Girl Guides movement worked for world peace by teaching international fellowship and cooperation to young boys and girls. It sought to make them better citizens of their respective countries and the world.

minus the cooperative element, minus friendliness and neighbourliness might well do harm and injury as they are done in history. So, there are these considerations which, I should imagine, apply very much to an international organization like the Girl Guides movement.

We want girls in this country to play an active part in all our life and in all departments of national activity. I am glad to say that the women generally are playing an ever growing part. But they will only play that part if they are trained to play it in their individual selves or in their social groups. And we want them to be messengers of goodwill to each other and to others, whether in this country or in other countries, because we do stand rather at the age of peril nowadays, with these atom bomb and the rest being talked about and sometimes being played with and it is necessary to be active and alert and wide awake about this matter. And the best way is not for politicians to deliver speeches but for young boys and girls to go after that outlook and to remember that it is not possible for any country today to lead an isolated existence. It cannot be done. We are too near each other. Transport and communications are much too easy. We are almost all of us sitting in each other's laps, you might say. And, if that is so, there is no alternative to cooperation. I am afraid most of us in every country talk a great deal about cooperation and the like. But our idea of cooperation is rather the other fellow cooperating with us, rather than we cooperating with the other person. In fact, the other person follows the line we lay down. That, of course, is a very one-sided affair and is not likely to lead to any real cooperation.

Anyhow, some of you present here have come from other countries and have been associated with the Girl Guides movement in those other countries. We welcome you and I hope that you will take back with you pleasant memories of this movement here and of our country. And all the others who are here, I hope, they will profit by the presence of distinguished leaders from other countries and learn much from them.

VII. WOMEN AND CHILDREN

1. Equal Opportunities for All Children[1]

Children and grown-ups,

All of you have got some prizes[2] and I have been made to work. Shankarji[3] has not given me any prize. Now it does not seem right to me that I should be made to work and not be given any prize. But it is a good thing that you have got prizes for your good work.

Recently, about six weeks ago, I was in Dublin[4] the capital of Ireland and there about 20-22 children were awarded similar prizes for painting and essay-writing. Since the children could not come here from Dublin, they were assembled there and I distributed last year's prizes. I am very happy that these prizes reach children in far corners of the world and how the children of different countries come together this way. Whatever brings us close together is a good thing and the things which separate are not good. So this competition is something which, in a sense, bring the children of the world together. So it is a very good thing for the children of today will grow up and even then know how to live together. Often the grown-ups do not know how to live in unity. So they have to be taught unity and cooperation. If people learn this lesson from childhood and get into the habit of playing and studying together, when they have to face the bigger tasks in the world, they will be able to do them together. Then there will be no more wars in the world for wars harm everyone and no good comes out of them. It is only children or grown-ups who are not intelligent who fight. Therefore, every year when I come to these shows of Shankarji and see lots of children and grown-ups assembled together, I feel very happy because it is a symbol for me of unity and love and friendship among the people of the world and a healthy spirit of a competition.

1. Speech at the International Children's Painting and Writing Competition organized by *Shankar's Weekly*, New Delhi, 1 September 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Nehru distributed 329 prizes to children who had taken part in the competition in 1955. The prizes were shared by children of 37 countries, including India, Afghanistan, Brazil, Myanmar, Hungary, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan, Poland, UK, USA and USSR.
3. K. Shankar Pillai was a well known cartoonist and founder-editor of *Shankar's Weekly*.
4. Nehru reached Dublin on 7 July 1956 on a five-day visit to Ireland.

You have seen grown-ups taking the prizes for the children of their countries. Ambassadors and representatives came and took the prizes which they will send to the children in their countries[5] These children who receive these prizes will think of our country, India, and know that children here also are taking part in the competition and will get prizes. So it increases familiarity between them in a way. That is very good thing because there are many countries in the world, some big, some small. But children everywhere are alike. They read and write, play games and gradually grow up.

The only difficulty is that many children in our country do not get an opportunity to take part in all these things. So, we have to make arrangements so that every child in villages and cities gets an opportunity. It is the right of every child to be able to learn to read and work and play.

Anyhow, we are all assembled here once again, children and grown-ups. You will go from here with your prizes. I know you must be sitting there, impatient that all this should be over quickly so that you can go home and see what you have got. So, I will not take up any more of your time. I thank all of you, children and grown-ups.

5. The ambassadors and representatives of different countries present on the occasion were Malcolm MacDonald, the UK High Commissioner; Escott Reid, the Canadian High Commissioner; Edwin Wijeyaratne, Sri Lankan High Commissioner; Mian Zia-ud-Din, Pakistan High Commissioner; Mikhail Menshikov, the Russian ambassador; M. Salim Al-Radi, Minister of Iraq, and the Charge d'Affaires of the USA and Czechoslovakia.

2. Women and Social Revolution[1]

President,[2] sisters and brothers,

I am very happy to see so many of our women from Calcutta and Bengal assembled here today. I have often said that India can progress only when her women progress. It is my opinion that if you wish to know how advanced a country is, you should find out what the position of its women is. If you know that and the position that women occupy in society, the laws regarding women, etc., you can say accurately what that country is all about and whether it is advancing or becoming backward.

For a long time the idea prevalent in Europe and the United States was that the Indian women are very backward. The first jolt to this idea came when Mahatma Gandhi issued his call for the freedom fight and thousands of Indian women came out of their homes to join the movement. Not only did they take part but worked very hard and bore tremendous hardships. Innumerable women went to jail. It was a fantastic thing to have happened for our politics, but it was even better for our society because there is no doubt that women had been given a backward role in our society. They did not get time and opportunity to work outside their houses to play a role in the affairs of the society. Even the laws made them backward and did not give them an opportunity to grow.

Now, a nation advances in three ways—politically, economically and socially—if there is to be a proper revolution in the country. Politically, unless the country has freedom, it cannot advance. So, we had a political revolution in India by following the path shown by Mahatma Gandhi and achieved freedom. But you may remember Gandhiji laid emphasis not only on political revolution but social and economic revolutions too. He used to constantly point out the need to uplift women and the downtrodden sections of society. These problems were not a thing apart from politics for Gandhiji. He used to refer to them as *Daridranarayan*. That does not mean that he liked poverty. But he used to treat the downtrodden people of the country as his own and worked incessantly for their uplift. Anyhow, there was a political revolution in the country when British rule was removed and democracy was established. This was a major task which was accomplished.

1. Speech at a women's conference organized by the AICC at Beliaghata, Kolkata, 10 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Indira Gandhi.

There still remain the economic and social revolutions which are linked together. You must have heard about the five year plans which aim at an economic revolution, removing the country's poverty and making India a progressive nation. It is especially vital to remove poverty and unemployment from the country. Large numbers of our youth are unemployed. Now, all this cannot be done at once. So, we drew up the First Five Year Plan and then the Second which adds to the country's power to grow and progress. Now the Third Plan will start and I hope that we may have a Fourth too. By then the country would have progressed very far. Progress does not mean a construction of big buildings and houses in the cities of Calcutta, Delhi and elsewhere. I agree that the urban areas should progress but it is the rural areas to which special attention must be paid because 80% of India's population lives in villages. You must have heard of the development projects and village industries. When a social revolution goes hand in hand with an economic revolution, there will be a fundamental change in the country.

You must have heard of the Chinese Revolution. But the real revolution there has been not political or economic but a social revolution. The greatest revolution has taken place among the women of China. There were tremendous taboos and rituals in their society. You might have heard of the custom of foot-binding particularly among the women of higher classes so that it was very difficult for them to walk. So, the greatest revolution in China was a social revolution which is plain for anyone to see. This has strengthened China a great deal.

I have told you that the women have played a great role in the Chinese Revolution. After all, women constitute half the nation and if they are left out of national tasks, how can there be any progress? When the Chinese women came into the field, the work began to proceed very rapidly. We have seen in our own country that during the last 25-30 years especially since Mahatma Gandhi came into the field, there have been tremendous changes in the status of our women. Even if they are not apparent, they have taken place.

Let me tell you another thing. The Lok Sabha does a great deal of legislation but particularly in the last year or so, it has passed two laws concerning women which I liked very much for they are extremely beneficial.[3] These two laws have

3. The first one, the Hindu Marriage Bill, passed on 5 May 1955 by Lok Sabha, provided for (i) the minimum essential condition for a Hindu marriage, (ii) rules regarding restitution of conjugal rights, (iii) judicial separation, (iv) the grounds for divorce, and (v) punishment for bigamy. The second was the Hindu Succession Bill which was passed by Lok Sabha on 8 May 1956. It aimed at evolving a uniform system of law with regard to intestate succession among Hindus. It also gave for the first time a share of a father's property to the daughter and gave women absolute right to self-acquired property.

made the status of women, especially the Hindu women, much better than before. I do not say that everything has changed and nor do we wish that it should. But we have taken a bold step forward.

In this way, all kinds of great things are happening in the country, in the political, economic and social fields. Apart from the laws that are being passed, the great thing is the way women are coming forward and taking their place in society. Hundreds and thousands of women are joining the Congress and other institutions. We want them to come in larger numbers to the Congress, and be elected to our legislative assemblies and Lok Sabha in Delhi. There are already a few but we want more to come. They must play a special role in our social service institutions all over the country. As you know, one has been started recently in Delhi called the Social Welfare Board whose task is to give aid to the innumerable institutions, especially women's institutions.[4] They have drawn up a list of perhaps 20, 22 thousand institutions in the country. Your President will be able to give you more accurate figures because she is a member of the Social Welfare Board.

So, it is a great thing that thousands of our women are engaged in this task. It benefits them as well as the society. After all, these tasks cannot be done by officials and politicians. They have to be done by every single individual, men and women, in their cities, streets and villages if there is to be a real awakening among the people. This is a real revolution and it makes me very happy. But please remember that our political revolution is almost over. Now we must work towards an economic and social revolution.

When I talk of revolutions, what do people understand by it? Does it mean violence? That is not so. It is childish to think so. Revolution means change. It has always been the pattern in our country and more so since Mahatma Gandhi appeared on the scene, to bring about great changes peacefully and with the cooperation of the people. We achieved freedom peacefully. We effected the merger of the Indian States into the Indian Union peacefully. We abolished the zamindari and *jagirdari* system peacefully. Now, we are implementing the five year plans and undertaking great projects, also peacefully. We passed laws in the Lok Sabha concerning the status of women peacefully. So, all kinds of revolutionary events are taking place in the country peacefully and with the cooperation of the people. There may be an occasional outburst of shouting or

4. The Central Social Welfare Board was set up in August 1953 under the Union Ministry of Education to promote programmes of social welfare for women, children and handicapped persons. Its functions also included coordination of social welfare programmes of various Central Ministries, state governments and voluntary agencies.

protests, but that is about all. We want all our revolutions to be peaceful and do not wish to copy Europe in this respect. It is my belief that a real revolution is a social revolution because it removes the social restrictions and taboos and provides the time and opportunity for growth and development.

As you know, we are living in strange times these days. The whole world is changing and advancing. We hear of atom bombs and what not. This is not the time for us to remain stagnant. We must use our commonsense for we have to shoulder the burden of India. In a country like ours where there is democracy, the work of the nation cannot be done by a few officers or leaders. The burden has to be borne by all the people which includes women too. They must participate fully. Now it is up to them to decide what they wish to do for there are innumerable tasks waiting to be done.

I do not mean that you should give big speeches in large gatherings. You should do something useful in your city or street and province. There are any number of things which you can do. In fact, there are many things which only you can do and the men cannot.

We say we wish to build a new India. What is India? Once I was touring in the Punjab and addressed a gathering of farmers. They shouted *Bharat Mata ki Jai*. I asked them who is *Bharat Mata*? The poor, simple peasants of the Punjab were at a loss to know what to say. I asked if *Bharat Mata* was a woman, a long-haired lady sitting in some cave? They said *Bharat Mata* is our land. Farmers are closely associated with land, so that was all right. I asked: What land? The land in your village or district or where? They were perplexed. Ultimately, they asked me to tell them who *Bharat Mata* is. I said *Bharat Mata* has many forms. She is India, our country, with the seas and the Himalayas and villages and forests and wild animals. All of them is *Bharat Mata*. They were surprised. But, I said, the real *Bharat Mata* is you, the people of India, millions of them. Each one of you is a part of *Bharat Mata*. They were even more surprised. It is a fact and if we wish to build a new India, it is extremely important to look after the children of today because they are India's future. We are taking up big projects, passing new laws, setting up huge industries and what not so that the people of India may benefit. So, it is the people of our generation who count and our places will be taken by the children of today.

So, I see the future of India mirrored in the eyes of little children. When I find that they are not being properly looked after, we are not building the future of India well. You cannot build a nation with bricks and mortar. The task of looking after the children is specially a woman's task. You may love your children and perhaps even spoil them with your love which is not a good thing for the children become weak and useless and cannot stand on their own feet later on in life. But the task of looking after the children can be best done by women, not only of

their own, but all children. Apart from loving them, you must understand and learn how to bring them up.

So, there are any number of tasks in the political and economic field as well in looking after children that the women can do very well. I invite you to participate in them. Our refugees, adults and children, from Bengal need help. But there should be no groupism in these things or in any social service. I invite all of you to participate in the task of building a new India and take up this burden. *Jai Hind!*

3
ADMINISTRATIVE MATTERS

1. Difficulties in Official Hindi Translations[1]

Please send the following note to all Ministries and Departments of the Government of India :-

"The Prime Minister has observed that many of the answers given to questions in Parliament in Hindi are difficult to understand even by those whose mother tongue is Hindi. Presumably, others find them even more difficult to understand. In fact, some times when these answers are being given in Hindi, there is a smile of amusement on the faces of many MPs because the language is so strained.

2. Presumably, the answers are originally framed in English by the Ministry or Department concerned. Thereafter they are handed to the Hindi translator of the Department who produces this stilted and some times incomprehensible answer. The result is very unfortunate. The translator naturally tries to be literal and precise. Because of this, he searches for technical equivalents from some dictionary or other. Many of these equivalents that are gathered together have not been in common use and are not generally understood. Apart from this, a language has a certain genius of its own. This cannot be produced by literal translations from another language. Sometimes, these literal translations are not Hindi at all. They are merely a collection of odd Hindi words.

3. The Prime Minister is much concerned about this development in a wrong direction. Just as official English has produced a certain jargon, we are now creating a new language which is called Hindi, but which has little to do with Hindi, either in grace or in significance. It is jargon at its worst, with the additional disqualification that it cannot easily be understood.

4. The Prime Minister, therefore, requests all Ministries and Departments concerned to pay particular attention to this matter and to instruct their official translators accordingly. The language used in translation should be simple. A simple word should always be preferred to a more complicated one. Sentences should be short. The construction of the sentences should not follow the English construction. Each language has its own way of constructing sentences, and a literal translation following the construction of another language often makes little sense and, in addition, grates on the ears and the eyes.

5. The Prime Minister thinks that if we do not take great care in this formative stage, we shall find it very difficult in future to give the right direction to the

1. Note to B.N. Kaul, Principal Private Secretary, 2 September 1956. JN Collection.

development of Hindi in regard to technical and like terms. Also, in translation work, journalese will take the place of our language, with disastrous results. He requests, therefore, that particular attention be paid to this matter."

2. Paul Appleby's Second Report—I[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: It was not the intention of the Government to have this matter debated during this session. It is not because it does not consider it very important—it does—but, before the discussion, we wanted a full examination of the various aspects by the various Ministries and other departments of the Government and the Cabinet, of the various suggestions made. Frankly, we are in the middle of the examination and if I am asked to state anything about it, I will be very brief and I will say that I have come here to listen to honourable Members and learn from them rather than to say anything myself. I would be very glad if these questions are discussed, but obviously, I cannot guarantee what will happen in the next session. But, I would like it.

Unfortunately, listening to the honourable Mover's[2] speech on this motion, I was hardly conscious about Dr Appleby's Report;[3] I was more conscious of the Auditor-General.[4] I refer to that part of Dr Appleby's report in which he deals with certain important things. It was an important part, no doubt, but one small part, which he dealt with. I wish he dealt with the other parts of the report, which, I think, are more important and vital, the parts which Parliament should be interested in, where he discusses Parliament control and he criticizes parliamentary interference. These are the points which Parliament, no doubt, should consider and discuss. The other matters are, relatively, of small importance. We can consider them certainly, but the main things are those and,

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 10 September 1956, *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII, Part II, cols. 6567-69.
2. C.P. Matthen, Congress Member from Thiruvellah, Travancore-Cochin.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 247.
4. Matthen pointed out that the Auditor-General, A.K. Chanda, had described the Second Report of Appleby "as entirely a novel conception of a democratic form of government. It is a doctrinaire, unrealistic and uninformed report."

if I may say so, any person introducing this subject should have, I submit, said something about the context of things in which this report was made. I would refer the honourable Members to the first page—I am too modest to quote it here, modest on the part of the Government and Administration—where he speaks in highly euologistic terms of the Government's activities and the brilliant conception of the First and the Second Five Year Plans and so on and so forth. Then, he goes on to criticize.

If I may draw the attention of the honourable Members, I think, in the second page, top, he mentions this. This was, this part, was not a document to be published at all. It was entirely a private document which he gave me and the then Finance Minister[5] for our consideration. He told us that it was not for publication but he also told that if we wanted to publish it, he had no objection but it had not been written from the point of view of publication. He has used the language deliberately because it is a private document and the language used is strong to shake things up. I think, we should welcome it from that point of view, and not whether we agree or disagree. We always require taking it up so that we may build our minds and thoughts about various matters. We look upon it from that point of view and I am examining it fully. I should welcome as much discussion in these various aspects as possible, in this session or the next session, but I cannot just guarantee, Sir, the time for it.

5. C.D. Deshmukh.

3. Paul Appleby's Second Report—II[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy Chairman,[2] and the honourable Member has just taken the trouble to quote what I said[3] all I would say is that the word 'Parliament' does not occur anywhere from the beginning to the end of his quotation.

S. Mohanty: 'This House' is there.

JN : Not at all. I was dealing with the theoretical point about responsibility being given.

Now, I have listened to a good part of this debate on the Appleby Report and many things have been said which are helpful in the consideration of this Report and the problems raised by it but I have felt throughout that somehow this debate has gone off the rails, if I may say so, and more attention has been paid to Mr Appleby than to the big problems that we have to face. The honourable Member Mr Mohanty, seemed to suspect—I think his words were—that this Report is the product of some kind of clique to deprive the Parliament of its powers. He then brought a charge against the Cabinet Secretary of a breach of privilege for having apparently published this Report because of its criticisms of Parliamentary procedure. I should like to make it quite clear that I am the principal guilty party in regard to its publicity. I thought that not only this Report but like reports should be given publicity so that these subjects might be discussed and if any faults of ours are pointed out, we should think about them and try to remedy them. I remember that three years ago, or may be four, Mr Appleby came here[4] for the first time at our invitation, Mr Appleby, I might add, is considered to be one of the most experienced and ablest experts in administration in the Western world. He has quite an extraordinary personal knowledge of American and European administration. I do not know if he has any knowledge of Soviet administration—personal knowledge—but even that he had from reading—but

1. Speech in the Rajya Sabha, 12 September 1956, *Parliamentary Debates (Rajya Sabha), Official Report*, Vol. XIV, cols. 4348-4368.
2. S.V. Krishnamoorthy Rao.
3. Surendra Mohanty, Ganatantra Parishad Member from Dhenkanal, stated that the Prime Minister "had charged the Parliament with nagging" in his speech of 25 May 1956.
4. In 1952, Paul H. Appleby came to India at the invitation of the Indian Government to conduct a survey of Indian administrative system.

he has personal knowledge of almost every country in Europe and America. He is a person of a fairly advanced age and, I believe, he is on the point of retirement. The present post he holds is a post equivalent to that of a Finance Minister of the New York State dealing with large sums of money, but naturally, of one State in the United States of America. But the main thing is that he is a man of great experience. During the past few years we have welcomed comments and criticisms from all kinds of sources. I think, it may be said with some justification, that we have not been complacent about these matters and we have had comments and criticisms from a remarkable variety of people from various countries, from the communist world, from the anti-communists, from the non-communist world—they have come partly because we invited them for the Second Five Year Plan, partly for other reasons and we have discussed our matters—not because we thought that they knew about our question than we did, but because we wanted to know the reaction of an outside mind on something to which we were used. It is always a good thing. If honourable Members or if I go, say, to America or England or Russia, we react. Our knowledge is obviously not as good as that of the people there. We react and our reaction has some value in the sense of an outsider seeing something functioning.

Mr Appleby, being a man of very considerable experience—and he did not stay here for a day or two but he came here five years ago and spent four months here—had long talks at our State Headquarters and in Delhi and other places with our officials and other people, and he produced a Report. That Report was sent to me under a confidential cover. I was rather busy and I did not read it for two or three months. After that when I read it, I was immediately struck by the many points that were raised in that Report; it struck me as being a brilliant Report. That does not mean whether there was agreement or not, but his was a mind, a very experienced mind, applying itself to the problem of India and making some recommendations. Immediately I enquired, because my tendency is to make these things public so that public may know and discuss them. Parliament should know and enquire what has happened to this Report which was presented two or three months ago. I found that it was with the Finance Ministry, not even our Ministers had seen it, much less the Press and the public. I said 'This is no good. It is true that there are criticisms. It does not matter but there are many good things in it'. So, I had it sent to all Ministers and Chief Ministers of the states and a little later I laid a copy of it on the Table of the two Houses of Parliament. I don't think there was any debate on it. The whole basis of that Report was how to fit in the whole structure of Government that we have, to the changing conditions today, that is to say, the Government and the Parliament taking far more interest in social and economic problems, industrialization, five year plans and the like. Because the old structure of the Government in India

obviously did not envisage any such widespread economic or social activity. He praised our administration—not the system. He said that the system was very good in the British times. In fact, one might almost say that he repeated a criticism of the system which, maybe many honourable Members opposite and also on this side of the House, have frequently made when they used the term 'bureaucracy' and the rest. He said that it was a good system to serve the purpose for which it was created by the British. But the purposes of Government are different now. The objectives are different. They are social, they are economic and above all, the Government has to move rapidly today in order to achieve these objectives. It cannot go on in the same way, in the rather static way of the old time of the British Government. Therefore, he said that that structure had contained very good material; he praised the individuals and said taking it all in all, the administration of India was among the most efficient in the world. I think, he said that it was among the 12 most efficient countries in the world. So, it is not that he ran it down, but he praised it, he praised the individuals and even the way they were working. He pointed out that it was not suited to the rapid changes and the rapid advance industrially, economically and the rest. One may agree or may not agree with that. That is another point. He pointed out how, according to his thinking, the base could be increased. There were many suggestions and I need not go into them. We profited by many. In fact, one of the results of that Report was that we have brought about a number of changes, in our administrative apparatus here and to some extent in the states. We set up an Organization and Methods Division. We have set up an organization called Public Administration Organization to consider all these matters from day to day, and to watch them because we are in a changing state or in transition. I don't know how I can put across to the honourable Members here, this sensation of change that is going on in the world today. It is not a question of India. It is not India alone which has special problems. Take, for example, the United Kingdom. Only yesterday, I was reading an article, a long article, as to how the whole administrative system of England was getting more and more conservative and backward. It cannot keep pace with the nature of the new world. We are, of course, far behind England in the comprehension of this new world. We might call ourselves revolutionaries; we might call ourselves leftists or extremists or what you like but, in fact, we are very, very reactionary in our thinking, that is, reactionary in the sense that we take the world as it is more or less. We do not realize the enormous changes that are taking place chiefly, because of technological improvements, scientific improvements, which affects the whole industrial purpose of the country, which affect the whole of the wealth producing machinery and which affect the life and development in the country. We have not, in our thinking, caught up with the Industrial Revolution of 200 years ago.

We talk, of course, about a fertiliser factory or a steel plant or something but we think of them as something, shall I say, like an annex, not an integrated part of our life, but as an annex to produce something, something added on, which will produce the goods. We want steel and we will produce steel, but surely, the Industrial Revolution brought about a far more intimate and deep-seated change in the world gradually in the course of 200 years or so but one sees that Revolution in its latest phase probably most in the United States of America and in the Soviet Union and, to some extent, in Western Europe. While we are trying to catch up with it—it will take us many years—some thing infinitely bigger comes in our way, another revolution, the passing phase of the old Industrial Revolution, a technological revolution—you may say that the production of atomic energy is also a phase of it—and all these forces coming into play, whether it is atomic energy or whether it is the other forces that you read about, or whether it is the automation which is producing revolutionary changes in the Western countries, are upsetting the present social balances and I do not know where all these will end. All these things are happening and if all these things are happening, it is clear that the administrative apparatus has to adjust itself to these mighty changes. The 19th Century administrative apparatus in England was not good enough for the 20th Century England; the 19th Century apparatus is not good enough for the 20th Century. That is the main problem. Of course, we have an additional problem and that is, we have to catch up. England, after all, is a highly industrialized country; it may make more progress or the other countries may outpace it but now it is advancing rapidly and we have to start almost from scratch. It is scratch; it does not matter if we have a 100 mills in Bombay or Kanpur; all these are just trivial in a scientific and an industrial age. What does make a difference, a primary difference, is the steel mills that we are putting up. That is basic, not the textile mills and others. They are just superficial. So, we have to catch up in industrial, economic and scientific development and, what is more important, having caught up, we have to adjust ourselves to the new things that are happening. In fact, I do not think it is an exaggeration at all to say that a new world is being created; by a new world, I do not mean a communist world or an anti-communist world but a new world in terms of technology, in terms of scientific change, progress in terms of production, in terms of the vast elemental forces of nature which are coming under man's control and all that. Now surely, when all these things are happening, your administrative apparatus has to be adjusted to them. How, I cannot say and I am not prepared to say; it is too difficult a question for me to answer. But to take a view that everything is good in a good world is obviously not a very satisfactory way of understanding anything or doing something. Here, we are faced with the Second Five Year Plan which is only a step in a certain direction, in a certain direction in which we will have to

take hundred more steps and it is becoming one of the major problems of today. This House has been discussing the Second Five Year Plan and many subjects were discussed; but, in the final analysis and far ahead of every subject, ahead of finance, ahead of everything, is the question of personnel, technical personnel, trained personnel. That is the basic question and if we do not make good there, we fail; it does not matter how much money we have, how much enthusiasm we have. Technical personnel, as everyone knows, takes a long time to train. I said, I think in this House, the other day that we can put up a steel plant may be in a certain number of years but to train men who will be in charge of the steel plant will take double the number of years. So, today we have to think not of the Second Plan but of the third Plan and the fourth Plan in regard to training of personnel and how far we are going to lay stress on technical and scientific training. I read recently that in the Soviet Union they have got 250,000 science teachers. Well, it is not surprising although the number is tremendous—250,000 science teachers—but the main point is the fact that the whole bent of education is towards science and technology. Whether ultimately it is good or bad, I am not saying anything, but now it is adjusting itself, it is trying to fit in with the scientific and technological improvement rapidly—maybe some other countries are not going that far, they are going their way—so that these are the major problems that arise for us. It is not a narrow system of administration. I agree with what Mr Appleby said in his first Report,[5] that our administration with all its failings and its outmodedness, compares very well with the administration of other countries. I do not apologize for our administration. I have been to many countries which are supposed to be very efficient. I think, by and large, we compare favourably with the best of the countries elsewhere administratively. But that does not mean that all is good and that certainly does not mean that all will be good tomorrow and the day, after if we continue to go exactly in the same grooves of thought and action. Therefore, we have to think of this and we welcome minds of experience and training coming in and looking at our system and telling us what they think about it. It is up to us to accept them; it is up to us to reject them; nobody forces us and it seems rather unfair for anyone of us to blame Mr Appleby because he comes here at our invitation and he gives his frank advice. This was a private Report to me and to the Finance Minister and he made it clear to us that this was not meant for publication. He said that it was for me to decide to publish or not; it was meant as a frank talk and the whole thing was not meant for presentation to Parliament. Nevertheless, I decided that

5. For Appleby's first Report, submitted in January 1953, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 23, pp. 153-56.

it was a good thought-provoking Report which should be considered by Parliament and so we put it up here. This is what he says at the top of page two:

> "They (these criticism) do not reflect any general adverse judgment about what is going on here. They are not criticism which should be publicly made or publicly discussed."

He even said, in the earlier portion, at the very beginning—it is worthwhile to see what he says instead of taking like bits and criticizing them—

> "The democratic character of India does not permit the ruthless disregard of immediate mass interests that has characterized efforts elsewhere which otherwise might be regarded as similar. India has been both building and serving democratic values while at the same time engaging in a monumental progress of economic development. Facing tremendous need and many great difficulties, both primary objectives have been served convincingly with vision, wisdom, and hard practical performance. The two Five Year Plans have been brilliantly conceived in their analysis of needs and their balancing of values. Most of the programmatic fields have been well directed, and the Community Development programme as a whole has been successful far beyond any reasonable expectation."

He did not like to praise us. You can see from the rest of the Report. Who should be blamed? He is blamed about that. But that was after a survey and after coming back on three occasions and judging the changes that the decision was arrived at. Now I think, in the first Report he made some criticisms about the various matters and said that unless this or that was done, our progress would be slow. The second time he came, he said: I must say that I was mistaken in the sense that I find that in spite of my apprehensions you have made that progress, which I thought you would not be able to make. The third time he came, he again said the same thing. He said: Well, it is surprising; you have done infinitely better than what I thought you would do. Then he put it this way: You have done very well, but you have done it because relatively a small number of people—by "small number" he may be meaning 2,000—have worked very very hard, and you cannot rely on a small number of people working hard all the time; therefore you must broaden the base. So that every time he has come back he has found in some measure his previous judgment about the possibilities of our progress mistaken—we have gone further than he expected, and he acknowledged it. So that this is a frank opinion of a competent observer, who has come here three times in a two years period, and has seen the changes. There are very few

people who have come in this way and see in those changes. We who live in them, it is difficult for us to judge those who live elsewhere judge still less. Secondly, obviously it comes from an American with an American background, which he understands. He understands the European background too, and many of his criticisms are due to that, and he thinks that Parliament—that is, not Parliament but the parliamentary procedure—is rather slow-moving. Oddly enough—I have said it in another context repeatedly—it is quite remarkable how many of the criticisms that are made about the various administrative systems here are similar, that is to say, the criticisms made by the Americans and by people from Russia are similar. Why? As the House knows in economic thinking they are far apart, opposed to each other, but both are very vital nations, both are highly technological people, both move rapidly and want to move rapidly and are averse to delays and checks. So, oddly enough, their criticisms are similar, whether they come from a Soviet leader or they come from an American leader. They may not express it, but if you talk privately to them, their approach, not entirely economic, but their approach to our method of doing things is amazingly similar. When a very high leader of the Soviet Government[6] was here some time back, privately he told me: You are making the same mistake which we made in the earlier stages of our Revolution, that is, we were chary of sharing responsibility, of devolving responsibility. We found that it was bad and now we take risks. You want things done and what is the main purpose? The main purpose is achievement, the real thing is achievement, to get a thing done. Of course, the other things are important. We must have checks on public funds and everything but, if the checks are perfect checks and the thing is not done, well, you have not achieved what you wanted to do, and there the matter ends. When you talk about audit and checks, obviously they are essential, but probably the most essential thing is a thing which we have not got anywhere in our system yet, at least to any large extent, and that is the audit of achievement, just achievement. Has the thing been done or not? Even when we see our Planning Commission Report, what do we see? Let us say Rs 28 lakhs were allocated for these purposes and Rs 24 lakhs have been spent. Well and good, but unless you know more, it is by no means certain that the Rs 24 lakhs have produced something, or what they have produced warrants more spending. It is that audit of achievement that we feel more and more necessary and for which, I think, we shall have to set up special machinery, whether it is through the Planning Commission or otherwise

6. N.S. Khrushchev. He visited India from 18 to 30 November and from 7 to 14 December 1955. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, pp. 299-368.

or through our Statistical Bureau, because it is a matter of statistics too, apart from anything. That is most important.

Now, there are criticisms of various things, of Parliament, as honourable Members have referred to, of the Comptroller and Auditor-General, of the Union Public Service Commission,[7] and much of our discussion has gone round those particular matters. I don't think those particular criticisms—important as they may be from a smaller point of view—have any great relevance from a larger point of view. We can examine them; we can deal with them as we like. He criticizes Parliament and when he criticizes Parliament, Members are not quite correct to say he criticizes Parliament. He criticizes parliamentary procedure and he did not criticize Parliament, any decision of Parliament, and I have no doubt at all that if you discuss this matter frankly with any Soviet leader he thinks Parliament is the slowest-going machine that you can have anywhere. They do not go through three or four readings through the two Houses. They decide and make up their mind immediately and get through with it. Well, we prefer the parliamentary system of government. We have adopted it. We have got a Constitution which we have adopted and we propose to adhere to it. There the matter ends. But nevertheless, the question comes up as to how the old parliamentary system of government is to be adapted and to be adjusted to this rapidly moving machine of a new India, industrializing itself at a rapid pace. This is the question, because remember, the only instances that we have of countries being industrialized, are two. At least two, others too. One is the long-term process of 200 years or so during which the western European countries and America industrialized themselves. The other is the Soviet method of 20 or 30 years, going through a different way and following different methods, whether you like them or not. Now, again in that first process, that is the western European process, please remember that these countries were industrialized before they had, what I would call, a really democratic system of government. They may have had their parliament, but their parliament represented probably ten per cent or five per cent of the population. It is only in the twentieth century that they have got adult suffrage. England has got adult suffrage in this century, in our lifetime, about 20 or 30 years ago, in the nineteenth century it was very limited. They industrialized themselves before they made their political progress,

7. Rajendra Pratap Sinha, Congress Member from Bihar, pointed out that Appleby had "passed some sweeping remarks against those two most important ingredients of democracy, namely Parliament and the Comptroller and Auditor-General." Similarly, S. Mohanty found Appleby's reference to Indian administration and the Union Public Service Commission highly objectionable.

which led to adult suffrage and that type of widespread democracy, in other words before forces had arisen to come in the way and check their industrial progress, that is, popular forces which wanted to share that progress and if they could concede them a share, they could ignore them politically and otherwise, and they established their industrial position under those conditions. Now, we have got political democracy before we have got the industrial progress here. The process has been reversed. In a sense, it is advantageous; certainly. But at the same time the fact remains that political democracy does come in the way. Quite rightly, because the average man wants to share in that industrial progress or political progress, and political progress certainly, and therefore you cannot easily, as England did in the past, accumulate surpluses for industrial progress by denying them to the common man, as they did. We can't do that; we do not want to do that. But the point is the process has reversed, and herein lies our difficulty.

Dr R.B. Gaur:[8] That was capitalism, Sir. Therefore they could deny. We need not deny it.

JN: I am afraid honourable Members get rather lost in these words; capitalism, socialism, communism and the like. I have purposely avoided using any single word like that. The other way of doing it, as we have seen, is the Soviet way where in the course of a generation or a generation and a half, they have made tremendous progress industrially, scientifically and economically by establishing a certain structure and pursuing certain methods which are not normally called democratic, which involved a power at the top imposing its will on the people—maybe for the good of the people ultimately, I am not challenging that—but anyhow imposing its will and depriving them of the advantages of that progress that they were making for a period till they had established themselves. Now, I am not criticizing any country, but the point is that we are following a path which is unique; that is to say, we are not following the Soviet path in the sense of non-democratic procedure; and, on the other hand, we cannot follow the British path of 200 years of slow progress with political freedom, we cannot, obviously. Therefore, our problems are rather unique and the future will show how far we succeed in solving them in our way, in a democratic way. But at the same time, we have to see how far this democratic way has to be adjusted to these ends. The nineteenth century democracy of England was a very, very slow-moving thing where the State seldom interfered with economic matters or social matters—it

8. CPI Member from Andhra Pradesh.

left them to change—except when major considerations arose. Today in England, Parliament is concerned with infinitely more work connected with social and economic matters, apart from other difficulties. Therefore, the problem has come before the British Parliament and before every democratic parliament in the world, of how to adjust this democratic procedure to this rapid change, to these numerous social and economic questions that have come up. It is a common problem all over the world. For us it is a more difficult problem because the pace of our change has to be more rapid and because we start from scratch and we have to go very far. Therefore, we have to realize that the old style political democracy has to adjust itself to the modern pace of our country and the world.

Then, we have to consider how far our administrative apparatus is conditioned to that. It is a good apparatus but I say, being a good apparatus, it may not be an adequate apparatus. It is not a question of its being bad, but of its being adequate, whether in numbers or whether in quality, whatever it may be—quality in the sense that we have thought in terms of administrators in the past, just as pure administrators. Now, when we have to deal with plants, factories, scientific institutes and the rest, it may be that the quality required is more a scientific or engineering quality than a purely administrative quality because the bent is that way. It may be that in future many of our administrators may well be engineers or persons with a good deal of engineering training. It is quite possible. In that sense, I said, adequacy may be lacking because new types of experience and ability are required for this; not that they are otherwise inadequate. All these are very highly important questions which have to be considered.

Then again, take the Union Public Service Commission. I think the idea behind it—it is not only a right idea but a very good idea—is that we must have some impartial body to choose our public servants. And yet we come up against difficulties all the time apart from the fact that the Public Service Commission cannot just keep pace with events. If we want an engineer in the next fortnight; well, they cannot produce one for six months.

N. G. Ranga:[9] Sometimes twelve months.

JN: Or twelve months. It is not their fault; may be there is excess of work. Apart from that, there is another thing. The Public Service Commission—I am not referring to the present Commission as it works; it has changed somewhat—but the old conception of the Public Service Commission was really for purely administrative purposes. They were very good for choosing our administrators.

9. Congress Member from Andhra Pradesh.

But when it comes to the question of choosing, let us say, a high class statistician, well, all they can do is, they can examine his paper qualifications, his educational degrees. They need not necessarily be as competent as they are to choose an administrator, to choose a good statistician or a good scientist or a good technologist. It is a different test. Therefore, the Public Service Commission itself very rightly has now attached to itself specialists to help them to choose; whether it is an educationist or an engineer or a scientist. You see, the Commission is undergoing a change. It may be that the Public Service Commission may gradually develop into several Boards, a Scientific Board, or a Board for Industrial Management and so on, all under the Public Service Commission, but doing specialized jobs. So, I am pointing out how things change and we have to adapt ourselves. If somebody criticizes the Public Service Commission today, it does not mean that the Public Service Commission is a bad thing and it should be ignored. Of course not, but the point does come in as to how it should adjust itself not only to the rapidly growing work but to the new quality of work. For the new kind of work, it requires an entirely different approach. A person who is, let us say, going to be a district officer—a very responsible post—requires certain qualities and I imagine that the Public Service Commission have experience of that type of person and will be able to make a good choice more or less. It may be that he requires the qualities of guiding the people, leadership, this that and the other. Now, a statistician need not have any of those qualities. He has to be just good at statistics; he need not be a public relations man at all which the other man must be. So, tests become different and if they just work with the old measuring yard, then we won't get the right kind of men. Today, we have to get all kinds of persons for our steel plants and for our big industrial undertakings which we are nationalizing or which the State is starting. We have no apparatus for choosing them, no regular apparatus. We just refer the matter to the Public Service Commission but, with all respect to the Public Service Commission, it is by no means certain that they have got experience in that line. Themselves, all of them are very good men and true, they will suggest somebody but they will really choose from paper qualifications, not from any personal knowledge of that type of work.

H.N. Kunzru: Suppose you require 20 men to do a particular work, how are you going to choose them, how are your administrators going to choose them? You will train and employ all of them simply in the public services?

JN: If the honourable Member had listened to what I said just now he would have got the answer. What I said was, I do not choose but it is becoming more and more necessary to have specialized Boards and these specialized Boards

should be associated with the Public Service Commission. There may be one Board, two Boards, three Boards for the various types of work but they will be associated with the Public Service Commission.

P.C. Mitra (Bihar):[10] Ministry also?

JN: No, no. That is different.

However, I am not discussing this matter. What I am venturing to put before this House is that these problems are arising. I have no cut and dried answers to them and it is because these problems impinge upon us from day to day that we consult people, we seek their advice and we discuss it amongst ourselves trying to find a way and we make changes. As a matter of fact, in the last three or four years since Mr Appleby's Report came out for the first time, we must have discussed his Report, I do not know how many times, in the Cabinet not as a Report but the points he referred to because those points had been discussed by us even before Mr Appleby came. Honourable Member referred[11] to the Gorwala Report,[12] but there are many other Reports. Mr Gopalaswami Ayyangar produced a Report[13] which we considered again and again because the problems are continuing problems. They are never finished and we will go on considering these matters from month to month, year to year, profiting by our own experience and the changes that are taking place. As a matter of fact, the Comptroller and Auditor- General—I think he was not Comptroller and Auditor-General then—presented a Report to me in regard to many of these very problems making various suggestions and it was a very helpful report.[14] That too was considered by the Cabinet. Some things were adopted, some were not. It may be perhaps in the opinion of some honourable Members that it has been carried to the extreme.

10. Congress Member from Bihar.
11. Surendra Mohanty.
12. Set up by the Planning Commission in 1951 to go into the question of administration in relation to State enterprises, the A.D. Gorwala Committee recommended that, "the Parliament, which represented both the shareholder and the consumer should obviously have an opportunity of discussing all aspects of the working and results of the authority when a budget grant is made."
13. Gopalaswami Ayyangar Committee on the Reorganization of the Machinery of Government, set up in 1949, recommended organizational changes in the existing set-up of the government machinery and improvements in the methods of transaction of governmental business.
14. For Ashok Chanda's report on Services and Nehru's comments, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 274-292.

I think it is a virtue to keep an open mind and be receptive and consider all these things for ourselves. You may accept or reject. That is a different matter. In the last three years quite a number of changes in our administrative procedure have been adopted. Oddly enough, I remember that the Comptroller and Auditor-General in his previous reports himself laid considerable stress on the devolution of authority and he himself was in favour of it. I have no doubt he is in favour of it still, he has not changed his mind. These points can be considered from various viewpoints, and not as if made personal issues against Parliament or the Public Service Commission or against the Auditor General. That is not the way to consider them. These are points on which we may hold strong views this way or that way. We are entitled to, and really it is by trial and error that we proceed and find the right way.

Now, in Mr Appleby's Report, I think there are two main approaches, that is, in this criticism of the Indian administrative system. He says there are two principal types of defects. One is what might be called the vertical defect, that is, too many matters of detail are taken to too high level before they are decided. The other is the lateral defect, that is, too many cross references for consultation with or concurrence of other Ministries and authorities are demanded and made before decisions are taken, his object principally being that delay should be avoided and decision should be made. And the top ranking people in any country, competent people, are limited. I am not talking of top ranking in the sense of ministers of government. Whether it is the head of a factory, whether it is the head of an institute, whatever it is, really top ranking people in every country are limited. If you ask them to spend their time on trivial matters, you are wasting their special ability and quality. That is the point. In those countries in America and elsewhere, I believe they have some statistical way of measuring a person's ability. I do not know how they do it. Maybe they measure it by the dollars he can earn, or whatever it may be. But the point is that you should utilize the man's ability to the best advantage and allow others to decide secondary matters. On the face of it, it is a reasonable assessment. How to do it is another matter. His third criticism is not to make too many references, cross references, etc., before execution. Now, I should like to lay stress on this fact "before execution" because all these references, etc., before execution defer and delay execution. Have as strict a scrutiny as you possibly can after execution. That does not delay. Have a scrutiny, and cut off the man's head if you like, if he has been guilty. That is a different matter. But the point is, have scrutiny after that. Maybe a mistake might be made. Well, mistakes are made anyhow. Check him. Do anything you like. Obviously, in any public matter, the use of public funds, there has to be adequate check, adequate scrutiny and adequate audit—call it what you like. That is essential. And ultimately, as I said, there has to be adequate

audit of achievement. Now that I hardly think of as a function of the Comptroller and Auditor-General. The Comptroller and Auditor-General's functions are of high importance. There is no doubt about it and so far as Government are concerned, they attach the greatest value to his work. But where it becomes an audit of achievement, it can only be judged by a scientific man. It is very difficult. A man doing work in a scientific laboratory and doing research work, who is to judge his research? What measure have you? You cannot measure it by seeing how many files he has disposed of or for how many hours he stayed in the office.

The measure of achievement is something entirely different. So, for all these technological achievements, the measures are different and they are not financial measures. The financial check has to be there. The Auditor-General or somebody applies that and should apply it and see that moneys are spent according to rules and regulations, that the money is not wasted. That scrutiny must be strictly done. But where it comes to judging the policies or judging the technological content of that achievement, obviously, it is not fair for you to expect the Auditor-General to tell you either about high policies, which is somebody else's function, or about the technological part of that achievement.

So far as Parliament is concerned, the criticism of Parliament or rather of Parliamentary procedure that Mr Appleby has made, I do not think we need worry ourselves about that, with his outlook. The important point is we have to remember that because of the tremendous growth of work in Parliament and appertaining to Parliament, it is becoming next to impossible for Parliament to have the time and the leisure to deal with it. Therefore, what are we to do? Are you going to concentrate, as far as possible, on the vital and important matters, the important checks, the important reviews and the important supervisions, or are you going to spend quite a bit of your time on matters of lesser importance? If you do that, well, naturally you do not do it for bigger ones. It is really a question of utilizing the time you have to the best advantage. Life and the administrative apparatus becomes more and more complicated, terribly complicated, and one has to divide the time at one's disposal so as to utilize it to the best advantage. So long as we have—and we have it and we are going to continue to have it—this democratic parliamentary system, obviously, the supreme authority is Parliament. Obviously, that authority is not something in the air, or something on paper, but a reality. It has to supervise everything. It has to see that, it has the right to check anything. All that authority is there. But the point does arise that if it gets tied up with innumerable details, the bigger things will escape its views, because there will be lack of time for the rest. So, from that point of view, the whole text of Parliament has changed in the West. Parliamentary procedure is changing and how it is a matter of discussion there

and argument there—what changes to make in parliamentary procedure there in the United Kingdom so as to fit it in with the burden of work that it has to face today. That question in that sense obviously does not arise in the United States. Other questions arise. They have a different system of Government. That question does not arise at all in the Soviet Union, because they have not got a parliamentary system and they can decide things quickly, according to their system. Well, we have got our system and basically we think it is a good system. It should continue. Personally, I think that one of the most valuable practices of our parliamentary system is the Question Hour—I think it is highly important—as well as the right of all Members to raise a debate on a particular question. I think, those things will have to continue. We shall have to face this question of how to use our time to the best advantage. Speaking in the Lok Sabha the other day, I said that in regard to Mr Appleby's Report—or rather not the report but the points raised in the report, the points that come up before us whether they are in the Report or not—that we were considering them. Government as such has not considered it yet. It has not been placed before the Cabinet, if I may divulge a secret. Of course, Ministers have it but we have not considered it in a corporate capacity, and as we were not in a hurry to consider it, we wanted our various Ministries to read it and digest it and to make such suggestions as they liked. We wanted the state governments to read it also. No doubt, we shall consider it again not as a report but taking up the problems dealt with in it together with other reports and other suggestions. In this connection I said in the Lok Sabha that we would welcome informal discussions with Members of Parliament, something of the nature we had, Members will remember, in connection with the Five Year Plan. In the next session—I do not know when and how we shall be circumstanced in regard to time because time becomes more and more a precious commodity—subject to that we should like to arrange discussions, informal discussions, on these various aspects of the Appleby Report in which almost any number of Members interested, in either House, can come and join.

B.C. Ghose:[15] I would like to ask the Prime Minister a question because it has very serious implications, a matter to which Mr Mohanty and myself had referred. This is what Dr Appleby said that Parliament here "seems strangely inclined to make too ready concessions to some of the self-interested demands of small but influential business interests, and to enforce corresponding changes in Government's decisions". I would like to know what this means. It is a very serious matter. I presume that Parliament really means Government.

15. Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party Member from West Bengal.

JN: I do not think that the inference drawn by the honourable Member is quite correct. To begin with Parliament means Parliament. It does not mean Government.

B.C. Ghose: Because the proposals have been brought by Government.

JN: It is an American speaking. It simply means—I am just interpreting what it means—it has nothing to do with bribery and corruption. It means that in Parliament here as in their Parliaments, various interests are represented and they take up a lot of time in pressing their viewpoints, whether it is business interests or whether it is other interests or an agrarian lobby, as they have there, they take up a lot of time.

Bhupesh Gupta:[16] Here it is the business interests, and if the Parliament yields to such interests, we assume that the parliamentary majority must be there in order to bring about such submission to such interests. Therefore, the party in power should be considered much more responsible than anybody else.

H.C. Dasappa:[17] May I know whether there have been any reactions from the states to which this report has been referred?

JN: No, Sir, I do not remember receiving any comments from the states. As the House knows, the states have been very busy with other matters.

Kishen Chand:[18] Regarding parliamentary procedure, is the honourable Prime Minister thinking of making certain changes in parliamentary procedure or at least appointing a committee to consider changes in the parliamentary procedure in order to expedite matters and save time and carry on the parliamentary work through some sort of committee of the whole House or smaller standing committees? These are the lines on which I have been thinking.

JN: No, no. Indeed we are prepared to discuss all these matters with honourable Members.

16. CPI Member from West Bengal.
17. Congress Member from Karnataka.
18. PSP Member from Andhra Pradesh.

4. Leakage of Secret Papers[1]

The recent case of loss of secret documents[2] in the External Affairs Ministry has revealed a state of affairs in that Ministry and possibly in other Ministries also, which is deplorable. That particular case is being dealt with separately. But the question arises as to what urgent and effective steps we can take to prevent this kind of administrative collapse.

2. An experienced and senior officer of the Central Intelligence Bureau has been appointed to examine the security system in the External Affairs Ministry and to lay down precise and definite rules which have to be followed. Also to lay down how the implementation of these rules has to be checked frequently. As soon as this preliminary work has been completed in the External Affairs Ministry, similar rules will have to be framed for other Ministries, notably the Defence Ministry and the Ministry of Home Affairs.

3. Thus far, the arrangements made for security have been feeble to the point of absurdity. We have often had leakages about Cabinet papers or others, and the matter has been referred to the Intelligence Bureau for enquiry. The Intelligence Bureau apparently thinks that it has to wait for a complaint before it can enquire into a matter and is otherwise passive. So-called security officers or vigilance officers are supposed to exist in all our principal Ministries. What exactly their function is, has been brought out in a startling manner, by this recent loss of secret papers in External Affairs Ministry. It was clear that this Vigilance Officer had really nothing to do with what might be called security work and he was concerned with other kinds of lapse. Apart from this, he was busy with other work for most of the time.

4. It is clear that security must be taken up by us seriously and not in this casual and futile manner. Further, that it must be enforced in future strictly and regardless of consequences. I think that it is essential that a competent and experienced officer of the Intelligence Bureau should be in charge in each of the principal Ministries concerned with secret papers. This must be his specific responsibility and if anything untoward occurs, he should be held to account. This officer of the Intelligence Bureau should retain his position of the Intelligence Bureau and should not be absorbed as Deputy Secretary or in some other way in the Ministry he is working in.

1. Note to Y.N. Sukthankar, Cabinet Secretary, 21 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 4.

5. This principle of responsibility must be made to apply at every stage. At present there appears to be an utter lack of responsibility. Thus, in the case referred to above in the External Affairs Ministry, it appears to be impossible to hold anyone responsible, except of course the person who committed this outrage. He was in the lower scales of employment. What were his superiors doing and why were they completely oblivious to what was happening? I think that his superior should have been responsible and should be held accountable for the failure of a person working under him.

6. In any department or section of a Ministry where secret papers are kept, only persons who have been carefully examined, should be appointed. They and their work should be kept in view. In the External Affairs Ministry case, the guilty person had a record which was a particularly bad one. He had actually been sent back from London because of his bad behaviour there. He was a confirmed drunkard. Such a man was casually employed first in some non-secret section and then, apparently at his own instance, transferred to a secret section. No one appears to know how and why this was done and who was responsible for it. Greater administrative chaos, I cannot imagine. If this could happen in this particular case, then one is entitled to presume that it occurs elsewhere too and that in fact our administration is run in a most disorderly way.

7. I have been deeply shocked and distressed by this occurrence and the way this has lighted up our administrative procedures. We talk about improvements in these procedures and we set up an Organization and Methods Division which no doubt does some good. But the basic evil which undermines the entire structure continues, a casualness and lack of responsibility.

8. If the External Affairs Ministry has come out badly from this business, the Intelligence Bureau has not fared any better. It seems to me that they should revise their functions and realize what is more important and what is less. It is far more important for us to have proper security in our offices here than to organize intelligence abroad. It is far more important for us to have security than to have long notes about matters which are generally known. I find that the information we receive usually from our Intelligence Bureau contains something that is important but mostly it is a rehash of what the newspapers contain or what we have got from other sources. Our Intelligence Bureau has got to wake up and become efficient in performance and not merely in the writing of notes.

9. This matter has got to be taken up urgently and vigorously in all its aspects. For me, it has become a symbol not merely of security but of administrative efficiency. Apart from laying down proper rules etc., and the manner of implementing them effectively, every person working in a secret office has got to be checked and only persons we can rely upon completely should be kept there. Further, we should be in a position to find out any lapse immediately it

occurs. In the case I have referred to, it has taken five years for us to find this out and that too was done rather accidentally. The loss caused to us by this amazing incompetence might well be grievous.

10. This note is meant for you only for the present. Also for Secretary General[3] and for the Home Secretary[4] to whom I am sending copies. But I want you immediately to address all Ministries and departments on these broad subjects and tell them that immediate steps have got to be done to reorganize our security in every Ministry and to make sure that it works. Every Ministry and Department should look into this itself and then consult an experienced and senior officer of the Intelligence Bureau.

11. The circulation of secret papers must also be attended to and care taken that they do not fall into wrong hands.

12. It has come to my notice repeatedly that many of our officers have a tendency to speak loosely about secret matters. They speak sometimes to persons connected with foreign Missions, sometimes to members of the opposition parties in Parliament, sometimes to odd individuals. Probably, they have no intention of disclosing a secret, but this kind of loose talk is utterly wrong and they should be warned against it. In case any such talk comes to our notice, action will have to be taken.

13. I suggest that you discuss this matter with SG, Home Secretary and the Director of Intelligence Bureau.[5]

14. I am going to Saudi Arabia in two days' time. Soon after my return, I want to know what steps have been initiated. By the end of October, I hope that the new system to be introduced will be fully functioning and reported to me as such.

3. N.R. Pillai.
4. A.V. Pai.
5. B.N. Mullik.

5. To Rajendra Prasad[1]

New Delhi
22 September 1956

My dear Mr President,
Thank you for your letter of September 22nd.[2]

There can be no question that all messages, secret or other, which have any importance, should be sent to you. I must apologize for the fact that, during some periods, apparently, some of these messages were not sent to you. Unfortunately, I was not aware of this sometimes and could not rectify the error. What often happens is that a telegram is marked 'personal' and, in the ordinary course, the CCB restricts its circulation. On a very few occasions also, it has so happened that I have asked them to restrict circulation. This was not meant to apply to you at all but, rather, to the larger circulation to a number of officers, because I was rather anxious not to take a risk that it went out through some officer.

Unfortunately, the CCB restricted the circulation so as not even to send it to you. The fault is entirely mine for not having looked into this matter.

It was, in fact, when I suddenly discovered some days ago, that some top secret telegrams were not being sent to you, I gave instructions that all telegrams should go to you.

I do not know what reports from the embassies are supplied to you and why any paragraph has been taken out of the original report.[3] Certainly, this was not done because this was sent to you. I shall enquire into it. Normally, reports from embassies are not circulated and, in fact, I do not see most of them. We have large numbers of such reports coming in and only the important ones are put before me. If a report is interesting, I sometimes indicate that this should be

1. File.No. 204/56. President's Secretariat. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Rajendra Prasad stated that top secret telegrams were not sent to him on a regular basis, and that dispatches "have been done in some sort of a selective, if not haphazard way". He was anxious that, "while necessary precautions are taken to maintain secrecy and prevent leakage, the free flow of information to me remains uninterrupted and it should be on lines which are properly understood and invariably acted upon by the officials concerned."
3. Rajendra Prasad pointed out: "More recently I have had occasion to see in the case of certain reports from our embassies abroad that copies supplied to me contained many paragraphs which had been excised from the original report. Obviously, it was intended that those paragraphs should not be seen by me."

circulated to the President and the Cabinet. In circulating it, some parts which are either unimportant or, perhaps, because the report itself is a kind of a personal letter, are taken out. There is no intention to keep any such small part secret from you. Those copies of reports are not sent to you only, but usually to members of the Cabinet. Personal references are usually omitted because the writer wrote a personal letter and did not realize that his letter might be circulated.

I wish to assure you that there is and can be no question of keeping any matter secret from you, and if this has happened in the past, it has been through inadvertence for which I am exceedingly sorry.

As you are aware, I am anxious to keep you in touch with developments and I refer to many matters, when I see you, which normally are not put down on paper.

I shall speak to you tomorrow about the removal of some secret papers from the External Affairs Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. To T.T. Krishnamachari[1]

New Delhi
23 September 1956

My dear TT,

I am sending you some papers relating to the employment by the Indian Statistical Institute of some alleged communists.[2]

Three years ago, one such case was brought to our notice, that of Kalyan Kumar Das. We decided then, however, that this person need not be discharged, but that steps should be taken that he should not have access to any confidential paper or information.

Some little time ago, the West Bengal Government sent a statement that

1. JN Collection.
2. For an earlier reference to employment of communists in the Indian Statistical Institute, Kolkata, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, pp. 264-67.

twenty-five communists were employed in the ISI. They have given some particulars of the activities of nineteen of them. Thereupon I wrote to Mahalanobis.[3] I did not send him the full particulars. He replied to me on the 4th August. These papers have lain with me ever since then, I am sorry to say.

Partly the reason for delay was that I was heavily occupied, partly because I was not clear in my mind as to what we might do in the circumstances. I do not want any confirmed communists to have access to secret papers. On the other hand, I do not place much reliance on police reports unless they are very factual. Mahalanobis points out that there are 1500 persons in the employ of the ISI. I suppose most of the work of the ISI is not secret at all, and none of it is really secret. I am not perturbed at the idea that any instruments might be sabotaged. There is no chance of this kind of thing happening.

Kalyan Kumar's case was first taken up three years ago and presumably nothing special has happened since then.

The only risk involved in employing such persons is that they will give information about our statistical work to some communist cell or other which can take advantage of that in order to put questions in Parliament or utilize the information for other purposes.

I should like you to glance through these papers and then perhaps we could have a talk.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 180.

7. Steps for Ensuring Security[1]

Since the recent discovery of our secret papers being missing, we have discussed the question of our security several times.[2] Special steps have been taken to ensure security.

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary, and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 4 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 246-47.

2. There is one aspect of this, however, which deserves special attention from everyone in the Ministry. This relates to loose talk outside the Ministry. I read frequently messages sent by foreign correspondents to their papers. In these messages it is often said that they base their news on information received from official sources or from a high official in the External Affairs Ministry. This may, of course, be made up. But I am inclined to think that there is usually some kind of basis for it, as is evident from the message itself.

3. I imagine that some of our officers and other people employed indulge from time to time in loose talk. They may not talk directly to a foreign newspaperman or someone in a foreign embassy, though I do not rule that out and even this might well take place sometimes. What is more likely is that they talk to someone else who passes on the news in some distorted form to the newspapermen.

4. This is most undesirable. Not only is it bad from the point of view of news leaking out but also because it shows a certain looseness which should never be present in an officer working in our Foreign Office or in any other confidential capacity. I would like you to make it perfectly clear to all concerned in our Ministry that on no account and on no occasion must any of them talk about our work in the Ministry to outsiders, whoever they might be. This is a serious matter.

5. I learnt today that secret papers are carelessly torn and thrown into the waste paper basket. They are not always properly destroyed and it is quite easy to paste them together and read what the original paper contained. Arrangements must be made for all papers of this type to be burnt regularly.

6. In the circulation of telegrams, I find that more than one copy is sent to various persons. Thus, I am supposed to have four copies. Why, I cannot imagine. Some others get two copies each. I think that only one copy should be sent. For me, two copies might be sent and no more.

8. To Swaran Singh[1]

New Delhi
8 October 1956

My dear Swaran Singh,

Thank you for your letter of October 5 with which you have sent me a statement showing consumption of electricity in the Ministers' houses. On the whole, the figures are smaller than I had anticipated, except for a few cases. In Maulana Azad's house and Pantji's, there are, I believe, rather special security arrangements and these add to the cost of electricity consumed. I have told Pantji that consumption in his house is the biggest of all Ministers' houses. In any event, I agree with you that there can be considerable saving in consumption if care is taken. No one need take any offence if it is pointed out that owing to scarcity of electric power available, it is desirable to save electricity as much as possible. I hope you will do so.

You have not sent me the figures for my house, as also for Rashtrapati Bhavan. I understand, however, that the average monthly expenditure on electricity in Rashtrapati Bhavan is Rs. 12,500/-.

Rashtrapati Bhavan, of course, houses a vast number of persons in its Estate. I do not know if separate meters are put up, that is, one for the main building proper and one for the Estate. It would be helpful to have these wherever possible.

I think I have already suggested to you to have a separate meter for my house and another for the rest of the Estate. Could you kindly have this done and then issue instructions that monthly figures should be sent to me of my house?

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(103)/56-65-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

9. To Chief Ministers[1]

New Delhi
8 October 1956

My dear Chief Ministers,

For many years now, I have been sending you fortnightly letters. I fear I have been somewhat remiss in this respect lately, and these letters have been irregular. These letters are marked 'secret' and are meant to be secret. Indeed, I have previously drawn your attention to this fact and requested you to take some trouble to prevent them falling into wrong hands. It is true that they go to a fairly considerable number of persons. I have myself asked you to show these letters to your other Ministers. The Governors also get them.

I am writing to you now because it has come to my knowledge that these fortnightly letters are passed on to others and fall into wrong hands. Indeed, extracts from them have appeared in communications of foreign governments. You will appreciate that this is highly undesirable. It will become difficult for me to write to you frankly, if I feel that my letters go astray.

These letters manage to reach quite a number of persons for whom they are not intended. Among these is the Democratic Research Service of Bombay.[2] In the name of democracy, this organization, which is evidently sponsored by foreign sources, engages itself in running down Government policies and measures. Unfortunately, some Indian businessmen are believed to support this anti-national and foreign-inspired service financially and otherwise.

I do not quite know what I can do about this repeated leakage of my letters except to draw your attention to this unfortunate fact and to request you to warn your Ministers about it. You might also mention this to your Governor whom I am not addressing separately.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 253.

10. Training of Intelligence Personnel[1]

I really do not understand how Australia of all places in the world should be selected for training of our Intelligence officers. It is said that Australia is supposed to have reached a very high standard of efficiency in this matter. It may be so. The general standard of efficiency of Australians in other matters has not been evident to me. Nor is the isolated position of Australia conducive to this wider knowledge and efficiency.

It seems to me that our Intelligence people cannot get out of the habit of thinking of two or three countries in the Commonwealth, especially the UK, as well as the USA, for any kind of training. I should imagine that people in the continent of Europe in many ways are more efficient.

Some time ago there was some proposal to send people to London for training in the Russian language. That seemed extraordinary enough and I made various suggestions for what I thought of much better training in Russian as well as Intelligence work. So far as I remember, matters had gone too far for a chance and I presume the men went to the UK.

I really do not see why I should agree to this proposal until I am much more satisfied than I am at present.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 9 October 1956. JN Collection.

11. To Tenneti Viswanatham[1]

New Delhi
13 October 1956

My dear Viswanatham,[2]
Your letter of the 12th October.[3]

I really know next to nothing about what you have written and I am rather surprised to read it. I know that some funds have been collected in the course of the last two or three years rather gradually. So far as I know, they do not add up to any very great figure.

Certainly, I do not want anything to be done which will lead to sharp practices and is considered unfair. As a matter of fact, to my knowledge, fairly large sums have been subscribed by some firms for anti-Government and anti-Congress propaganda.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Advisory Commission (Company Law Administration).
3. Viswanatham stated that the Congress Party had decided to collect Rs five crores as election fund from various companies while according to the Company Law, company funds should not be utilized for non-company purposes. He also stated that, "this should not happen when you are the Head of our affairs in this country."

12. To Rajendra Prasad[1]

New Delhi
16 October 1956

My dear Rajendra Babu,
Thank you for your letter of the 16th October about the AsDC.[2]

I need not tell you that, whatever your desire or directive may be, it will be given effect to.

This matter was mentioned to me by the Defence Secretary at a time when the Chief of Staff[4] was away in England and the Defence Minister[5] was not here. The Defence Secretary often sees me in connection with various matters connected with his Ministry. In the course of our conversation, he mentioned this to me. I said to him that the President's wishes must, of course, be given effect to, but that certain submissions might be made to the President for his consideration before he came to a final decision.

Thus far, so far as I know, only one kind of persons have been made ADC, apart from regular servicemen. These were rulers or ex-rulers of States, who were given military rank. Many of these rulers had sometimes undergone some kind of military service and were otherwise too, persons who had some connection with the military, and used to put on uniforms and the like. That was, however, an exceptional case. The grant of a military rank to other civilians had not previously been done, except in the case of doctors for the Medical Services in times of war etc. If a civilian was given a military rank, he would naturally have to be attached to some military formation and have to wear uniform etc., to which he was not used. It is not an easy matter for a person who has not done it before, to use military uniforms or to march, as military officers have to march, on ceremonial occasions. This requires considerable practice, and it might be embarrassing for the person concerned to do so. I suggested then for

1. JN Collection.
2. Rajendra Prasad stated that the honorary military ranks given to the ex-rulers of the States when appointed as AsDC, should be given "to ordinary commoners also if they were otherwise considered fit." He further added that "the way should be opened by conferring it on Shri H.C. Gupta whom I have already appointed as an ADC (Civil)."
3. M.K. Vellodi.
4. S.M. Srinagesh.
5. K.N. Katju.

submission to you, that we might have a civilian ADC who would perform all the functions of an ADC except such as require some kind of military practice.

There was no question at all of your being placed in an awkward position in this rather trivial matter. As I said then, your final decision would, of course, be given effect to. I felt that, perhaps, some aspects of this matter had not been brought before you and, therefore, this submission might be made.

As for promotions being kept in abeyance because of an officer being attached to the Personal Staff of the President, I do not quite know what the rules are. I think that the rules are that, before a person is promoted, he has to show some period of active service. If there is a gap in that period of active service, he is supposed to be not quite in form for a higher rank. This has nothing to do with his being an ADC, and it applies to other activities he may have undertaken. Thus, for an airman, if he does not do flying for a sufficient number of hours, he will not be considered fit.

I believe it is by some such rule that promotions are made. I remember, some time ago, when I was temporarily in charge of the Defence Ministry, I laid great stress on promotions being made strictly on merit and not by seniority, more especially in the higher ranks. I am glad to say that seniority plays much less part in promotions now than it used to.

There is, perhaps, another aspect of this matter. Our Service officers have to work very hard during the period of their active service. If a person does not undergo this hard physical training and has easier work to do, and yet is automatically promoted, there is likely to be some dissatisfaction among other officers. This question has arisen several times in regard to ADC of some of our Governors. It was, therefore, decided that there should be changes in the ADC from time to time, both to give other people a chance of a prized office and to keep them all up to the mark in their training.

I do not know exactly what the rules are and am only writing from my recollection.

I am forwarding your letter and a copy of this reply of mine to the Defence Minister.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4
STATES

I. ANDHRA PRADESH

1. To B. Gopala Reddi[1]

New Delhi
29 October 1956

My dear Gopala Reddi,[2]

....I am glad that the Congress Party in Andhra behaved with dignity in connection with the election of the leader[3] and that you took the affair in the right spirit.[4] It has always seemed to me more important to do anything in the right way than even to do the right thing in a wrong way.

I was happy to cooperate with you during your Chief Ministership.[5] Of course, you are young and you will undertake many responsible tasks in the future.

There does not seem to me anything improper for a retiring Chief Minister to join a succeeding Cabinet.[6] Indeed, I think that sometimes there is special propriety in doing so. This kind of thing happens in other countries frequently. Each case of course has to be judged on merits.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Chief Minister of Andhra.
3. On 21 October 1956, 147 legislators of Andhra State and 49 of Telengana region unanimously elected N. Sanjiva Reddy as leader of the Congress Legislature Party of the newly formed State of Andhra Pradesh. Shriman Narayan, one of the General Secretaries of AICC, conducted the election.
4. After the election, Gopala Reddi appealed to the members of the Party to set aside their rivalries and work unitedly for the prosperity of Andhra Pradesh. He also asked them to support Sanjiva Reddy in his efforts to establish a stable administration in the State.
5. B. Gopala Reddi was the Chief Minister of Andhra State from March 1955 to October 1956.
6. N. Sanjiva Reddy formed his new Ministry of Andhra Pradesh on 1 November. B. Gopala Reddi joined as the Minister for Home Affairs, and Courts and Prisons.

II. ASSAM

1. To Bisnuram Medhi[1]

New Delhi
9 September 1956

My dear Medhi,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd September which I have read with interest. I have recently had a long talk with Lieutenant General Thimayya and I am in broad agreement with the general line he proposes to adopt[2] He will keep in close touch with you and the Governor and keep you informed.

The recent hartal and violence of some elements in Assam in regard to the question of the refinery has distressed me very much.[3] If people imagine that Government decisions on major questions of policy are going to be determined by this type of violence, they are very much mistaken. In fact, these people have shown that they are utterly unsuited for any responsible work or undertaking. I have been very much in favour of the refinery being situated in Assam if technical and other considerations did not come in the way. But after this violence and hartal in Assam, I am not so firm in my opinion and I am inclined to think that the refinery should not go there. In any event, this question is not going to be decided by violence but on the merits.

It may be that this will injure the prospects of the Congress in the elections. I shall be sorry for that, but I cannot help it. I am quite clear in my mind that

1. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 136-138.
3. On 28 August 1956, hartal was observed at Guwahati, Pandu, Amingaon, Dibrugarh and Jorhat in protest against the reported decision of the Central Government to set up the oil refinery outside Assam. Institutions were closed and vehicles were off the roads. Large processions were taken out by students and the general public at Dibrugarh and Jorhat. At Guwahati violent mobs attempted to remove railway lines and cut off signal wires. As a result, railway tracks were damaged and train communications suspended. Several persons, including Communist and Praja Socialist Party leaders, were arrested.

violence must not be tolerated and no impression should go abroad that decisions are to be effected by violence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Muslim Immigration into Assam[1]

I have seen these papers. I shall discuss this matter with the Chief Minister of Assam. The two questions referred to are important and, as far as I can see, no satisfactory explanation has come from the Assam Government in regard to them.

2. The note in the file, of Shri R. Yusuf Ali, dated the 4th August 1956, is rather extraordinary. Instead of dealing with the points at issue, he has embarked on an essay on the situation in the Naga Hills. Part of what he has written is correct, though not relevant. Part of it is an expression of his views, which, evidently, he cannot suppress, whatever the subject, and which crop up like King Charles' head everywhere. The fact that he has this obsession, vitiates his opinions in regard to any connected matter. I have pointed out previously that some of our officers in the NEFA seem to consider themselves much wiser than the External Affairs Ministry or, indeed, the Government of India. This erroneous opinion has to be removed, if they are to serve with any satisfaction.

3. It is right that the views of our officers should be freely and frankly expressed to us and that we should take them into consideration in formulating our larger policies, which are based not only on their views and the facts they adduce, but on other facts and many other and wider considerations. If we merely and automatically acted up to the reports or views received by us from some of our officers, then the Government of India would just become an unthinking machine.

4. In regard to the Naga Hills affairs, I have previously drawn attention to this

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, Foreign Secretary and M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 13 October 1956. JN Collection.

tendency, not only of our officers in the NEFA but, to some extent, even of our officers in the Ministry. I hope that they have profited by what I have said and will not indulge again in delivering homilies to us.

5. The question of Muslim immigration into Assam is at least 50 years old, if not more.[2] I remember studying it about twenty years ago, when I visited Assam and wrote a rather long note about it.[3] That was, of course, long before Partition, and had nothing to do with the new issues that have arisen since Partition.[4] Nevertheless, the problem was there. I think that one of the Census Reports, probably of 1911, refers to this movement of Muslims from the Eastern Bengal areas into Assam as resembling a large army of ants on the march.[5] The reason was obvious. Assam was thinly populated, while some of the Bengal border districts, notably Mymensingh I think, were teeming with an ever-growing population.

6. This basic fact has to be remembered because otherwise we shall overlook

2. The major influx of Bengali Muslims began after 1900. By 1911, the number of migrants in the district of Goalpara alone was 118,000 which constituted nearly 20 per cent of the population. Between 1930 and 1950, some 1,508,000 acres, mostly in the Brahmaputra Valley, were settled by Muslim immigrants. The 1951 Census Report mentioned that during 1948-49 hundreds of Muslim immigrants regularly travelled by the hill section railway in order to enter the Assam Valley.
3. Nehru toured Assam from 26 November to 8 December 1937. He wrote a long note on Assam in a running train on 9 December. On Muslim immigration, he wrote that the fear of Assamese that their culture, language and individuality would be suppressed by the immigrants, was exaggerated. He, however, felt that throwing the unoccupied land open to unrestricted immigration without any planning would be unfortunate. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 8, pp. 492-499.
4. After Independence and Partition, the Indian Government passed the Influx from Pakistan (Control) Act, 1949, and Immigrants (Expulsion from Assam) Act, 1950, which allowed only those displaced by communal disturbances to enter Assam. But these Acts turned out to be mere scraps of paper. Then the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact, 1950, which provided that the minorities who ran away to East Pakistan due to 1950 communal riots could return to Assam and those who returned by 30 December would be regarded as Indian citizens, had further encouraged illegal immigration into Assam.
5. In fact, the comment was not made in the Census Report of 1911, but in the Report of 1931 by C. S. Mullan, the then Census Superintendent. He wrote that, "....a population which must amount to over half a million has transplanted itself from Bengal (East) to the Assam Valley during the last twenty-five years." He compared this to the mass movement of a huge body of ants.

one of the principal causes of this migration. The other causes are, of course, due to Partition and the economic conditions prevailing in Eastern Pakistan.

7. The Assam Government has throughout been much concerned about this migration of Muslims and has written to us innumerable letters on the subject. They have suggested various kinds of legislation to ban or to stop this. It is, therefore, not at all correct to say that, broadly speaking, the Assam Government favours this. They are frightened of it. What might well happen is that, when a number of these people have come and settled down, a political party might seek to win them over. Usually, this kind of thing happens in a local area and some local persons might well be involved in it.

8. I have noted above some background facts about this migration. Our Ministry, the NEFA Administration and our Intelligence Bureau seem to be unaware of them.

9. It is necessary, of course, to take effective steps to stop this migration. It is also necessary to deal more effectively with the form mentioned above.

3. To Bisnuram Medhi[1]

New Delhi
13 October 1956

My dear Medhi,

I have been looking through some papers relating to the large-scale migration of Muslims from East Pakistan to Assam. An enquiry was made to your Government about this matter, and Pantji also wrote to you about it. You sent a letter dated the 7th September to Pantji in answer.

Looking through all these papers, I am not at all happy at the situation that appears to exist there. While some legal measures might be necessary, I think that even the existing law helps us considerably to check such migration.

What troubles me is the information we have received that actually local Congressmen and others are encouraging this, apparently thinking that they might be useful recruits to their Party.

Then, there is the question of an arms and ammunition shop in the name of

1. JN Collection.

Mohammad Jalil of Messrs. Poonu Mea & Sons. The information we have received about this shop is highly unsatisfactory. The fact that the owner of it may be an old Indian national, is not an adequate explanation of the activities it appears to have indulged in. The surprising part is that no proper reports have been given by this shop of its sales etc. and repeatedly the licence has been renewed. The shop has never submitted monthly returns of sales of arms and ammunition and, therefore, the sales cannot be verified. Some of its sales were not even covered by the certificate required by the rules.

It appears that, in December 1954, your Government decided that his licence should be renewed for a year. It was, however, renewed further for another year without reference to Government.

The fact that the owner of the shop is a Government nominated member of the Tinsukia Municipal Board, does not help, nor does the fact that he possesses all manner of certificates from important persons. A man who is up to some mischief, will be careful to put himself right with the authorities, subscribe to their funds or to Congress funds and generally make out that he is on good terms with people in authority.

I should like to discuss these matters with you when I come to Assam.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Lal Bahadur Shastri[1]

Camp: Calcutta
21 October 1956

My dear Lal Bahadur,[2]

I see that you are sending a Railway Board team to Washington to confer with the World Bank there. I do not know if they are going to discuss with them specific schemes for development here. If so, then anything not put to the World Bank might automatically get left out.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Railways and Transport.

I have mentioned this matter specially as I am just coming back from Assam and I do feel even more than I did before that something has to be done fairly soon about developing railways there, more especially the link railway. Every development in Assam depends upon this. In addition, the difficulties in the Naga Hills have brought home to us the necessity of better transport facilities to Assam.

I hope, therefore, that this will be kept in mind and included in any programme that is put to the World Bank. The case for Assam is strong. Practically everything has to go there by railway.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Kailas Nath Katju[1]

New Delhi
3 November 1956

My dear Kailas Nath,

A year or two ago when I went to Shillong,[2] people there drew my attention to the fact that Shillong town could not grow because our Army people occupied all the desirable sites. I think I drew the attention of the Defence Ministry then to this, as it seemed to me improper for our Army to hold on to large pieces of land even when they were not actually using them. For this to be done in a Capital City like Shillong seemed to me particularly wrong.

When I went to Shillong recently,[3] my attention was again drawn to this and I asked Medhi to write to you. He has now written to you and sent me a copy of the letter. I hope you will please give attention to this matter.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. He was at Shillong on 27 August 1955.
3. Nehru visited Shillong on 17 and 18 October 1956 during his tour to Assam.

III. BIHAR

1. To Krishna Ballabh Sahay[1]

New Delhi
8 September 1956

My dear Krishna Ballabh,[2]
Your letter of the 4th September. I was a little surprised to read the papers you had sent. I showed them to Satya Narayan Sinha.[3] All that I remember is that I had laid stress on food production and said that no change should be made which endangers or lessens food production. Apart from this, I had passed no opinion about your Bill.[4] Indeed I have not seen your Bill and do not know anything about it. I am not in a position to express any opinion about your Bill. What I am concerned with is that our production must grow.

It was not quite correct, therefore, for Satya Narayan Sinha to say that I agree with his views, except in so far as I have indicated above. I had spoken on these lines at the meeting of the Pradesh Presidents and Secretaries held in Delhi.[5] Presumably, it was because of this that Satya Narayan wrote to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Revenue and Excise in the Bihar Government.
3. Union Minister for Parliamentary Affairs.
4. The Bihar Agricultural Lands (Ceiling and Management) Bill was introduced by Sahay in 1955, proposing ceiling area of a landholder having a family of five members or less as thirty or fifty acres depending on the locality of his holding. It proposed five acres for each additional member but did not allow more than 300 acres of ceiling area per family in any case. The Bill was unacceptable to many of the ruling Congress Party members, and was, consequently, put on the back burner till 1961.
5. Nehru spoke on 3 May at a conference of the Presidents and Secretaries of the Pradesh Congress Committees held at New Delhi from 2 to 4 May 1956.

2. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

New Delhi
9 September 1956

My dear Maulana,
I am writing to you about Mozaffar Hasan[2] and his complaints. I am a little tired about this matter and I told him so when he came to see me today.

The money he gave has already been spent on the science block and the hostel of the College at Monghyr. These will be named after his father. But, Mozaffar was to have a school named after his father at Surajgarh, his village. He did not want it to be spent for the science block and the hostel. He agreed to this only on condition that a multi-purpose secondary school will be put up at Surajgarh. Apparently, what you told him, led him to believe that such a school would be put up. Now that he is doubtful of this, he complains bitterly and wants his money back. You have probably received a copy of the letter dated September 8, which he wrote to me.

I understand that when these multi-purpose schools are put up, the Central Government give substantial aid. Probably, you mentioned this to Mozaffar Hasan previously. Sri Babu,[3] however, thought that Surajgarh was not a suitable place for such a school as it was not far from Monghyr. But, as Mozaffar Hasan has given this large sum of money, I think that we should meet his wishes, and Sri Babu should agree to spending some money, to which will be added the Central Government contribution.

I do not quite know what the facts are. But, if what I have written is correct and you agree with it, I shall write to Sri Babu.[4] It is clear that we are going to get no further money at this stage from Mozaffar Hasan. It is no good asking for

1. JN Collection.
2. Mozaffar Hasan, who migrated to Pakistan from Bihar after the Partition, donated Rs 1,44,000 to build a school at his native village Surajgarh in Monghyr district, to commemorate the memory of his father Zakir Husain.
3. Sri Krishna Sinha, the Chief Minister of Bihar.
4. Nehru wrote both to Abul Kalam Azad and Sri Krishna Sinha on 13 and 15 October and advised them to set up a school at Surajgarh.

it. If we decide to build a school, possibly he may contribute some money later for it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

IV. BOMBAY

1. Bilingual Bombay State—A Right Decision[1]

Parliament's decision to constitute a bilingual Bombay State has not only not harmed Gujarat or Maharashtra but has immensely helped the country as a whole. For sometime, I have been worried about the dangerous turn the linguistic provinces movement was taking and the dangerous propensities of narrow linguistic thinking. I was feeling the country was going on a wrong path. The bilingual State decision has reversed our course and we are now on the right path. I hope more on these lines will happen to further correct our path.

I concede the decision was sudden and the suddenness should have come as a shock and surprise to the people of the region. If you want to condemn me for this, I think you have a right to do so and I beg your pardon. But the decision has done positive good.

On November 1, a new map of India will be written.[2] Many decisions have been taken in the course of settling the reorganization question. Now, it is the duty of the people to settle down for the reconstruction of the country.

If you think merely of your region and erect a barrier round Gujarat in the belief that the barrier will spell the progress of the region, you are wrong. This barrier will only prove your prison.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Lal Darwaza Maidan, Ahmedabad, 2 October 1956. From *The Hindustan Times*, and *The Tribune*, 3 October 1956. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, p. 54.

There is need to solve problems like this in a democratic and peaceful way. Do not take to the path of force and violence but think coolly and act in a peaceful way.

I have not come here to find fault with you or praise you. I only want you to think coolly, not only about the interests of Ahmedabad or Gujarat but the interest of the country as a whole.

In a democracy, big decisions could be taken only through the representative system of government and through assemblies and parliament. No other method could work successfully. In big countries like ours with huge populations, in working the representative system, care should be taken not to think of the interest of a *mohalla* or a city or region, but the country. If the interest of the particular region could be served by a particular act which is not in the interest of the nation, that act is not good.

While an individual leader or a small group of leaders or people can also take a good decision, the Parliament, where interplay of opinion from all corners of the country is possible and representatives from one region can evaluate the other regions requirements from the country's angle, could take a better decision. While there is the possibility of a mistake even in the Lok Sabha, the chances are less.

If the majority decision of the Parliament is not respected, the machinery of democratic governance in the country would be upset. The undemocratic method of forcing the opinion of one region on the country through the method of *danda* is to be condemned. The trouble in Maharashtra and Bombay, after the reorganization proposals were announced, were more than a mere movement. Houses were set on fire and property was looted. There was police firing.[3] What is this method of forcing your opinion on others? If you are against a particular decision of the Parliament or government, how do you change it by setting fire to a railway station?

Outside India, people laugh at you for these things. They say: "The Indians talk big but they are *junglis*". Can you allow someone to call the people of Maharashtra or Gujarat *junglis*? If we do not understand to work democratically and if we act in a way as to harm the happy undercurrent of oneness in the culture of the country, we will stand condemned before the world.

It is correct that the people of one language should be together to govern themselves. But this does not mean that two languages should not exist in any one state or region. In a bilingual state, each language will have its own position.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, pp. 153 and 209 and Vol. 32, pp. 180-181.

It is wrong to think that one language will be suppressed by another or thirty per cent minority in an assembly would be suppressed.

Some years before, I had been thinking there should be small administrative regions comprising of four or five districts. I also then felt that big regions should not develop so that they will fight each other. Linguistic state is itself not a bad idea. But its effect has been that the devil in man has been brought out to the fore. About the time the Amritsar Session (of the Congress) was held, I was thinking that the country was going on the wrong path. We passed a resolution suggesting constitution of bilingual states.[4] The resolution has done some good, maybe it has not produced big results.

I was all along feeling that Bombay should remain a composite State and that Hyderabad should not be split.[5] My definite opinion can go to an extent. I can express emphatically. I was trying to convince the leaders of Maharashtra and Gujarat. But ultimately, I was going to give up and accept defeat, when the Lok Sabha Members decided to recommend the bilingual scheme.

I believe that the decision shall not be forced on the people suddenly. The leaders of Maharashtra and Gujarat when consulted, did express there will be difficulties. But when the Congress Party decided, I cannot go against the decision.

I regret that the decision has been taken suddenly. I see that you were not given sufficient time to express your opinion. You can condemn this aspect. But there was absolutely no time and we were helpless. I definitely want that every act of Parliament should not only be put before the people but their opinion assessed.

It is a pity that we think that crores of people will become so weak and powerless as not to save their interests. After all, economic questions and the five year plan schemes are decided by Parliament.

In a socialistic society, is it possible that any region of a country will think of suppressing another region and achieve socialism? I cannot imagine such possibilities. You have to visualize the shape of things to come in an atomic age in which the world is shrinking and not to think in terms of narrow provincialism.

4. The resolution on Reorganization of States, moved by G.B. Pant at the Subject Committee meeting of Indian National Congress at Amritsar, was adopted unanimously on 10 February 1956. For Nehru's speech on the resolution see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, pp. 227-232.
5. The Marathwada area of Hyderabad State, comprising Aurangabad, Parbhani, Bhir and Osmanabad districts and some *taluqas* of Bidar, Nanded and Adilabad districts, was merged with the bilingual Bombay State.

Ahmedabad, which played a great part in the freedom struggle had a bigger part to play in the future development of the country.

We have changed the character of revolution as such and foreign leaders have admired the way we have achieved big things like unification of the country in a peaceful way. Already we have taken steps to usher in socialism. Maybe we are not going fast enough, but what we have done is not small. We should prepare ourselves to work hard for the reconstruction of the country....

2. To P.K. Deshmukh[1]

New Delhi
14 October 1956

My dear Deshmukh,[2]
I have your letter of the 13th October.[3]

I need not tell you that all of us here attach great importance to the enlarged Bombay State and are anxious that it should start off under the best auspices. We have discussed this matter with most people concerned and even ventured to offer such advice as we could. It is not my habit to interfere too much. More particularly, in the case of Bombay, I would hesitate to go beyond what I have done. I have found from experience that this kind of pressure has undesirable consequences, the responsibility for which we have to bear here.

1. JN Collection.
2. Purushottam Kashirao Deshmukh (b. 1911); President of the various Congress Committees of Madhya Pradesh; member, Pradesh Congress Committee and All India Congress Committee; imprisoned during the freedom movement; Minister for Education and Revenue, Madhya Pradesh, 1946-52; responsible for the Zamindari Abolition Bill of Madhya Pradesh and various tenancy laws benefitting the tenants; Minister for Education and Local Self-Government, 1952.
3. Deshmukh recommended Morarji Desai, known for his efficient administration and absolute integrity, to be elected leader of the Congress Party in the new bilingual Bombay in order to make the bilingual formula a success. Deshmukh said that Desai was willing to take up the leadership if he was elected unanimously. Since B.S. Hiray had offered himself as a candidate for the position, he suggested that Nehru should ask Hiray to withdraw his candidature in the interests of the Party and the bilingual Bombay State.

I would, of course, like a decision to be taken which is near unanimous, but I do not think it will be right for me to summon people at this stage here.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To M.C. Chagla[1]

New Delhi
16 October 1956

My dear Chagla,[2]
This is the first letter I am writing to you in your capacity as Governor. I am happy to do so.

This letter, however, is entirely about a personal matter, and I shall be grateful if you could help in this. You know Dr Madan Atal.[3] He has been rather ill for some time past. He came to Delhi some weeks ago and has been staying with me and has been under treatment by some very good doctors here. There was a suspicion of his having cancer in his inside. The tests made thus far have shown that there is no cancer. But, doctors here say that he has a lump in his liver and that it is difficult to say whether it is malignant or not unless he is operated upon. In the present state of his health, and he is 69 years old, the doctors are not in favour of an operation. But, he is anxious to be examined by the specialists of the Cancer Research Institute in Bombay, especially Paymaster.

He is far from well and he has been mostly confined to bed here, although he walks about a little in his room. He got a little better at first and started going out for drives and walking much more. This did not have a good effect and, so, he has been resting.

I would be grateful if you could put him up at Raj Bhavan when he goes to

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Bombay.
3. A physician and cousin of Kamala Nehru. In 1938, he led the ambulance unit sent to China by the Congress; died in China in 1957.

Bombay for consultation with the doctors there. Also, to put him in touch with the Cancer Research Institute specialists who could examine him. He will take all the necessary papers about his treatment with him.

Madan Atal intends starting from here by the Frontier Mail on Monday morning, the 22nd October, reaching Bombay at 8.30 a.m. on Tuesday 23rd October. He will be accompanied by a friend who will look after him. Probably, he will stay for a week in Bombay.

I hope that you will be able to have him as your guest at Raj Bhavan during this period. You might send an ADC to the station to receive him.

I am going away to Assam tomorrow morning and shall return after about five days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

V. DELHI

1. To Sampurnanand[1]

New Delhi
17 September 1956

My dear Sampurnanand,

For a long time past, we have been greatly worried about new constructions going up all over Old and New Delhi. This was partly due to the vast number, over half a million, refugees coming here, and partly to all kinds of new activities in the capital city. Even today, there is building activity all over New Delhi.

Some months ago, we became rather alarmed at this unregulated growth which was spoiling the whole face of Delhi. We made various efforts to check it, but failed. Our laws and municipal bye-laws were not adequate. Ultimately, we decided that this matter had to be looked at from a long term point of view and that we should have some strong Central authority for the whole of Delhi to control and regulate this expansion. Further, that this Central authority must draw up a detailed plan of Delhi, Old and New, as we would like it to be ten or

1. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

fifteen years later. Once this plan is more or less finalized, we would work up to it and always keep that picture before us.

Before having a permanent Delhi Authority, we appointed a Provisional Authority,[2] and we engaged a band of enthusiastic young architects to draw up this basic plan. They have done a good job of work and have produced large numbers of detailed plans of present conditions as well as of the proposed future. We have not accepted them finally yet, and we are having them vetted.

On the whole we have checked unregulated buildings in Delhi. But, I am told that, just across the border of Delhi, between Ghaziabad and Shahdara, there is frantic haste in putting up buildings without any particular attempt for regulation. As a matter of fact, in the new plan for Delhi, all that area is marked for expansion of Delhi. The Delhi Authority, however, cannot deal with it as it is in the UP.

I am told that big posters have been put up on the Ghaziabad side inviting people to build and telling them that the Delhi Authority did not function there and so they could go ahead without check or hindrance.

I am writing to you to draw your attention to this matter and to suggest that you might issue orders to check this unregulated building in that area. The proper course will be to coordinate that with the Delhi plan. That could easily be done. At any rate, some provisional steps to that effect might be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Before the setting up of the Delhi Development Authority under the Delhi Development Act, 1957, there was a provisional Improvement Trust. The DDA differed from it in two aspects: (1) it was made a high powered body under the chairmanship of the Chief Commissioner of Delhi, and (2) it was invested with powers of overall planning.

2. To Gulzarilal Nanda[1]

New Delhi
17 September 1956

My dear Gulzarilal,[2]

I am told that the situation in regard to electric power for Delhi is likely to be quite critical in the near future. I do not know exactly what this position is. All I know is that there appears to me to be great waste of electric powers. This waste is of many kinds, but two are obvious: (1) wasteful and vulgar illuminations of weddings etc., and (2) completely careless use of electric power in office and Government buildings. Because Government pays, nobody has the slightest interest in saving power.

Probably, these are two relatively minor leakages, but everything counts, and I do not see why they should not be rigorously checked.

Apart from this, however, the question is how we are to prevent this crisis coming, more especially when we are having large numbers of distinguished guests and international conferences etc. I hope you are considering this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 7(103)/56-65-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Planning, and Irrigation and Power.

3. To Amrit Kaur[1]

New Delhi
20 September 1956

My dear Amrit,[2]

I am glad to learn that you are having a meeting about the Delhi slum areas on the 27th September. I an anxious that this work should be carried on at full speed. There is always a tendency for work to slacken if pressure is not kept up.

Brij Krishna[3] has sent me a letter. This refers to the slum areas, and it also contains a note about the Jama Masjid area. You will remember that I asked you to get your architects to consider the cleaning up of the Jama Masjid area. Cleaning up is easy enough, but the whole point is where to put those people who live there. We can hardly throw them out far away.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Health.
3. Brij Krishna Chandiwala was convenor of the Delhi branch of the Bharat Sevak Samaj.

4. Electricity Consumption in Delhi[1]

I am informed that we are gradually approaching a crisis in regard to the supply of electricity and electric power in Delhi. The demand has been much greater than was estimated and, in spite of an additional supply of 10,000 kW, the position remains a difficult one.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary, 29 September 1956. File No. 7(103)/56-65-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. I have noticed that there is a tendency to waste electric power in our Government houses and offices. I should like you to write to all our various Ministries and Departments, drawing attention to this expected crisis and ask them to take particular care to avoid waste.

3. Air-conditioning plants apparently consume more electricity than almost anything else. These should be sparingly supplied or used.

5. To Amrit Kaur[1]

New Delhi
7 November 1956

My dear Amrit,

I do not quite know what is now happening to the Provisional Master Plan for Delhi.[2] As you know, Cabinet has broadly approved of it, subject to such variations as might be made after a very thorough study of it.

There is one point that has struck me. We have a stadium here which is useful. But it really is not big enough for many functions. A city like Delhi should have a much bigger stadium. I do not say that you should build one now, but that we should provide some ground for it in our Plan.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS.
2. An Interim General Plan (IGP) for Delhi was prepared by a special Town Planning Organization set up for the purpose by the Union Ministry of Health. Even though the IGP had elements of a Master Plan, its duration was limited for a few years so as to give time for formulating a long-range plan. It went through a public hearing and more than six hundred suggestions were screened by a Committee that accorded legal sanction under the Delhi Development Act, 1957.

VI. HYDERABAD

1. To Nizam of Hyderabad[1]

New Delhi
6 October 1956

My dear friend,[2]
Nawab Zain Yar Jung[3] called on me this morning and gave me your two letters, both dated 1st of October 1956.

Both these letters deal with the affairs of your senior son Prince Azam Jah.[4] You will remember that when you mentioned this matter to me previously I expressed my opinion in regard to your son's activities in rather strong terms. I think his behaviour has been scandalous and deserves no sympathy. As far as I remember, I advised you then not only not to pay his debts, but even to reduce his allowance. I think that Rs 50,000/- a month is an absurdly high allowance for any individual, much more so for a person who has been behaving like your son.

In spite of my advice, Your Exalted Highness decided to pay his debts again and the Prince promised faithfully and in writing to place his affairs in your hands completely. He has broken this promise again.

I cannot advise about legal matters or about the law suit that he has instituted. That is a matter for lawyers to do, and you will no doubt consult them. I am clear in my mind that Prince Azam Jah should have no leniency shown to him at all. He has abused his position and his trust.

Your Exalted Highness has suggested that the question of your successor should be settled soon and the decision announced. This matter will no doubt be considered by our Home Minister. But, as was pointed out previously, it is exceedingly difficult for us to announce decisions about future happenings. This is, I believe, against all practice and convention. However, the matter will

1. JN Collection.
2. Mir Osman Ali Khan, the Nizam of Hyderabad, was Rajpramukh of Hyderabad State from January 1950 till its merger with Andhra Pradesh on 1 November 1956.
3. Architect and former minister in Hyderabad State.
4. (1906-1970).

be considered by my colleague, the Home Minister. Speaking for myself, I cannot conceive that a person who has behaved in the manner Prince Azam Jah has done should be placed in any responsible position.

As Your Exalted Highness knows, the world is changing rapidly, and India is also changing fast. This is another reason why decisions cannot be made about the future at this stage.

Since you have been good enough to write to me in regard to your son and grandson, I am taking the liberty to mention a matter which I feel deserves careful consideration. This is in regard to the marriage of your grandson, Prince Mukarram Jah.[5] I have had occasion to meet him on several occasions in England when he was at school and college. He created a good impression upon me and, after the training he has received, he ought to be able to take a useful part in the nation's activities in the future. It would be a pity if he relapsed into idleness and wasteful habits. Sometimes it is a disadvantage for a bright young man to have no incentive to work and to have too much money to play about with. I hope that Mukarram Jah will resist the temptations which the possession of money brings with it and try to lead a useful and worthwhile life.

In this connection the question of his marriage has naturally some considerable importance. If he is married without his active approval and with someone who does not fit in with his education and training and thinking, then that marriage will be an unhappy one, both for him and for his wife and may well lead to unfortunate consequences. I hope, therefore, that Your Exalted Highness will allow him freedom of choice in this matter which is so important to his personal life.

I am venturing to mention this because I learned in London some time ago that Mukarram Jah was very apprehensive about the prospect of his having to marry someone whom he did not care for and who had received no education which would fit her to be his companion. I hope you will forgive me for my expressing my views in this matter. I would not have done so unless I was interested in the future of your grandson Mukarram Jah.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. Son of Azam Jah, studied at Harrow, and succeeded the Nizam on 24 February 1967.

2. To Nizam of Hyderabad[1]

New Delhi
15 October 1956

My dear friend,
Thank you for your letter of the 12th October, 1956.[2]

I quite appreciate what you say about your health. It was because of this and our feeling that you would, no doubt, prefer to have a restful time at your age now, that we did not like to ask you to shoulder heavy responsibilities.

You have referred in your letter to various privileges and rights.[3] No change has been made by the recent amendment of the Constitution to these personal rights.[4]

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Nizam wrote that he had decided not to accept the Governorship of Andhra Pradesh owing to his age and ill health. Citing the report of the States Reorganization Commission declaring that the abolition of the institution of Rajpramukh would not affect the rights and privileges enjoyed by the former rulers of Indian States, the Nizam presumed that his status, rights and privileges, guaranteed under the Constitution, would be honoured.
3. Payment of Privy Purses was guaranteed by Article 291 of the Indian Constitution, while Article 362 recognized and guaranteed the rights, privileges and dignities of the rulers of Princely States. These were, for example, possession of palaces, exemption from taxes, free electricity and water supply, flying flags of their States, exemption from appearing before a court of law, retention of private property and jewellery, possession of arms without licences, free medical treatment, and special passports.
4. The Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill gave effect to the scheme envisaged in the States Reorganization Act that was adopted by the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 6 and 11 September 1956 respectively.

VII. MADHYA BHARAT

1. Action Against Scurrilous Writing[1]

Please write to the Private Secretary to the Chief Minister, Madhya Bharat,[2] that the matter has been examined by the Information Broadcasting Ministry. They feel that there is no sufficient justification for stopping advertisements to the *Nagpur Times*. You might further point out that the legal proceedings against the newspaper are not for any objectionable matter but relate to the business side of the administration. Even in regard to that, no conclusion can be reached during the pendency of proceedings.

2. Also, that it is true that the paper has supported Samyukta Maharashtra and is anti-Government. It is not the policy of Government to withdraw advertisements because the policy of a newspaper is anti-Government.

3. You might add that the Prime Minister has seen these papers and he says that the fact that a newspaper writes against him is not adequate reason for punishing it in this way. The test should be not opposition but as to whether writings are scurrilous or not.

1. Note to B.N. Kaul, Principal Private Secretary, 10 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. Takhtmal Jain.

VIII. MADHYA PRADESH

1. To Ravi Shankar Shukla[1]

New Delhi
11 October 1956

My dear Shuklaji,[2]
This afternoon we had a meeting of the Central Election Committee and of the Central Parliamentary Board. At these meetings, we discussed a variety of matters connected with the coming elections as well as the interim arrangements to be made during the changeover from the 1st November. We were much disturbed at various developments. I am writing to you about reports we have received from various sources about Madhya Pradesh, the new enlarged Madhya Pradesh that is coming into existence on November 1st. You will, I hope, appreciate and forgive my writing to you quite frankly on this subject.

2. The new Madhya Pradesh is going to be a composite State including Mahakoshal, Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Bhopal. This enlarged composite State will naturally require a great deal of tactful handling and cooperation if it is to be a success, as we hope it will be. We have received numerous reports from a variety of sources that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction at the way things have been done without an attempt to gain this cooperation. More particularly, these reports have come to us from Madhya Bharat which is going to be a large and important part of the new Madhya Pradesh. There is a strong feeling there that they have been ignored and bypassed and that decisions are made without proper consultation with them. At some meetings that have been held to consider the future shape and organization of Madhya Pradesh, the representatives of Madhya Bharat have not even been able to come. When they pleaded, owing to illness, for a day or two's adjournment of the meeting, this was not agreed to. Important decisions were taken in their absence and without their consent. The question of Services has also been dealt with in this way. There is a general feeling, not only in Madhya Bharat, but elsewhere, that steps are being taken to give effect to what you have decided

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.

upon previously, regardless of what others might think. This is a bad beginning for the future of this composite State.

3. As you perhaps know, the AICC decided long ago to appoint Observers to help in the selection of candidates for the next general elections. The Mahakoshal PCC asked them not to send their Observer for a fortnight or so. The general impression created here was that the Mahakoshal PCC wanted to fix their selections of candidates and present more or less an accomplished fact to the AICC and, therefore, they did not want the interference of any Observer sent from here. This meant that the intention apparently was to select candidates of a particular type who would be approved of by a few leading personalities in Madhya Pradesh and who would be presumed to support them in the future. Whether these candidates were the right ones from other points of view, was likely to be ignored. As a result, it would appear that while, on the one side, there is a good deal of dissatisfaction and resentment, there is, on the other side, fear that if anyone raises his voice in criticism, his name would be struck off from the list of candidates.

4. This is an unhealthy state of affairs from the point of view both of the Congress and of the Government. We have seen that a narrow discipline, more or less on group lines, has harmful results. Many good people in the Congress get frustrated and, finding no scope within the Congress, tend to leave it. The Congress President has laid great stress on the selection of candidates and has indicated clearly the qualifications which we should bear in mind in such selection. He has also laid stress on our keeping our doors open to good people and not functioning in a narrow group way.

5. Another matter was brought to our notice. The *Sarathi*[3] paper, which, I am told, is edited by Shri Dwarka Prasad Mishra,[4] has been criticizing in strong language Shri Takhtmal Jain, Chief Minister of Madhya Bharat. Probably other papers may have also indulged in unhealthy criticisms, some papers in Madhya Bharat might have criticized you also in this way. But the importance of *Sarathi* is that Dwarka Prasadji is responsible for it. Dwarka Prasadji is apparently intimately connected with your work. I gather that he is being invited to the PCC Executive meetings as well as to the meetings of the Pradesh Election Committee.

6. Dwarka Prasadji is a man of ability and we have gladly taken him back

3. The publication of the Hindi weekly *Sarathi*, started by Dwarka Prasad Mishra in 1942 from Jabalpur, was stopped for some time on account of Mishra's political engagements. It resumed its publication in 1952 from Nagpur.
4. He was the Vice-Chancellor of Saugar University at this time.

within the Congress fold, inspite of all that happened some years ago.[5] But there is no doubt that many people are apprehensive about his methods and they feel even more apprehensive when they see that you rely upon his advice so much in regard to various matters, while you are ignoring others. It is even said that you are considering him as your successor at some future time and present steps are meant to ensure that future.[6]

7. You will remember that I wrote to you about Saugar University and the way the last election of the Vice Chancellor took place.[7] You were good enough to reply to me at some length. But I must confess that the whole episode appeared to us to be highly unsatisfactory. Since then also we have received reports of other developments in Saugar which seems to be very odd.

8. All these facts and reports have created in many minds a feeling of distress and apprehension as to where we are drifting insofar as Madhya Pradesh is concerned. We have not only to look to the present, but to the future and, as I have said above, the new enlarged Madhya Pradesh will require all the goodwill and cooperation that we possess. If we start on the wrong foot and create these apprehensions and suspicions, we shall have to face an atmosphere the reverse of that of goodwill and cooperation. There will not only be separate groups, but a feeling of suppression which may break out and create difficulties later. The past year, with all its troubles and disturbances connected with the States Reorganization agitation, has made us sadder and wiser men. We do not wish to repeat our mistakes and to build up the Congress and our future Governments on a weak and unstable foundation.

9. I have written to you frankly what I and many of our colleagues have in mind, so that you may give thought to these matters. Your experience is great and you have played and will continue to play an important part not only in Madhya Pradesh, but in India, and it would be sad if wrong steps taken now lead to unfortunate consequences in the future.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. In August 1951, D.P. Mishra resigned from the M.P. Ministry and the Congress on the issue of P.D. Tandon's resignation from the Congress Presidentship and Nehru's election as Tandon's successor. In September 1956, he rejoined the Congress after the persuasion of U.N. Dhebar.
6. D.P. Mishra was the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh from 1963 to 1967.
7. D.P. Mishra's election as the Vice-Chancellor of the Saugar University in 1956 triggered a controversy. A section of academicians felt that an active and controversial politician could not serve the needs of an academic community.

IX. ORISSA

1. To Venkatesh Narayan Tivary[1]

New Delhi
1 September 1956

My dear Tivary,[2]
Thank you for your letter of August 27, with which you sent me the Orissa Judgement.[3]

I entirely agree with you about the impropriety of the action taken by the Orissa High Court. I have no doubt that in law it is unjustified. Such legal opinion as we have taken justifies our point of view.

But I rather doubt if we can or should initiate action in Parliament against these Judges in terms of our Constitution. In any event I think we should see the end of this matter first in the Orissa High Court and then decide what else might be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Senior Congressman from UP and Member of Lok Sabha.
3. Surendra Mohanty, Ganatantra Parishad Member of Lok Sabha, filed a petition in Orissa High Court which said that on 8 March 1956 Chief Minister Nabakrushna Chaudhuri, while replying to a debate on the Ganjam Koraput Validation Bill, made disparaging remarks that were derogatory to the dignity of the High Court. According to the petitioner, the Chief Minister stated that the necessity for such a bill arose because of the judgment delivered by the Orissa High Court declaring the settlement operations in Ganjam and Koraput districts were invalid due to omission on the part of the Government to issue necessary notifications under Madras Survey and Boundaries Act and that on many occasions powers vested in the High Court under the Constitution were being misused. On 6 August 1956, Chief Justice R.L. Narsimhan and Justice Balakrishna Rao issued show cause notices as to why contempt proceedings should not be initiated against the Chief Minister for his remarks in the Assembly and Ramachandra Kar, editor of *Matrubhumi*, a local Oriya daily, for publishing the remarks on 10 March 1956.

X. PUNJAB

1. To Partap Singh Kairon[1]

New Delhi
7 October 1956

My dear Partap Singh,
Your letter of October 6th.[2]

I am glad that the Akalis have decided to join the Congress more or less unconditionally.[3] But, I have no doubt that we shall have to be vigilant in future. We shall not have easy sailing.

You must have read what Master Tara Singh said as to what I told him.[4] What I actually told him was that if they joined the Congress, they became our colleagues, and their '*izzat*' was my *izzat*.

I am very glad to learn about the enthusiasm during the celebrations of Gandhi Jayanti at Ludhiana and Jalandhar.[5]

I need not say anything about the language formula which you have sent,[6] because you have adhered to the previous draft and left out the proposed amendment.[7]

1. JN Collection.
2. Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab, welcomed the decision of the Akalis to join the Congress as it would strengthen their position but he commented at the same time, that the struggle within the Congress would increase.
3. On 2 October 1956, the Shiromani Akali Dal's convention of 150 members, presided over by Master Tara Singh, had unanimously decided to join the Congress.
4. Master Tara Singh informed the convention that Nehru in the last interview with him said, "Your honour is my honour", and that he replied to him in the similar fashion. Nehru also told him to convey this to the convention.
5. Kairon wrote that never before was the birthday of any man celebrated with such enthusiasm.
6. Kairon wrote that there should be no compulsion for teaching either Hindi or Punjabi as a second language at any particular stage. Both Punjabi in Gurmukhi script and Hindi in Devanagari script were accepted as official languages in Punjab. He suggested that introducing the second language could be examined later by mutual agreement.
7. Kairon wrote that, on the advice of Shriman Narayan, he deleted the amendment proposing that the Government would appoint an Experts' Committee regarding the study of second language.

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INDIA BEFORE THE REORGANIZATION OF STATES IN 1956

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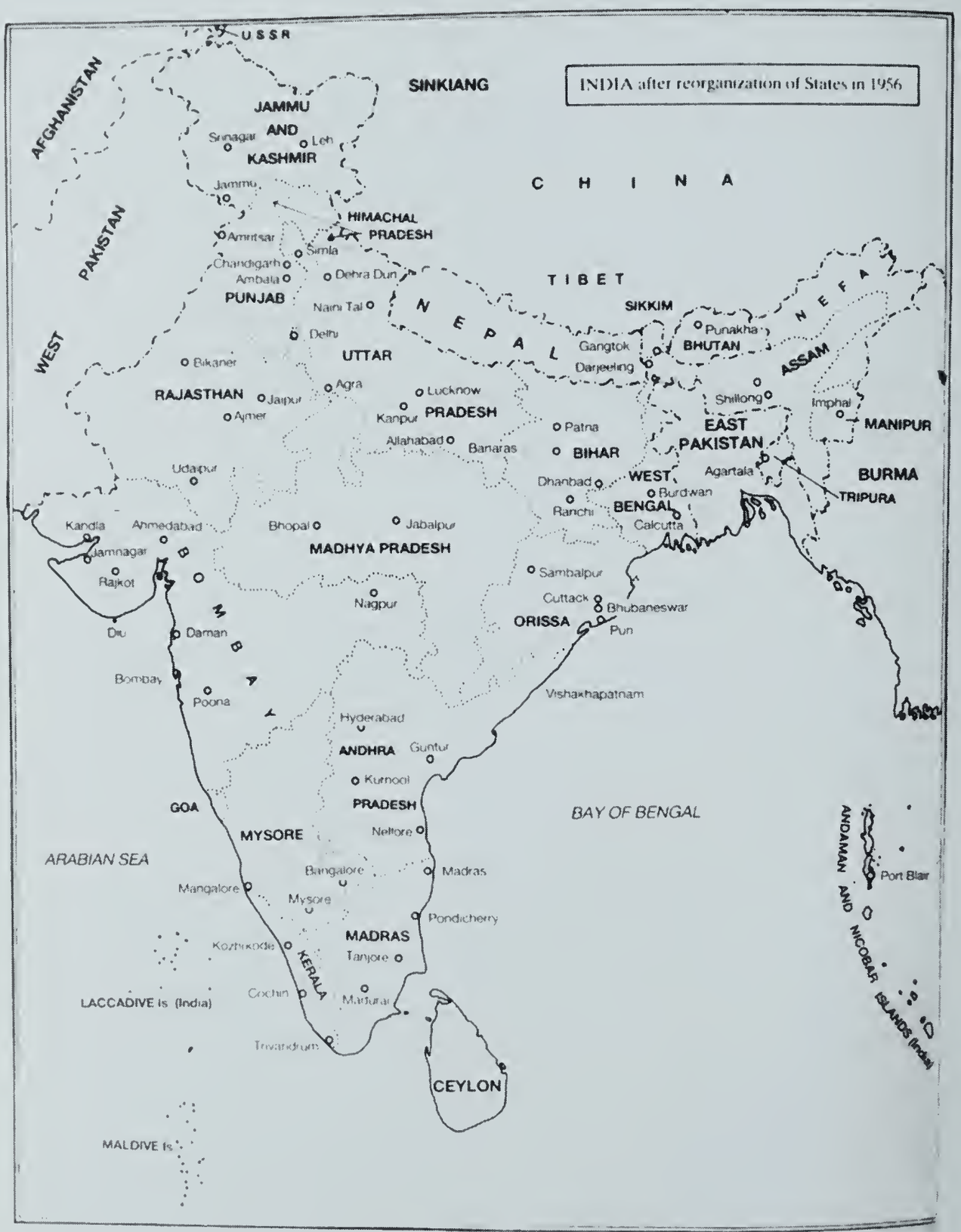

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Also, as the hunger strike of the Board teachers has been terminated, there is nothing to be said about it.[8] I quite agree with you that persons who go on hunger strike, should not be encouraged in any way. That has been my attitude all along.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. In September 1956 the Punjab Board Teachers' Union started agitation demanding the provincialization of local bodies schools and the revision of pay scales. From 29 September two Legislative Council members Gurcharan Singh and Ude Singh Mann went on hunger-strike at Chandigarh in support of the demand of the teachers. They ended their hunger-strike on 6 October on the assurance given by Maulana Azad.

XI. RAJASTHAN

1. To Madan Singh Danta[1]

New Delhi
4 September 1956

Dear Madan Singhji,[2]
Your letter of 20 August.[3]

I fully agree with you that the kind of movements that are taking place in India, are not good. Such movements only harm India and benefit none. We have important tasks before us and we should undertake them together.

1. JN Collection. Original in Hindi.
2. Madan Singh Danta was the President of the Bhooswami Sangh of Rajasthan, but he resigned owing to differences with some members who did not want Nehru's mediation in the agitation of *jagirdars*.
3. Madan Singh had written that since Nehru had taken upon himself the responsibility of solving the Bhooswami problem, he had disassociated himself from the Bhooswami Sangh and other parties involved with provincial movements. He wanted to mobilize the Rajputs for the unity of the country but still had to find the manner of doing it.

You have written that Bhooswami problem is my responsibility.[4] It is my responsibility in the sense that I want a just and correct solution for it. But the responsibility of finding a solution to this problem rests with the State Government. I am surely taking interest in this and the State Government keeps me informed about this.

In my view, we should not look at the caste groups separately but try to integrate them. The Rajputs have played an important role in our history. Now we have different kind of tasks in India which we all have to undertake together. This will benefit the Rajputs as well as the country.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Bhooswami Sangh, an association of small *jagirdars* constituting majority of the Rajput population, sought maximum compensation for their *jagirs* under the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, February 1952. When an appeal was sent to Nehru against the Act, he deputed G.B. Pant to adjudicate. The result was the Pant Award of July 1953, which contained a provision that the *jagirs* with an annual income of Rs 5000 or less were also to be resumed. Bhooswami Sangh opposed the Award and started a peaceful agitation on 16 December 1955. During the course of the agitation, about 5000 people courted arrest. At that stage Nehru offered to mediate if his decision would be accepted unconditionally by the Sangh. This created a rift in the Sangh, which expressed its inability to agree to Nehru's intervention. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, pp. 174-175 and Vol. 33, pp. 283-290.

2. To Mohanlal Sukhadia[1]

New Delhi
29 September 1956

My dear Sukhadia,[2]
Your letter of the 26th September.

I have made it clear more than once that no question arises now of my undertaking the work of adjudication in regard to these *jagir* lands. I have added, however, that I shall keep in touch with this matter which will be dealt with by the Rajasthan Government.

I think that you might have an answer sent to Vijai Singh, Secretary of Bhooswami Sangh. In this you can say that I have referred his letter to you as the matter has been dealt with by the Rajasthan Government. You may also, if you like, say anything further on the subject.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

XII. WEST BENGAL

1. Rebuilding Flood Devastated Villages[1]

This year we have these floods over a large area, stretching along the Himalayas from the Punjab right down to West Bengal.[2] Many of these places had never been previously hit by floods.[3] In some areas of Bihar where floods are an annual feature, the local people have become used to such natural visitations. But in some of the flood-hit areas this time, not being used to them, the sufferings of the people is all the more intense.

There are three stages of work when calamities like floods have their visitation to any part of the country. Firstly, we have to take immediate steps for rescuing people and giving shelter to the homeless. This stage which do not last long is now over in respect of West Bengal. In the second place, the task is to render relief to the suffering people on an organized basis. We may have to build temporary sheds or tents and supply them food and other necessary things. In the final phase, we shall have to take recourse to long term measures to plan new villages and rebuild the damaged houses. This is undoubtedly a big venture, particularly where tens of thousands of villagers are affected.

It is apparent that this rebuilding work cannot be done immediately. It has to

1. Press conference shortly after a four-hour aerial survey of some of the flood-affected districts of West Bengal, Raj Bhawan, Kolkata, 21 October 1956. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22 October 1956. Nehru flew to Kolkata from Dibrugarh on his way to New Delhi to study the flood devastations in West Bengal.

   The floods that hit the State towards the end of September 1956 had affected Burdwan, Birbhum, Bankura, Hooghly, Nadia, Howrah, 24-Parganas and Murshidabad districts. According to the State's Statistical Bureau, 8.36 lakh people had been affected, 2 lakh houses collapsed or damaged, over 1200 villages had no dependable source of drinking water and 2,623 schools were totally or partially damaged.
2. Due to floods in September-October 1956 the States of Punjab, Pepsu, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal were affected. There was loss of human life and cattle and considerable damage to crops and houses.
3. For example, in South Bihar, which was a drought prone area and where floods were an uncommon occurrence, the Government and the people were caught unawares. An area of 20,000 square miles was inundated, affecting 14 lakh people.

be done on a planned basis. It is no good to allow some mud houses to be put in the same places which may be swept away again. It is also not wise to leave the insanitary and badly built villages as these are. In my view disasters like the recent floods afforded us an opportunity to rebuild the villages in a new way. It may take a little time, but one may begin doing it.

The question of planning new villages and rebuilding the damaged dwelling houses therein shall be undertaken in a scientific manner with an eye to modern hygienic principles. Work in this regard may well be started also in the villages under the Community Development blocks and National Extension Service centres. This is, of course, a tremendous work which will change the face of the entire countryside when fully given effect to.

Whenever I come to hear of such calamities, I begin to feel all the more of the approach we shall have in regard to our task. While the Government must necessarily do everything to help the people, we should cultivate a mentality of self-help to a large extent. This will do a greater amount of good to the people themselves, partly because it will bring results much quicker than if the whole thing is left to the Government. I made the same suggestion to the people of Kandi[4] earlier this afternoon that they would find it much more joyful if they set themselves to the task of rebuilding the houses with the help provided by the Government. In doing so they will find a greater relief than if they sit idle and bemoan their lot all the time. It will also help them to gain self-confidence which will prove to be an asset to them in life.

It will not improve matters by building any amount of bunds and embankments. On the other hand, they will interfere with the natural drainage of the countryside. Floods after all are not bad although these accounted for the misery of many people. Draughts are far worse than floods which enrich the soil. The point therefore is that we cannot stop floods and there is no way of stopping the natural heavy rains and the melting snow. So, it will be a hopeless task to attempt stopping floods by building bunds and embankments. Of course, I do not mean that people should submit to their kismet and do nothing. What I mean is that floods are nothing new in this country where a large portion of the Northern India had been created by such natural visitation through hundreds and thousands of years. People had accepted it to be a natural thing all time during the past and did not shout so much when it came. The only escape from them lies in better planning of villages and towns by siting them on higher grounds which might not be affected by the floods.

4. Nehru stopped at Purandarpur to address the people of Kandi sub-division of Murshidabad district, where ninety per cent of the houses had collapsed due to floods.

The Community Development blocks and National Extension Service have, for the first time, rural units on which various decisions at top level for reshaping the country can be given effect to. Already one third of rural India had been covered by these villages and in the course of five years, they will have the machinery to cover the whole of the country. I do not think that the country shall have any special schemes specifically on floods in rural areas. We should keep in line with what is under the Five Year Plan.

During the last few years some kind of arrangement had been made between the Centre and the state governments in sharing expenditure on flood protection work.[5] The Centre, of course, wanted to help and will help always subject to its own capacity of helping. That is why with the development of self-help mentality we will be able to reduce expenditure and do work of tangible improvement in villages.

I do not appreciate how a permanent Ministry exclusively on floods will be useful. The Ministry of Irrigation and Power is dealing with the subject and there are also the Irrigation Ministries in the states looking into these affairs. But I feel that there should be some machinery to impart training to people for emergency relief work and to foster the spirit of mutual help amongst them.

5. In September 1954, Flood Control Boards at the Centre and in the States of Andhra, Assam, Bihar, Jammu and Kashmir, Orissa, Pepsu, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal and a Flood Wing in the Central Water and Power Commission were set up. The Central Flood Control Board had approved 41 schemes for flood protection work costing Rs 14.44 crores whereas the State Flood Control Boards sanctioned a number of schemes, each costing Rs 10 lakhs. The Second Plan made a provision of Rs 60 crores for flood control works.

2. To B.C. Roy[1]

Calcutta
11 November 1956

My dear Bidhan,[2]

As suggested by you, I met Bankim Mukerji[3] and five or six others this evening. Among these five or six were some workers in the jute mills. They complained about various matters and gave me some memoranda. I am not sending you these memoranda as you are well acquainted with the facts and get these papers directly. I shall, therefore, forward these papers to our Labour Minister, Khandubhai Desai.

Generally speaking, they referred to the matters: (1) the conditions of work in the jute mills, wages, living conditions etc., and (2) the lockout in Alexander, Waverly and Megna Jute Mills of Jagaddal.[4]

So far as the first matter is concerned, it seems to me that it would be a good thing to have some kind of a broad enquiry made in regard to the conditions of the jute industry and, more especially, living conditions, wages, etc., of workers. The question of rationalization would also come up.[5] The jute industry is one of our most important industries and, so far as I can remember, there has been no proper enquiry for a considerable time. Such an enquiry would bring out a picture

1. File No. 26(23)/56-57-PMS. A copy of this letter was sent to Khandubhai K Desai, Union Minister of Labour.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.
3. Bankim Mukherjee (1897-1961); imprisoned during freedom movement; member, All India Congress Committee, 1929-1939; joined the Communist Party of India, 1936; elected to the Bengal Legislative Council, 1936; After Independence he was in the Opposition, lost elections in 1947 and was underground, 1948-49; elected to Bengal Legislative Assembly, 1952 and 1957.
4. Since 9 October 1956 the owners of the three jute mills of Jagaddal in 24-Parganas closed their mills demanding that each worker should attend to two looms at a time instead of one they were working on so far.
5. While speaking on rationalization in textile industry, Nehru said that rationalization of machines was not good enough; it was important, so he said, to rationalize all work and life of the people. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 118.

of the industry as it is in its various aspects, and we shall then be in a better position to deal with it. I should like your views on this subject.

As for the lockout,[6] obviously, I cannot express any opinion except to say that lockouts are undesirable just as strikes are. Apart from reducing production, they lead to much distress among the workers and social problems arise. I do not know what has been done about this lockout. It is a matter which should be taken up as soon as possible and an attempt should be made to put an end to this lockout. It seems rather absurd that a lockout should continue for a long period.

Yours affectionately,
Jawahar

6. On 24 October 1956, four thousand workers of the three jute mills of Jagaddal held a demonstration before the office of the Indian Jute Mils Association at Kolkata declaring that under no circumstances they would accept the position of doing two men's job by one man. They also demanded the immediate reopening of the mills.

3. To Khandubhai K. Desai[1]

New Delhi
17 November 1956

My dear Khandubhai,
Thank you for your letter of November 17th.[2] You will remember that this question of the Jute Industry was mentioned at the last meeting of the Cabinet.

1. File No. 26(23)/56-57-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. On the question of jute industry of West Bengal, Desai stated that wages of the jute mill workers were not as bad as claimed by the deputationists, yet he was considering the setting up of tripartite wage boards for important industries, including jute. For inadequate housing of labour, he held the West Bengal Government responsible, who could utilize only Rs 21.8 lakhs out of the Rs 45.37 lakhs grant sanctioned by the Union Works, Housing & Supply Ministry for Industrial Housing Schemes. Regarding the lockout in jute mills, he pointed out that the mill owners were prepared to assure that there would be no retrenchment if the workers agreed to the demand of the owners of each worker attending to two looms and that workers in the Union affiliated to INTUC were prepared to work on this understanding while some Unions with Communist affiliations were not.

2. I think that quite apart from any particular question like that of wages, it would be desirable to have an enquiry in regard to the jute Industry. This will include conditions of work. The enquiry need not be conducted by a big commission or committee. Even a competent officer could do it.

3. At the Cabinet meeting, T.T. Krishnamachari mentioned that he had a very good officer if he was required for such an enquiry. This officer has apparently been connected with the previous enquiry into some aspects of the jute industry.

4. Some such action should be taken which the jute workers can see and the public can appreciate.

5. As you know, I am not against rationalization at all, but I have a feeling that the jute industry in Bengal requires looking into very much. Dr B.C. Roy, who is by no means antagonistic to employers, spoke to me rather strongly about the jute employers and said that something has to be done to make them behave. I would, therefore, suggest to you to consider again the question of appointing a competent officer to enquire into this generally and report.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5
AGITATION OVER A BOOK

1. To K.M. Munshi[1]

New Delhi
2 September 1956

My dear Munshi,[2]

What a storm you have brought upon yourself and all of us, by including in your Bhavan's Book University the book called *Religious Leaders*.[3] I have already written to you about this. I have now seen the book itself and read the chapter on the Prophet Muhammad. I have no doubt that this should not have been published here knowing, as we do, what the reaction would be.

The whole book appears to be rather second-rate, a curious collection of life stories.

I am being deluged by telegrams[4] and I have little doubt that this question is going to become a big issue not only in India but even more so in Pakistan. It will reach other Muslim countries and generally do us much harm.

I think, you should withdraw this book immediately and announce this fact. Presumably, you had not read it, although you are a General Editor of the series.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Uttar Pradesh.
3. Actually, the book, entitled *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* by Henry Thomas and Dana Lee Thomas, was first published in the USA in 1940 and later by Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, in 1955 under Bhavan's Book University series. K.M. Munshi, General Editor of the series, wrote the preface.
4. Muslims from various parts of India sent telegrams to Nehru demanding a ban on the book.

2. Publication of Objectionable Matters Not Desirable[1]

In the list of interviews yesterday, there was one request from some students and professors from Aligarh University. They sought an interview because of their objection to some passages in a book published by Mr Munshi's Bhavan University.

Will you write as follows to them:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your telegram in which you have drawn his attention to certain passages in a book recently published by the Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

He has seen this book and he considers the passages to which you refer are very objectionable. On enquiry from Shri K.M. Munshi, he has been informed that Mr Munshi had not read this book and did not know anything about these passages till his attention was drawn to them. He is only the Editor of the series and not of this particular book. In any event, Mr Munshi considered that these passages were objectionable and the book should not have been published as it was. This book had apparently been in circulation for many years in other countries and was accepted by the Vidya Bhavan without scrutiny.

The Prime Minister greatly regrets that a book containing such objectionable passages should have been published in India. He understands that instructions have already been issued to stop the sale of the book and to remove all the offending passages from it.

1. Note to Personal Secretary, 3 September 1956. JN Collection.

3. To K.M. Munshi[1]

New Delhi
4 September 1956

My dear Munshi,
Thank you for your letter about the book which refers to Prophet Muhammad. I think, you should immediately issue some kind of a Press communique saying that you deeply regret publication of this objectionable matter, and that you were not aware of this. Now that your attention has been drawn to it, further sale of the book has been stopped, and necessary corrections will be made.

You will, of course, word it appropriately as you think right. Something has to be stated in public.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

4. To Morarji Desai[1]

New Delhi
6 September 1956

My dear Morarji,[2]
You must have heard about the trouble caused by the publication by K.M. Munshi's Vidya Bhavan of a book called *Religious Leaders*.[3] Munshi, of course, had not read this book till his attention was drawn to it. Nonetheless, I am

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to K.M. Munshi.
2. Chief Minister of Bombay.
3. This refers to Muslims' protests for banning the book. Communal riots also broke out in several towns of UP and Madhya Pradesh during September-October 1956.

surprised that a book of this kind should have been published in India. I have seen the book. It is very second rate and superficial and written in the usual American style which, I think, is wholly inappropriate for such a subject. Certain passages relating to the Prophet Muhammad are very objectionable. Apart from this, certain statements are wholly without basis.

I wrote to Munshi about this and it has been announced that the book has been withdrawn and no further sales will take place. So far, so good.

But the fact remains that this publication has done us a good deal of harm in India and possibly abroad. I am informed that this book was actually banned previously in a number of countries.

Maulana Azad was speaking about this to me today. He said that we were often asked what action Government was going to take in regard to it. He suggested that as the book has been withdrawn and is not going to be sold anymore, it will be advisable for the publishers to hand over the remaining copies of the book to the Bombay Government. I think, this would be a good step to take. I should like you to consider this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To Sampurnanand[1]

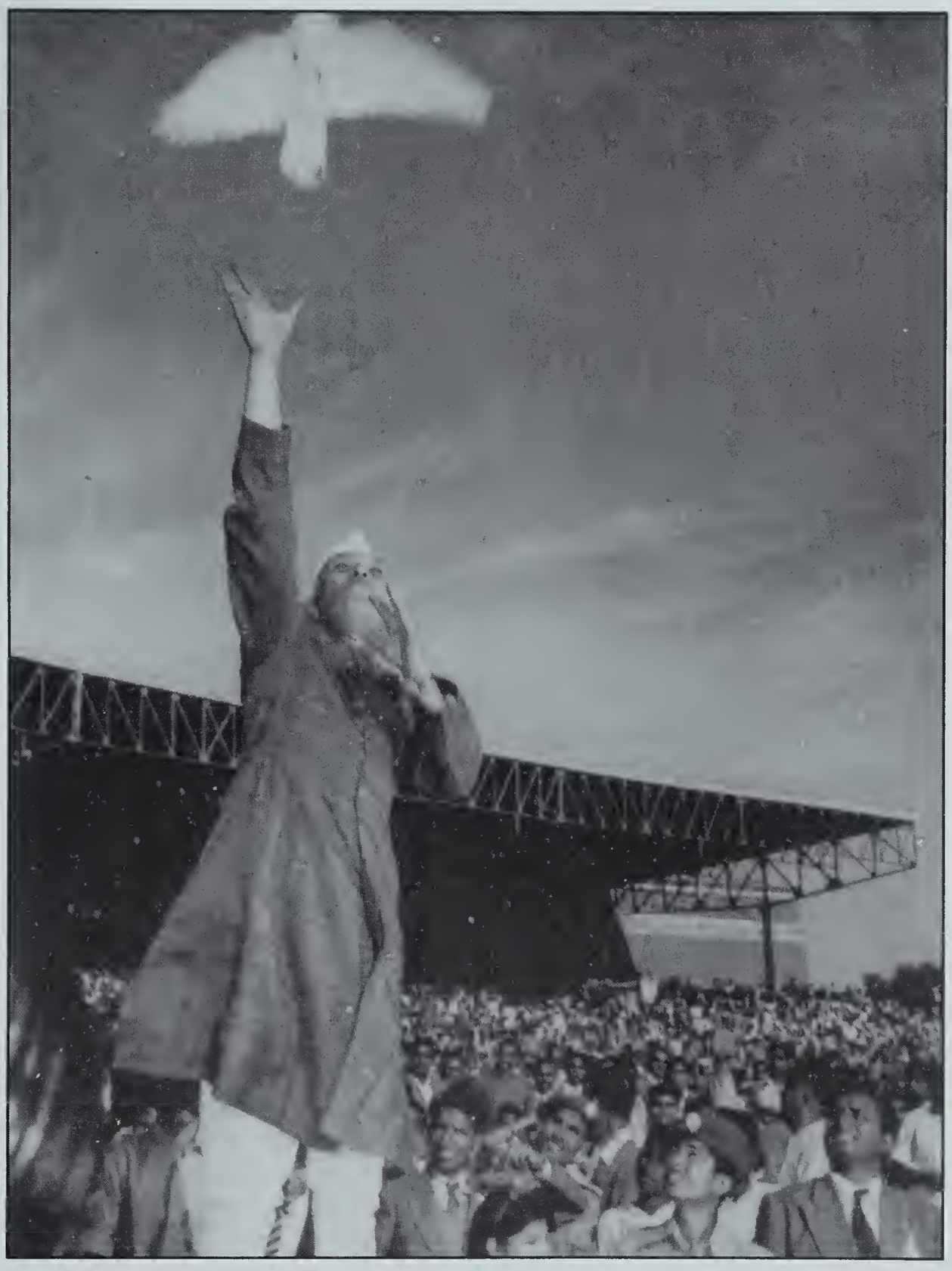
New Delhi
15 September 1956

My dear Sampurnanand,[2]

Thank you for your letter of September 12th, and also for your letter giving me some account of the havoc caused by the floods.

When my attention was drawn to the book *Religious Leaders* and I read part of it, my first reaction was why a very third rate book like this should be republished in India. It is typical of the superficial cheap books that sometimes

1. JN Collection. Also available in Sampurnanand Collection, National Archives of India.
2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.



RELEASING A WHITE PIGEON, A SYMBOL OF PEACE, ON HIS BIRTHDAY, NATIONAL STADIUM, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1956

WITH CHILDREN ON HIS 67TH BIRTHDAY, TEEN MURTI HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1956

WITH CHILDREN ON HIS 67TH BIRTHDAY, TEEN MURTI HOUSE, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1956

come out in the United States. Why the Vidya Bhavan people in Bombay should choose such books for publication in India, is beyond me. I gather that now they intend bringing out an edition of the book minus the chapter on the Prophet Muhammad.

I entirely agree with you in what you write about the dangerous trends that this agitation has brought out. I do not know that we can do much by trying to penalize shouting some slogan. Even if a slogan is bad, it is very difficult to know who has shouted it in a crowd.

But the basic question remains as to how to deal with such a situation. In Delhi, as you know, there have been two bomb explosions[3] doing much damage. We have been wholly unable to trace their origin. But it is vaguely thought that the Kashmir Plebiscite Committee[4] might be responsible for it. That is a committee which is run by some Muslims and some Hindus. It has free play and publishes most objectionable stuff.

You mention the Jamiyat al-Ulama. That is swept away sometimes, but the worst organization, of course, is Jamaat-i-Islami.[5] I think, one of the shining lights of this is the editor[6] of the Kanpur *Siyasat*.[7]

Very few people, I suppose, have seen this book *Religious Leaders*.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Eight persons were killed and 55 injured in two bomb explosions in Delhi during the last week of August 1956.
4. The reference is to Plebiscite Front. For details, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p.377.
5. An Islamic organization founded by Maulana Saiyid Abul Ala Maududi in 1941.
6. K.G. Zaidi.
7. In fact, the name is *Siyasat Jadid*, an Urdu daily, started by K.G. Zaidi in 1953.

6. Object of Publicity to the Book[1]

. . .I should like you to write to both Maulana Hifzur Rahman[2] and S.K. Razmi[3] as follows:

As you have drawn the attention of the Prime Minister to the book *Religious Leaders*, he has asked me to write to you on this subject.

As soon as the attention of the Prime Minister was drawn to this book, he wrote to Shri K.M. Munshi, who immediately directed the Vidya Bhavan Society to withdraw the book from sale. This was done. Shri Munshi made it clear that he was not aware of the contents of the book. He was only a General Editor of a series and not of that particular book. The book itself had been published fifteen years ago and had been in sale in India as an American publication for these many years. No one had objected to it and, in the ordinary course of business, the Vidya Bhavan came to an arrangement with the American publishers to publish, not only this book, but a number of their books in India. As they had been in circulation, apparently these books were not examined carefully.

Since his attention was drawn to the objectionable passages in this particular book, it was realized that this book should be immediately withdrawn. The Prime Minister, Shri Munshi and others clearly stated that these passages were very objectionable. All the existing copies of the book were later taken over by the Bombay Government and booksellers were asked to return them. Thus every possible step was taken in this matter.

In view of this, no question of proscription arose, although one State Government has, we understand, proscribed it.[4]

While the Prime Minister is clear about the undesirable character of a part of that book and considers it quite proper that his attention should have been

1. Note to B.N. Kaul, Principal Private Secretary, 15 September 1956 . JN Collection. Extracts. Maulana Hifzur Rahman sought appointment from Nehru to urge him to ban the book *Living Biographies of the Religious Leaders* and S.K. Razmi wrote to him on the same subject.
2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Moradabad and General Secretary of Jamiyat-al-Ulama-i-Hind at this time.
3. Member of Lok Sabha from Sehore and General Secretary, Bhopal State Socialist Party.
4. In fact, Bihar and West Bengal, had banned the book.

drawn to this, he has been greatly surprised at the type of agitation that has been carried on in regard to this book. Very few persons had read that book, but offending and objectionable passages were copied out by some organizations and some newspapers and circulated on a wide scale. It is quite extraordinary, however, that these passages which were so objectionable should have been given so much publicity by the very people who objected to them. It is clear that the only object in doing this could have been to create trouble. Anyone who desired that the book should not receive publicity would have refrained from any such action. The Prime Minister can only come to the conclusion that this action in giving wide publicity to these offending passages of the book was deliberately meant to create mischief and to rouse up the passions of the people.

Actually, at the earlier stage it was well known that the book had been withdrawn, nevertheless, these passions were roused and anti-national slogans were raised in many places.

The Prime Minister is aware that there are some people in India, both Muslims and Hindus, who desire to create communal trouble and sometimes succeed in doing so. This recent incident connected with this book, *Religious Leaders*, is an instance. More particularly, the way some newspapers have behaved in this matter is, in the opinion of the Prime Minister, disgraceful.

7. To Mehr Chand Khanna[1]

New Delhi
20 September 1956

My dear Mehr Chand,[2]

There is a good deal of communal tension in Delhi. This started in a small way by the Muslim League agitation against the book *Religious Leaders*. It was continued in a much bigger way by the Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha etc. At

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Rehabilitation.

these Jana Sangh meetings, cries of "*khoon ka badla khoon se lenge*"[3] were raised.

Then there have been the bomb outrages near the Jama Masjid.[4]

All this led to a good deal of tension and whatever the original provocation, the Muslims naturally are now afraid.

In this context, would it be advisable for you to go ahead with the auctions of the houses occupied by Muslims. It might be desirable to postpone these auctions till conditions are somewhat better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."
4. On the night of 24 August 1956, an explosion occurred near Jama Masjid leading to the death of six persons. Again, on 31 August, a bomb exploded in the Jama Masjid area killing two persons and injuring 28.

8. To Chief Ministers[1]

New Delhi
20 September 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

I sent you today my fortnightly letter. In this I referred to the recent communal outbreaks in some parts of India in connection with the book *Religious Leaders*. There is no doubt that the Muslim demonstrations were particularly encouraged by some mischievous persons. Some of these are well known. The fact that an

1. JN Collection. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers*, 1947-64, Vol. 4 (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 446-448.

editor of a paper should actually publish all the offending passages and draw wide attention to them itself indicates the mischievous intention.[2]

2. After these demonstrations, in the course of which objectionable language and slogans were raised, Hindu communal organizations, the Jana Sangh and the Hindu Mahasabha and the like, came into the field with their counter-demonstrations and slogans which were equally objectionable. Looting of Muslim shops took place.[3] There were cases of stabbing too. In some places the police had to resort to firing.

3. All this indicates how easy it is for communal passions to be roused. We cannot be complacent about these matters, nor should we wait for trouble to occur before we take action.

4. I think that even in these recent disturbances some quicker action on the part of the district authorities, where trouble was feared, would have helped in preventing this. Trouble spreads, more especially, because of what newspapers write or processions which, in such cases, almost always lead to violence. I feel that such processions should be checked whenever there is tension or any likelihood of disturbance.

5. This whole idea of taking out processions is a peculiar feature of the Indian scene in crowded cities. It is the duty of the State to prevent obstruction of traffic and annoyance to people in the streets, quite apart from other considerations. A procession undoubtedly obstructs traffic and annoys the passersby, shopkeepers, etc. Usually, when tensions exist, shopkeepers become afraid and close their shops.

6. The problem of how to deal with newspapers is a peculiarly difficult one. I have personally come to the conclusion that we must have fresh legislation to deal with the spread of communal hatred by newspapers, etc. I would confine this to offensive communal writings, and not extend it at all in the political or other fields. This matter is one of high importance and I feel sure that we shall have the approval of the general public if we take stronger measures than we have done thus far in dealing with communal incitement and violence.

7. I have an idea that most of our governments have become much too legal minded. When a newspaper or an individual misbehaves, we dare not take action lest the law courts might acquit the person concerned. If we proceeded under the Detention Act, we are again doubtful what the Advisory Board might do.

2. K.G. Zaidi, editor of the *Siyasat Jadid* of Kanpur had published this.
3. In Satna in Vindhya Pradesh, in Jabalpur and Khamgaon in Madhya Pradesh, and in Aligarh, Moradabad, Allahabad, Kanpur and Orai in UP.

So, we spend a long time in taking legal advice and meanwhile the situation changes. It is seldom that legal advice can be quite clear in such matters.

8. I feel that even in existing conditions we should act much more promptly. If we are convinced that a newspaper editor or any other individual has spread communal hatred and incited people to communal violence, we should arrest him and either proceed against him in a court of law or keep him under preventive detention. We should not be afraid of his being acquitted. It may even not be necessary to keep him for long. The point is that a crisis has to be met by immediate and effective action and usually quick arrests of obvious offenders is the best preventive. Naturally, the local authorities will have to be the judges of what action to take. What I wish to point out is that they must not live under constant fear of someone whom they have arrested being acquitted. It does not matter much if he is acquitted. Government will have discharged its function and the general public will realize that we are going to stand no nonsense in regard to communal troubles. In fact such acquittals in obviously bad cases would strengthen the hands of government to bring legislation to deal with such matters.

9. While Muslim communal organizations sometimes create trouble in the way of provocative speeches and slogans, it is obvious that the ultimate sufferers are bound to be Muslims or other minorities, if communal passions are roused. This has been the case in this agitation about the book *Religious Leaders*.

10. I am venturing to write to you so that you might give thought to this matter and not hesitate to take action when you think it necessary. I have an impression that we have been rather slow in this respect recently and allowed trouble to grow. Well known bad characters of the goonda type and notorious communal fanatics, who spread poison from day to day, are allowed to continue their mischievous activities without let or hindrance. When some actual trouble occurs, usually some fairly innocent people are arrested and the mischief-makers escape.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To U.N. Dhebar[1]

New Delhi
21 September 1956

My dear Dhebarbhai,
Your letter of September 20th with Subhadra Joshi's[2] letter.

About banning the book, it seems to me hardly necessary at this stage to take this step which is of very doubtful legality. I am not much concerned with the law, however. But, I do not consider this demand for banning the book, after it has been withdrawn, a bona fide demand. This whole affair has been very distressing and annoying from both the Muslim side and the Hindu side. I think, we have done quite enough and any other step is not necessary.

So far as giving publicity to the Government's answer that the *Gita* was not burnt, I do not quite know what kind of publicity is suggested. I am going to address a public meeting, as you know, day after tomorrow in Delhi.[3] I shall certainly state it there. All the newspapers have reported this matter as well as the radio.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of Lok Sabha from Ambala.
3. On 23 September, Nehru addressed a large public meeting and clarified that the *Bhagvadgita* was not burnt anywhere by the agitators. See *ante*, p. 8.

10. To Sampurnanand[1]

New Delhi
22 September 1956

My dear Sampurnanand,

When you came to see me the other day, you spoke rather briefly about the communal situation in Uttar Pradesh as a result of the agitation about the book *Religious Leaders*. We get, of course, reports from various places and various states. It has seemed to me that a communal trouble can almost always be controlled if the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police are wide awake and alert and determined to control it. Such officers usually take quick action before the trouble occurs and nip it in the bud. It is the officer who is slack and slow or who really does not care, allows this trouble to grow and then finds it difficult to control it later. Almost always I have noticed that the officer makes a great difference. Also, action must be quick.

If the District Magistrate of Kanpur had taken quick action against the Editor of *Siyasat,* the result would have been good and trouble would not have spread.

I learn that the situation in Allahabad was pretty bad, but the District Magistrate acted firmly and nothing really untoward happened there.[2] On the other hand, in Aligarh, the District Magistrate behaved otherwise and, as you know, a good deal of arson, looting and destruction took place.[3] One might almost think that the District Magistrate did not care whether this happened or not. Anyhow, he has not emerged with credit.

In the British days, we used to say that the District Magistrate and Superintendent of Police in a place should be made to understand that if there is

1. JN Collection.
2. In fact, the situation in Allahabad was better than the other towns of UP. Only a few cases of arson and looting were reported but no casualty.
3. In Aligarh, communal trouble started in early September. It was alleged that in the demonstrations of 31 August and 1 September 1956, some students and authorities of the Aligarh Muslim University dishonoured the effigy of K.M. Munshi and the *Bhagvadgita* and also raised anti-national slogans. On 14 September, riots broke out when students of schools and colleges outside the Aligarh Muslim University took out demonstrations and demanded action against the authorities and the students of the University. Several shops of Muslims were looted and burnt. As a result, curfew was imposed and, by 19 September, about 200 persons were arrested.

communal trouble, the responsibility will lie upon him. I think that this holds good even now, though of course, one cannot carry this to an extreme.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Ravi Shankar Shukla[1]

New Delhi
30 September 1956

My dear Chief Minister,[2]

Thank you for your letter of September 22nd, with which you have sent me reports of your Government[3] in regard to the recent rioting in Jabalpur[4] and Khamgaon.[5] I have received some other reports also about these occurrences, which give additional facts.

There can be no doubt that the agitation led by some Muslims, in regard to the book *Religious Leaders*, was a mischievous one. The reaction of some Hindu communal elements was also very bad. The information we have received, indicates that the Hindu reaction was on a very big scale, and a great deal of damage was done to Muslim shops and houses. Also, from your report in regard to Jabalpur, it appears that all the deaths caused were to Muslims. Among the figures of injuries also, there were mostly Muslims. Mostly Muslim shops also were burnt. I gather that a new problem of rehabilitation has arisen in regard to

1. JN Collection.
2. Ravi Shankar Shukla, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh.
3. According to reports, 781 Hindus and 823 Muslims were arrested in Jabalpur. Out of these 658 Hindus and 809 Muslims were subsequently released leaving 123 Hindus and 14 Muslims in custody.
4. On 14 September 1956, communal riots broke out in the city in which five Muslims were killed and several injured. After this, curfew was imposed and about 500 persons were arrested.
5. In similar disturbances on 18 September in Khamgaon, five Muslims were killed and 60 injured.

these poor folk who have lost all their houses, their shops and their belongings.

I hope that adequate steps are being taken to punish those who are guilty. It would be unfortunate indeed if people thought they could get away with these activities without punishment. It would also be unfortunate if any community thought that the police force or the authorities were favouring the other and allowing this kind of thing to occur. I am mentioning this matter because such complaints have reached me. I am told also by people who have visited Jabalpur, that in their knowledge, destruction on such a big scale has not happened previously there.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

12. To Shambhunath Shukla[1]

New Delhi
9 October 1956

My dear Chief Minister,[2]

We have received reports about the communal disturbances and riots which took place in various parts of Vindhya Pradesh and especially at Satna[3] recently. Further that the plight of the Muslims there is bad. It is alleged that the local authorities are protecting the Jana Sangh and Hindu Mahasabha elements who had created much of the trouble.

As copy of a letter addressed to the President of the AICC has been sent to me. I am enclosing this. Will you please enquire into this matter and take such

1. JN Collection.
2. (b.1903); took part in the freedom movement and was imprisoned twice; served as General Secretary and President, Vindhya Pradesh Congress Committee; elected to the State Legislative Assembly, 1952; Chief Minister, Vindhya Pradesh, 1952-October 1956; Minister for Forest and Natural Resources from 1 November 1956, Madhya Pradesh.
3. On 17 September, about 200 students of a Satna High School took out a procession through the market area, and shouted slogans against the reported insult to the *Bhagvadgita*. They attacked some Muslim shops, caused damage to property, and inflicted injuries on some Muslims.

steps as you may think desirable. I need not point out that we must avoid the impression that Government is partial in such communal matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. To Shibban Lal Saksena[1]

New Delhi
23 October 1956

Dear Shibban Lal,[2]
Your letter of the 17th October. I received your previous letters too and read them with interest.

In your letter, you refer to Ishaq Ilmi.[3] I do not know the details of his case or of what has been done by the local authorities to him, his family or his paper.[4] But I do know that his action in giving repeated publicity to objectionable passages from the book *Religious Leaders* was outrageous and scandalous in the extreme. It is quite absurd to say that he committed the error under provocation. There was no provocation except his own mental make up. One does not forgive a murder by saying that it was committed under provocation. This, I think, was a much more serious offence than any normal crime. The fact that he has influence over his community, makes this much worse because he ought to be more responsible. I have seldom been so shocked in my life as when I heard of what Ishaq Ilmi did.

This has nothing to do with parties but with certain fundamentals of decent behaviour and decent politics. Ishaq Ilmi has stepped wide off the limits of both.

1. JN Collection.
2. Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party Member of Lok Sabha from Gorakhpur.
3. Ishaq Ilmi alias K.G. Zaidi, Editor of the *Siyasat Jadid*, was arrested for publishing offensive passages of the book.
4. The UP Government had confiscated the *Siyasat Jadid* in October 1956. Its publication resumed in December.

What I have said above relates only to the fact of Ishaq Ilmi publishing these extracts from the book in his paper. That was an unforgivable offence. About other matters that you have written, I can say nothing because I know nothing about them. All I can do is to refer your letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh, which I am doing.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. To H.S. Suhrawardy[1]

New Delhi
23 October 1956

My dear Prime Minister,
Your letter of the 9th October[2] from Dacca reached Delhi on the 19th October. I was out of Delhi then and returned only yesterday. I hasten to reply to it.

2. I am in entire agreement with you about India and Pakistan having friendly relations. We have worked to that end and shall continue to do so.

3. You refer to the book entitled *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders*. The incidents connected with this book, both in India and Pakistan, have distressed me considerably. I can understand some people objecting to passages in the book, but the type of agitations which resulted from this were really extraordinary and could hardly be justified from the point of view of religious feelings. They seemed to be deliberately aimed at creating trouble.

4. Probably, you are aware of the circumstances in which this book was published. The book is by American authors and was published first about fifteen

1. JN Collection.
2. Suhrawardy, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, desired friendlier relations between India and Pakistan but expressed worry over the reports "of anti-Muslim riots that have been taking place in different parts of India," and "mass arrests of Muslims, including some visiting Pakistanis ..". He added that such news "is causing serious concern in Pakistan and public opinion in this country is becoming extremely agitated."

years ago in the United States. It has been in circulation ever since not only in the United States, but in India and other countries. This book is in a popular series, written in a semi-journalistic and a slightly sensational style which is often typical of some books published in America. A Bombay publishing house which specializes in publications and reprints of cheap editions of various books came to an agreement with the American publishers for publication in India of a number of their books. This particular book was one of the numbers. Subsequently, this was published by this Bombay house. Shri K.M. Munshi is one of the Directors of this Bombay publishing house, but he does not deal with day to day publications and in fact he did not know anything about this particular book. As a General Editor, he had written a general preface five years ago to the whole series of books. This common general preface appears in every book. It has no reference to this particular book and in fact it was written five years ago before this particular book was thought of. Shri Munshi did not read this book, but, presumably somebody in the Bombay publishing house must have read and passed it. Probably, not much care was given to this reading as the book had been in circulation here for some years and deals with a large number of personalities beginning with Moses and coming down to our day to Mahatma Gandhi.

5. None of us had seen or heard of this book till this agitation was raised. When my attention was drawn to it I wrote to the Directors of the publishing house who immediately stopped the sale and later withdrew the book and handed it to the Bombay Government. There the matter should have ended. But it did not. In fact, in Pakistan a great deal of agitation took place over this book[3] including hartals and demonstrations, long after it was known that this action had been taken in India. Also, it is surprising that all this animus should have been directed against India when the book really is an American book which has been before the public for fifteen years. It is possible that the book might have been sold in Pakistan also during these years without any objection being taken. Indeed, there are other books which contain rather objectionable remarks about the Prophet Muhammad. I think, H.G. Wells's *Outline of History*[4] is one of them. Then there is another book by H.A. Davies[5] which I am told was actually prescribed as a text book by the Pakistan Board of Education till last year.

3. In Karachi, the Muslim League activists burnt the effigy of Nehru and insulted the Indian National Flag on 21 September.
4. First published in 1920.
5. *An Outline History of the World*, first published in 1928.

Evidently, this was due to an oversight and the book was subsequently withdrawn.

6. It seems to me very extraordinary that this kind of excitement should take place and, what is worse, it should be encouraged over a matter which can easily be dealt with quietly and calmly. Pakistan and India, I hope, are mature nations and there is no reason why either country should lose its balance because of the misbehaviour of some individual or group. Undoubtedly, there are people in India, as in Pakistan, who are narrow in outlook and who want to take advantage of every occasion to create trouble.

7. One of the most deplorable developments in India was the publicity given to the offending passages in this book in full by an Urdu paper in Kanpur. These very passages that were objected to most were given the widest publicity and in a way which was even worse than the original publication in the book. After all, in the book, there was some context which was a balancing feature. I cannot conceive of this having been done except with evil intentions and with the desire to create trouble. It was largely because of this repeated publication that Muslims in various cities in India were agitated and there were demonstrations which were often not at all peaceful. In fact, these demonstrations were violent and offensive slogans were used and effigies were burnt. Our information is that some persons, who had come from Pakistan under our visa system, took part in these disturbances in some places.

8. The Hindu communal elements immediately took advantage of this situation and demonstrated on their own account, inciting people to misbehave. There is no doubt that these mobs did misbehave and committed some arson and loot. I deeply regret this and, in fact, we took action immediately.

9. Large numbers of people, both Hindus and Muslims, were arrested in some places immediately after the riots. Subsequently, after some scrutiny, most of these were released. A few are being proceeded against in the law courts.

10. On the 12th of October, our Ministry of External Affairs sent a detailed note to your Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations through our High Commission in Karachi. I presume your attention is being drawn to that note.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To Ravi Shankar Shukla[1]

New Delhi
30 October 1956

My dear Shuklaji,
I enclose copy of a letter[2] I have received from an MP.

Quite apart from this letter, it has seemed to me that Government should do something to rehabilitate the unfortunate persons whose property was looted. I hope that at least this much will be done.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. In his letter of 29 October 1956, Magan Lal Bagdi, Praja Socialist Party Member of Lok Sabha from Mahasamund, Madhya Pradesh, drew attention of Nehru to the rioting in Jabalpur in connection with the book *Living Biographies of Religious Leaders* in which "25 Muslims were killed, more than 100 houses were burnt and property of Muslims worth one crore was looted." He also added that the tragedy was instigated by "Nationalists and Congressites."

6
INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

(I) CALCUTTA SESSION OF AICC

1. International Crisis[1]

The AICC views with grave concern recent developments in international affairs. There has been a reversion to old and discredited colonial methods of attempting to impose political and other decisions by armed intervention in Egypt and also invasion, aggression and even aerial bombing.[2] This has brought the world to the verge of widespread war.

2. In Hungary, there has been civil conflict involving considerable loss of life, as well as the use of foreign armed forces.[3]

3. These developments have come after a period of relaxation of tension and a growing realization that war must be ruled out and all problems between nations should be settled by peaceful methods. Because of this, the shock to the conscience of the world, and more especially to the nations of Asia and Africa, was all the greater and the hopes of peaceful progress that were being cherished were shattered. This indicates the inherent dangers confronting the world when the action of one or more countries can frustrate the forces of peace and involve the world in a terrible war. This also demonstrates that only by a strict adherence to peaceful methods and a recognition of peaceful coexistence between nations, can the danger of war be avoided. A particularly distressing feature of the situation is the way in which the declared will of the United Nations has been flouted.

1. Draft resolution for the AICC meeting, Beliaghata Maidan, Kolkata, 9 November 1956. File No. G-23 (B)/1956, AICC Papers, NMML. The resolution on "International Crisis", moved by B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, was passed unanimously on the same day without any changes. The AICC session met for three days, from 9 to 11 November.
2. On 29 October, Israel invaded Sinai Peninsula of Egypt when UK and France issued an ultimatum calling for a ceasefire and withdrawal of all troops 10 miles from Suez Canal area. This was accepted by Israel on 30 October but rejected by Egypt. On 31 October, British and French air forces bombed the Egyptian airfields and the land forces of the two nations attacked Egypt on 5-6 November. On 7 November, ceasefire took place on demand of the UN. See also *post*, the section on Suez.
3. Popular unrest in Hungary was suppressed with the aid of Soviet forces. See *post*, p. 452.

4. After a long argument, certain basic agreements were reached between the parties concerned in the Suez Canal issue,[4] and it was hoped that further progress would soon be made through negotiations. Instead of these negotiations, however, an armed attack was made on Egypt on the plea that Israel had invaded Egypt. Instead of restraining the aggressor country, the victim of aggression, Egypt, was attacked by two Great Powers. On the plea of maintaining peace, war was started. With the declared object of safeguarding the Suez Canal, injury was done to that Canal and its functioning prevented.

5. The AICC expresses its strong resentment and disapproval of the invasion of Egypt by Israel and the armed action taken by the United Kingdom and France against Egypt with a view to impose their will.

6. The AICC expresses its appreciation of the action taken by the United Nations General Assembly in regard to a ceasefire[5] and in directing the aggressor countries to withdraw their armed forces from the territory of Egypt and hopes that these directions will be carried out in the immediate future. There can be no peace and no kind of settlement can be contemplated until all the aggressor forces have withdrawn from the soil of Egypt and Egyptian sovereignty has been fully restored.

7. The AICC expresses its warm sympathy with the people of Egypt in the great trials through which they have passed and its admiration for the calm behaviour of the people of Cairo in spite of the aerial bombing.

8. In some countries of Central Europe, important changes have recently taken place towards democratization[6] and the AICC welcomes them and trusts that these changes will be brought about peacefully. In Hungary, however, a situation has arisen involving great suffering for the people, which have caused the AICC much distress. The Committee hopes that the foreign troops in Hungary will be withdrawn and the people of Hungary decide their own future by peaceful methods.

9. Recent events have demonstrated that methods of compulsion and armed intervention by one country on another can no longer be tolerated and can only result, if persisted, in world war. They have also shown that the armed forces of

4. On 13 October, the Foreign Ministers of UK, France and Egypt agreed in the Security Council to the six points on the basis of which further discussions for an early settlement of the Suez problem would take place. See *post*, p. 419.
5. The General Assembly convened an emergency session on 1 November and adopted a resolution urging all parties to agree to an immediate ceasefire and withdraw their forces behind the Armistice Lines. See also *post*, p. 430.
6. In Poland and Hungary.

one country should not be used in another country and foreign bases also should not be established. Both these are forms of intervention which are not only undesirable but rather are constant irritants leading to conflict. They are opposed to the principles of the *Panchsheel*. The AICC hopes that Asian and African nations particularly should cooperate together in the spirit of the Bandung Conference for their security and progress and should endeavour to spread that spirit of coexistence and cooperation in other parts of the world.

10. The AICC approves and endorses the policy of the Government of India[7] in regard to the crisis that has arisen.

7. For the Indian Government's policy, see *post*, pp. 346-388.

2. International Situation[1]

Mr President,[2]
I propose to say something in Hindi and then follow it by some words in English because I should like all of you or as many of you as possible to understand what I have to say.
Sisters, brothers and comrades,

The last few days and nights have passed in great anxiety for me and some of my colleagues. We have spent sleepness nights because the issues confronting the world were extremely serious, complicated and dangerous. They were not issues which could have been solved by making speeches or taking out processions or shouting slogans or expressing anger in front of some embassy. Dark clouds had once again gathered in the sky and bombs falling on cities from the air, had begun. At a crucial juncture like this, it was extremely important to restrain one's anger and think with calm minds about what had to be done, and how we could help to avert war.

1. Speech at the AICC meeting after the resolution on "International Crisis" was passed unanimously, Kolkata, 9 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi. Nehru's English speech is also included.
2. U.N. Dhebar.

As you are aware, the issue of the Suez Canal came up three months ago. It has been our effort right since the beginning to help in solving the problem though we did not express our views very forcibly. We did express our opinion on some aspects but with some restraint because it does not help very much to criticize and abuse anyone at such a juncture.

The first Suez Conference was held in London in which we participated.[3] Our representative, Shri Krishna Menon, presented some possible suggestions to evolve a way out.[4] It was not meant merely as a criticism.

Then the second Conference took place which we did not attend because there was no place for us.[5] But then, when the matter came up before the Security Council in New York, our suggestion was made from our side though not formally. I think that our efforts did have an impact and there was an agreement. You may remember that six principles were accepted as the basis for further talks.[6]

I do not remember the exact date but this was in October. We felt that the tension and the fear of war had blown over and that the matter could be discussed calmly. There had been a very real fear of war because the moment the issue of the Suez Canal arose, armies were on the march. Ships were being moved and armaments piled up. It is a strange thing that without any effort whatsoever to understand the issue, military preparations were afoot. This naturally aroused grave fears.

Well, it was not even a month since the six principles on the Suez Canal issue had been accepted and it was decided that a conference should be held in Geneva or somewhere else, with Egypt, England, France and others participating to find a solution to this problem. We felt that the conference may take place at the end of October. Suddenly, I forget the date, at the end of October, news came that there had been an Israeli strike.[7] I do not know if you remember that a month earlier, the Prime Minister of Israel, Ben-Gurion, had declared that they would

3. Held from 16 to 23 August 1956. For more details, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 35, 352-353.
4. For details of the Indian Plan, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 370.
5. The second London conference, held from 19 to 21 September 1956, was attended by 18 powers who signed the 18-Power Proposals that were passed during the first London Conference. The Indian Plan, supported by the Soviet Union, Indonesia and Sri Lanka, was not adopted and that was the reason for India's absence in the second conference.
6. See *post*, p. 419.
7. On 29 October.

not undertake a preventive war because at that time there was talk of an Israeli strike.[8] What does a preventive war mean? It is felt that one quick strike can incapacitate the enemy flat from any further action. Well, inspite of this declaration, Israel attacked suddenly and ostensibly because Egypt was troubling them on the borders by indulging in firing and beating up of people. Israel said they were tired of the whole thing and wanted to put an end to it. These commando operations on Israel's part was an extremely dangerous thing because once war broke out, nobody could say where it would lead.

The next day, we got news that England and France had decided to jump into the fray and were sending their air force. Two days later, bombs were dropped on the city of Cairo.[9] All these developments occurred very quickly without any good reason. England and France said that they had done it because of Israel's action and that they did not want any damage to the Suez Canal due to the war between Israel and Egypt. So, they declared a 10 mile zone around the Suez out of bounds for both the participants.

Just imagine, Egypt was being told in effect that 150 miles of territory beyond the Suez Canal would cut off from it whereas Israel could come into Egyptian territory for 140 miles because Israel's borders lie 150 miles beyond the Suez Canal. To put 10 miles out of bounds made no sense when their territory began 150 miles away. What in effect it meant was that there would be no obstacle to their coming in upto 140 miles. So, Egypt refused to accept this proposition but Israel accepted with alacrity. After all, it was a victory for them because they were getting what they wanted. They would have captured 140 miles of Egyptian territory. It was a great blow to Egypt because a very large chunk of its territory, the Sinai province, was being cut-off.

Secondly, the Suez Canal was also going to be given over to England and France. The dispute had been going on precisely over this issue for the last three months. You can imagine, Egypt was arguing that they made a pledge to look after the Suez Canal carefully and that there would be no obstacle to the passage of ships. Egypt had kept its word during the last three months. But they were very firm on the point that they would not allow the control of the Suez Canal to pass into the hands of any other country. What it meant was that Egypt was not prepared to accept any outside interference with their territorial integrity. They were willing to allow the representatives of these countries to participate in the

8. On 6 March 1956, David Ben-Gurion emphasized in the Knesset that Israel would in no circumstances launch a "preventive" war. But he added that Israel would continue to build up her defences and give a good account of herself if attacked.
9. On 1 November.

talks. Even before these points could be settled and when the talks are still going on, England and France have started threatening Egypt with demands that it should give up the Suez Canal into their care and protection and also relinquish sovereignty over 150 miles of territory around it. This was something very strange which I could not understand. Immediately, the offensive started again. It is pretty obvious that our sympathies lay with Egypt. For one thing, we felt that they were in the right. They are our friends and a grave injustice was being done to them.

It would be very easy to make a list of the mistakes made by the Egyptian side just as it would be to draw up a list of India's mistakes or what England and France have done. No party is completely on the right side. We have to see what is happening today. For one thing, it was decided in October that the parties would meet in Geneva or somewhere else to discuss the Suez Canal issue which has not taken place. Even before it could happen, an offensive was launched and war had broken out. Now, I have no proof to show that the attacks by Israel and England and France were by previous design. But their coming one after the other is suspicious. The stage had been set for one course of action when other steps were taken.

Well, the consequences of these actions have been bad and dangerous in many ways. Egypt, in this case, has not taken a single wrong step. Let us leave past history aside. I can vouch for the current situation. Mistakes were made on both sides some months ago but the attack has come now, not because of any mistakes on Egypt's part but because a third country has launched an offensive against it. You can see that there is no logic in all this. Anyhow, all these developments took place and for the moment, fighting has stopped. You must be aware of the steps taken by the United Nations.[10] Now the question is to implement them.

Well, what I wish to say in particular is that you must not think that the problem has been solved or that there is no more fear of war. There is grave danger still. Yes, the situation has improved considerably in the past two days. But the situation is very fluid. These developments have caused great concern to us. Things which we thought were impossible have taken place. If Egypt can be attacked suddenly like this, it is possible to do so to any country including India. We have realized that a powerful nation can force its viewpoint on anyone by a show of brute

10. The United Nations General Assembly met in an emergency session in the first week of November, and adopted on 5 November a resolution for the setting up of United Nations Emergency Force. See *post*, p. 435.

force. That would mean that might is right and the side with the most powerful guns would be victorious. How can international relations be conducted on these principles?

Secondly, these events took us back to the time a 100 years or a little less when some European countries had adopted the gun-boat diplomacy and established colonial rule over Asian and African countries. They came with tanks and guns to China, Egypt and before that to India, and secured bases on their territory by brute force. This aspect hurt even more, needless to say.

I want to remind you that the entire trend is taking the world in that direction. What bothers us in particular is that at a time when there was talk of peaceful solutions to problems and *Panchsheel* and what not and the entire complexion has changed suddenly and war clouds have gathered. It is very strange and painful. The slightest mistake today can push the world into an abyss.

These are the problems that confront us. What can I say except that two or three issues have been raised? One, I do not say that our Government has not made any mistakes in the policies that we have adopted. Mistakes are made but at least we have tried to be steadfast in our principles, even at a time when the people were full of anger and passion. Take for instance, the Goa problem. If we had wanted to do as England and France have done, it would not have been difficult to seize Goa by military action. But we did not resort to arms which angered our comrades. The atrocities committed by the Portuguese in Goa were enough to provoke anyone to anger. Do you know that hundreds of Indians are lying in prison in Goa and an ordinary sentence is for 10 to 20 years.[11] Reports say that the prisoners are not allowed to meet one another. They are kept in separate cells. Their only crime was that they had gone there unarmed to protest against Portuguese occupation. As you know, a Member of Parliament from Bengal, Shri Tridib Kumar Choudhuri,[12] is also one of them. You can imagine the shame and pain it has caused me that a member of our Parliament, even if he belongs to the opposition, should be imprisoned and kept in jail for years and we are unable to help. At the most we can send him a few books but half of them are confiscated.

So, these things cause anger and concern yet we have exercised great self-control because we know that if we try to solve one problem by war, it would lead to ten more complex ones. It will affect us adversely and earn the opprobrium of the world that we who talk of *Panchsheel* and peace, should resort to arms at the slightest provocation. We do not want to do that.

11. See *ante*, p. 57.
12. Of the Revolutionary Socialist Party.

For one thing, we are optimistic that we shall win over the Goa issue even if it takes a year or two because nothing can stop it when the demands of geography and history point to this. We have a right to Goa and the world is gradually beginning to realize that our policy of peace is not weak by any means. I have given you an example of how we try to act upon our principles. We may make mistakes. The fact of the matter is that there is respect for India in the world because of this and our views are heard by others. After all, we do not speak from a position of great military might or wealth.

Anyhow, we have had a great shock. Let me mention the other issue which is causing concern for the last nine and a half months. As you know, a freedom movement is going on in Algeria.[13] It is obvious that our sympathies are with Morocco, Tunisia and other countries which have fought for freedom and won. We have tried to help in our own way in the Algerian freedom struggle. We have deliberately not criticized France because we can serve no useful purpose by abusing others. That will only exacerbate feelings. We have tried to help in other ways. The behaviour of the French Government in Algeria has been extremely painful to us. On one or two occasions we were told that they were very close to an agreement. But then it receded and one of the reasons is believed to be the involvement of France in the Suez Canal affair.

Anyhow, I want to draw your attention to the fact that five top leaders of Algeria were going from Morocco to Tunisia or the other way round, at the invitation of the Sultan of Morocco, when the French Air Force surrounded their aircraft and by threatening to shoot it down, made them land in Algeria and arrested them.[14] It is a barefaced piracy in the air to arrest political leaders who were on their way to talk to other leaders in Morocco and Tunisia to find a solution. It is believed that the French Government is not aware of the arrest. It has been organized by high French officials in Algeria and once it was a fait accompli, the Algerian Government was helpless.

I am trying to show you how some nations are behaving today. I want to draw your attention to something else which upset me deeply. Ever since the Suez Canal dispute has arisen, the references made by top leaders and statesmen in England and France to Colonel Nasser, President of Egypt, have been

13. See *ante*, p. 22. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 480-490.
14. In October 1956, an aircraft chartered by the Moroccan Government to convey five Algerian rebel leaders led by Ahmed Ben Bella from Rabat was diverted to Algiers where the French arrested them.

extraordinarily disrespectful.[15] Normally, leaders of one nation do not refer to other leaders in such terms, particularly to those who are in responsible positions. It was said quite openly that they wanted to get rid of President Nasser and overthrow his Government. Now, this is somewhat removed from the Suez Canal affair and goes somewhat deeper.

You have elected Rajendra Babu as the President. It is too bad if other countries do not like the choice. But if there was an attempt to overthrow the President or Prime Minister of India whether you personally like them or not, you will be upset. Who are they to interfere in our internal affairs? These things are being said quite openly by England and France which is most improper. I am amazed at this kind of behaviour. No nation can tolerate if others talk of removing their President or Prime Minister.

All these developments have taken place in a climate of anger and passion with no attempt to think about things calmly. As Kaka Saheb Gadgil[16] and Bidhan Babu[17] said just now, though we blame England and France, there are many people in England who are not in favour of such activities. We have no quarrel with the people of England and there is no intention for us to criticize them. It is true that we do not like the steps taken by their Government. They seem wrong on principle and if this trend continues, nobody knows what will happen.

I want you to remember that we have once again been catapulted into a situation fraught with great fear and tension, of mistrust of one another among the great

15. On 30 July Guy Mollet, the French Prime Minister, described Colonel Nasser as an "apprentice dictator whose methods were similar to those used by Hitler—the policy of blackmail..." The French Foreign Minister Christian Pineau stated in the French National Assembly on 2 August: "We do not trust a dictator who has proved his contempt for international commitments." Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of Opposition in the British House of Commons stated on 2 August that Nasser wanted to impress by showing his strength "as we encountered with Mussolini and Hitler." In a radio broadcast on 8 August, Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister, said: "Our quarrel is not with Egypt..It is with Colonel Nasser..He has shown that he is not a man who can be trusted to keep an agreement." Later, he stated in the British House of Commons: "There are those who say we are not justified in reacting vigorously unless Colonel Nasser commits some fresh act of aggression. That was the argument used in 1930s to justify every concession that was made to the dictators."
16. N.V. Gadgil said that the resolution, as it was moved, was quite sufficient and there was enough in it for an imaginative mind to read between the lines. He also added that it adequately met the political and moral needs of the situation.
17. Moving the resolution on "International Crisis", B.C. Roy described the military intervention by UK and France in Egypt as "barbarous and inhuman."

powers. You must have heard about the letter written by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union to the Prime Ministers of England and France and others.[18] It hints at a possible involvement of Soviet Union on the side of Egypt if fighting is not stopped immediately. It will then escalate to a world war. So, the situation is extremely serious and it was not wise for us to make a show of anger. That would have created an adverse effect which is not proper. We want to help to bring matters under control. The steps that we have taken have shown some results. We cannot achieve anything by a show of anger or abusing anyone.

You have every right to express your views in a public meeting. But one thing I do not like at all, of people taking out processions and making a scene in front of the embassies of other countries. I am not talking only of India but other countries too. It does not seem very civilized to me. It is not the ambassador's fault that you should penalize him. He is merely a servant of his government. The policy is chalked out in a country's government. Apart from that, at any time, particularly now, one wrong step could lead to others which will do untold damage to our country. This is an occasion which demands great self discipline and cooperation so that the world can feel our quiet strength and determination.

Therefore, I want to draw your attention to this. We may have to face grave challenges in the future. We do not wish to go to war. But even if there is no war, we have to step carefully. The developments which have taken place so far can have many consequences. They can affect our five year plans. We may not be able to get machines, petrol, oil, etc., from outside. If our traders try to take advantage of our difficulty, it will be the duty of the government to stop it. These are the various complications which arise.

In short, we are once again stepping into an era when nobody can say whether there will be a war or not. If it is not averted, nobody knows how far it will spread and what the consequences will be. Therefore, we must be fully prepared and show unity, discipline and organization in our dealings. These are the few broad things that we must remember. Now I shall say a few words in English.

Friends and comrades,

As I was just saying we have spent very anxious days and often troubled nights over these issues that confront India and the world. Specially, the last few days have been very difficult because we seem to be driving almost inevitably to a major conflict. Well, there appears to have been some improvement lately and that is to be welcomed but I want to warn you not to be too sure of this improvement. We do not know yet what the coming tomorrow will bring to us.

18. See *post*, pp. 438-440.

And therefore, my main purpose, when speaking today, is to bring this aspect of the question before you. You have passed this Resolution. It is as well that you have passed it but the real thing is that you should realize the significance of the situation and how it affects us and how it might affect the world that is an important thing. And there may come a time which tests us to the utmost and we must be ready for it. We cannot be ready with big guns and all that but I want you to be ready with your discipline, with your unity and with the wisdom that comes to a mature nation. I do not want you to waste your energy in futile demonstrations. You can express your wishes in a public meeting. But I do not think it does credit to you or to any country to go about demonstrating in a weak manner and that represents no strength. Our economic position will be very much affected, and our policies will be affected. So many things will be affected. It is said that we are going to have general elections some months hence. We are going to have them, of course. But all these questions of elections and others become rather secondary before this major issue before us. And so, I want you to realize that and I want the country to realize that.

Now, in the course of the discussion on this Resolution, a number of matters were mentioned, and some amendments were moved. One was about the Commonwealth relations and it was suggested that we should break that relationship. Now, I can quite understand and I can even appreciate, the feeling that leads to that proposal. Nevertheless, I think that for this Committee to decide about that would be very wrong. I do not know what the future will be. It is open to us to keep that Commonwealth connection or not to keep it. But whatever we may do, we should do coolly and collectedly and after considering every aspect of the case. I do not say that the Commonwealth connection can never be broken off. But I do say that I should not like to break it off unless circumstances compel me to do so. What is this Commonwealth connection? You have seen even in this Suez crisis and in the recent occurrences in Egypt, military operations in Egypt, that we have not hesitated to express our will, our wishes, our opinion, in the strongest possible manner, subject to courtesy. The fact that a leading member of the Commonwealth was engaged in attacking Egypt and bombing Egypt, did not prevent us from throwing our full weight of sympathy and everything for Egypt and standing up for Egypt. So, it is perfectly clear that the Commonwealth connection does not in the slightest come in the way of any policy that we may wish to pursue. Therefore, the other consideration is whether by remaining in the Commonwealth, we can serve the larger causes of peace and cooperation better than by going out of it. Well, I still think it is better, it is easier for us to serve those causes by maintaining that connection. But as I said, I do not know what may happen at sometime in the future when we may have to reconsider this question. Remember also that there are other countries in the

Commonwealth which have also opposed British policy in this Suez Canal matter very vigorously. There are other countries which have not opposed it openly, yet they may privately not be in agreement with it. In fact, it is quite possible that the majority of members in the Commonwealth may not be in agreement with this particular policy. So, to take a step like this would just show off our anger and not our wisdom.

Then there was another thing suggested that we should call immediately an Asian-African Conference. We have given much thought to this matter because it was suggested to us by an important country.[19] I consulted my colleagues in the Colombo countries as they are called—that is Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan. Even among them there was some difference of opinion. As you perhaps know in a three or four days time we are meeting in Delhi, the Prime Ministers of these countries or some of them and we shall no doubt consider this question also among others.[20] But I should like to point out to you some difficulties. Such a Conference cannot really be called at a short notice. It is too big an affair. And events march rapidly. Secondly, at the present moment and in the near future, even from the point of view of physical capacity to attend, many of these countries, Arab countries and African countries cannot even attend and there are other difficulties too. But it is far easier for us to keep in touch with each other by telegrams and other messages and more specially in touch at New York, that is, the representatives in New York in the United Nations, where there is a group, an Asian-African group which has been functioning together. You see they are there, they are following and today, in so far as this question of the Egyptian crisis is concerned, I should imagine the most important place is the United Nations in New York. Therefore, it is far more important for our representatives of the Asian and African countries to meet there, to consult each other, to cooperate with each other and to take joint action and then we have to convene a meeting in Delhi or Rangoon or somewhere and large numbers of people gather and at the most pass some resolutions. Therefore, there was some doubt in our minds about this.

Now, a third question with which I should like to deal is an amendment which was withdrawn or rejected, I forget which, about the addition of some words in

19. Soviet Union had suggested this. See also *post*, pp. 430-432.

20. The Colombo Powers Conference, held in New Delhi from 12 to 14 November 1956, was attended by U Ba Swe, Prime Minister of Myanmar; S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka; Ali Sastroamidjojo, Prime Minister of Indonesia, and Nehru. There was no representative from Pakistan. For the joint communique issued by the leaders on 14 November, see *post*, p. 334.

the paragraph relating to Hungary. Now, as the Resolution itself says and that represents the mind of Government of India too, we have viewed these events there with great concern. I have received any number of telegrams about them and even otherwise it is a matter of concern where so much killing goes on, so much conflict and killing. The question before us was as to how we can help. That is always our approach. How we can help in a particular matter. We are not only, I hope, a responsible government, but a responsible organization, the Congress and a responsible people, the people of India. And I hope we are outgrowing, rather than the juvenile methods of giving expression to our opinions, though I have no doubt there are many juveniles still, even in the political field, in the other parties chiefly. But we do, I think, compare favourably from this point of view. Now, our object was, whether it was a question of Egypt, whether it was a question of Hungary, whether it was a question of Indo-China or Korea, to try to help in so far as we could and to try to get as full information as possible, so as to be able to form a judgement. Now, so far as the Egyptian matter is concerned, every single thing that is happening is almost, I may say so, as clear as daylight. There are no hidden facts, actions are clear as you know. I confess that for some time I could not follow the very confusing situation in Hungary except for some basic factors.

This Hungarian situation has developed, practically speaking, in the last twelve days, may be a day or two more. In a sense, it has been developing for some months. And it was difficult for us to express strong opinions or any opinions till the facts were more or less clear before us. Thereupon, I addressed the Government of the Soviet Union expressing our concern and asking them to send us, well, the facts as they know them. They were good enough, the Prime Minister Mr Bulganin was good enough to send me a fairly long account which I received yesterday.[21] Now, that account may be called, if you like, a partial account. Naturally, we may call it that just as the other accounts may be partial on some other account. But it helps always to have the various sides of the case put before you and it is easier to form an opinion. I cannot say even now if I can give a very clear account of what is happening there. But some things are certainly clear.

The major factor is that in the last several months, there has been a kind of ferment in some of the East European countries, Poland, Hungary, Romania and others. Even before that there was, if you remember, a kind of ferment in the Soviet Union, in the minds of people, a ferment in the minds of the people, I

21. See *post*, p. 474.

mean which resulted in certain decisions being taken by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party.[22] Decisions towards liberalizing the old policies there and greater freedom of expression and political activity which for my part, I certainly welcome, because I think that in every country there should be, quite apart from its economic policies, there should be freedom of expression and not repressive methods of government. Now, I can't go into all this past history. But that in effect, what happened in Russia, the Soviet Union, that affected powerfully the other neighbouring countries of the Soviet Union and we have seen that effect in Poland,[23] many restrictions and others have been removed and what is called a process of democratic liberalization or democratization—it is a very big word, I have got it—went on which again was a good thing. Now, when such movements take place in these countries, it is welcomed. The whole value of the movement is that it should grow in the country from below and should not be imposed, you can't impose democracy. Therefore, the value of this movement was that some restrictions being removed. The people were finding their own level in democratic functioning. We welcome that. And Poland, you will see, has undergone many changes in its governmental apparatus too and is functioning, so far as one can see, with a measure of stability and at the same time with a much larger degree of democracy. In Hungary, the same forces were at work. But they did not lead this, partly because maybe of lack of adequate and powerful leadership, they did not lead to the same peaceful change over and what appears to have occurred in Hungary is civil conflict on rather a large scale, to begin with, among the Hungarians themselves. Thereupon, there were Soviet forces there, armed forces which were stationed there under some treaty, in Hungary, as they were in Poland, as they were in other countries, in accordance with the Warsaw Treaty. I would remind you of one fact, of a very unfortunate fact and that is that since the last World War, a habit has grown for great Powers to station their troops and have their bases in foreign countries. It is a bad habit. Whatever the reasoning behind it, it is a bad habit. And even in Europe and even in a country like England that takes place, there are plenty of foreign troops in England, of all places. So, this has grown and these troops, Russian troops were there. The previous government of Hungary invited them and asked them to help in this civil conflict and mutual killing that was going on. They came in and I have no doubt that their coming into the picture must have resulted in shooting down of a considerable number of people, I don't know, must have, when they used tanks and the rest. But

22. For more details about the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of Soviet Union, held in Moscow from 14 to 25 February 1956, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, pp. 334, 343 & 556.
23. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 397-398

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immediately after two or three days after they announced that they would withdraw from Budapest city and later, after consultations, from Hungary itself and they took away their troops from Budapest. Then it appears that the government in Budapest lost all control of the situation and there was a great deal of mutual killing which ran into thousands and the killing was on both sides, not on one side. Quite a fair number of Russians were killed, army men, technicians and others and a large number of Hungarians were killed, sometimes one Hungarian killing the other rival groups there, that is after the Russian troops had withdrawn. It was at this stage, that something that is not quite clear to me happened, the government had almost ceased to function, the Hungarian government. The government split up and one faction of the Hungarian government, may be the bigger faction, called itself the government and pushed out the smaller faction and the Prime Minister and this new government that was formed invited the Soviet forces which had gone away to come back to quell these disturbances.[24] I am trying to give you such facts as I have been able to understand without any comment on them. And the Soviet forces thereupon came back and, I have no doubt, dealt with the people who were rebelling against this new government with a heavy hand. This, so far as I know, is the story. Details I don't know.

Now, I might tell you that on the 30th of October, that is before the Soviet troops went there, the Soviet Government announced a policy of withdrawal of troops from all these countries in the proper way,[25] that is after consultations and they actually withdrew them from Budapest, as I had told you. And it was after that policy was declared that these mutual killings went on and Soviet forces returned.

Well, I dislike intensely, foreign forces functioning in this way or any way in a country. But the real difficulty was that foreign forces existed there beforehand. And had been stationed there which, I hope, will not in future continue in any of these countries. And now the main thing is how to deal with this situation, how to, first of all, put an end to the fighting, I believe this is more or less ended by superior force being put upon the people. But the main thing is how the old processes which were working in Hungary and other countries, democratization, liberalization, in Hungary and other countries, should work and that foreign intervention and pressure should be removed, that is the main thing to be seen.

Now, the Soviet Union has again stated that they went back to Budapest with great reluctance and they want to go back as soon as possible, as soon as some

24. See also *post*, p. 452.
25. See *post*, pp. 453-454.

kind of order is established there. That is their statement and they are ready to discuss with the government concerned, about the total withdrawal of troops. Now, I have given you the facts as I have stated quite frankly, as I know them. I said that what has been stated in the Resolution is a correct way of approach to this problem. It is my desire and I have no doubt your desire too that this growth of democracy should be encouraged in Hungary and that the people of Hungary have to decide about themselves, without any external pressure.

Now that we have seen how successfully this worked in Poland. We have seen how an attempt to, shall I say, try to speed it up more and try to take revenge against each other and to upset the whole apple-cart is not a wise way, or achieving the ends in view. It created bitterness and hostility and thereby delayed the very thing that was aimed at.

So, I have taken up some of your time. I have told you about Hungary as much as I know it. It is not that we are afraid to express our views because of fear of any country although normally we do not run down countries, that does not help. We state our own policies and do not interfere with other countries' policies. But in this question, it is so complicated, and because we want to help and not to hinder, that we have followed this particular policy.

Now, one thing more, many of our friends who have spoken, have talked of high moral and high principles and certainly that would be a good thing. But do not imagine this is merely a matter of high principle and morality. It is a matter of strict practical commonsense and practical danger, all that is happening there and it is from that point of view that we have to be aware within the country and in our external policies and not use words or phrases which express our anger and rarely miss the inner strength that we should possess. I am glad that this Resolution that you have passed expresses your appreciation of the c. m demeanour of the people of Cairo when they were being bombed. The more they were attacked, they behaved with remarkable fortitude and calmness. I wonder if a few bombs fell in Calcutta, how our friends in Calcutta will behave. I have a recollection that in 1944 or was it 1942, one odd rather harmless bomb scared many people away from there. Now that was a bad show. I was angry even in prison when I heard of it. What is this running away because a bomb falls. You live with it, in a world of bombs, you better get used to bombs, you better get used to much else than bombs. Because you don't meet them everyday, you think, it is all very well to take a procession out and shout this and shout that and if the police by mistake or even deliberately misbehave or do not, or whatever happens, then there is a great meeting to condemn them when the world is different today. It is a cruel, hard world. We should see that and it requires a different type of reaction to it, a strong reaction, not a timid, angry reaction, shouting, slogan-shouting reaction.

So, I am glad that you have expressed your appreciation of the people of Cairo[26] and I should like to add to that my appreciation of the President of Egypt, General Nasser.

26. See the preceding item, paragraph 7.

3. Dark Portent of Global War[1]

Footsteps of marching troops, explosion of bombs and rattle of machine guns are giving rise to the dark portent of another global war, which India has been so earnestly seeking to prevent. I am, however, not afraid of facing any situation and will call upon the people to close up their ranks and build up a formidable defence to meet any emergency if the worst came. Petty squabbles and strifes—political or otherwise—should now stop and parochial and factionalism should now give way to the greater interest of the nation.

I give a stern warning to the businessmen and other elements who want to exploit the situation for making unfair private gains. This is not the time to make money and if any trader indulges in anti-social methods, the Government will resort to use all their power to check him. I am, however, not in favour of control and will like to make a special appeal to his good sense to see that prices of essential commodities do not go up causing hardship to the common people.

I categorically disapprove of military grouping of powers such as SEATO, NATO, Baghdad Pact and Warsaw Treaty, which are creating mutual distrust among nations and striking panic in the minds of them. For instance, the Baghdad Pact is now dead for all practical purposes. But before its death it has set ablaze the entire Arab world. The fire is still smouldering and nobody knows when it will end.

1. Speech at a public meeting, Brigade Parade Grounds, Kolkata, 10 November 1956. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 11 November 1956.

I always have the picture of tomorrow's India. The real task before the people is to bring about a socio-economic revolution which must follow their attainment of political independence. I believe that with hard work and avoidance of internal strifes it will be possible for us to stabilize our economic position within the next ten years. The five year plans are formulated for that purpose. But no government on earth has the power to banish poverty from the land without the active cooperation of the people. I will, therefore, make an earnest plea for extensive propagation of Second Five Year Plan which is now under implementation amongst the people. For that purpose, I suggest, inclusion of a careful study of the Plan in the curricula of schools and colleges. Factory authorities shall also hold special classes to explain the Plan to their workers in all details.

I am aware of the various kinds of discontentment prevalent in the country about the slow progress of the plans. Nobody is complacent about the present condition in India, at least I am not. But progress cannot be brought overnight by magic or any trick. Nor can progress be hastened by demonstration and slogan shouting. If you want to lead the country to prosperity you must work hard.

I regret the tendency in some quarters of exploiting the various issues for political gains. This has grown enormously with general elections coming closer. I am certain that much of the thunder over the States Reorganization Commission will not have clattered, has not the elections being so near.

Some days back, I came to Bengal to see flood devastations here.[2] But this time my visit is for some different purpose namely the AICC session in Beliaghata. Since my visit to this city on the last occasion, the world situation has in a few days undergone a thorough change. Dark clouds of another global war are hovering over the horizon. Footsteps of marching troops, explosions of bombs and war cries rent the air. These are the sure omens of a war that we have been striving our utmost to avoid, for if unfortunately another global war breaks out, it will disfigure the entire world. India has always sought to avert another war because she knows fully well in the event of such a war, she will be affected very badly. Her Second Five Year Plan, will be totally upset and whatever constructive effort we are making to build up the country will be thrown off the air.

Only ten days ago, India's map had been redrawn. In India today the old maps used by students in schools and colleges have become outdated. New states have sprung up while the territories of some of the old states have undergone

2. On 21 October 1956 Nehru made a four-hour aerial survey of some of the flood-affected areas in Burdwan, Murshidabad and 24-Parganas districts of West Bengal. See also *ante*, p. 244.

readjustment. The task is not an easy one. We all know how much demonstrations and agitation had been there in various parts of the country over the question of states reorganization. It was a period of stress and strain for us. Passions that had been roused over such trifling matters had also, somewhat, impeded the progress. I, however, offer my heartfelt congratulations to the people for peaceful accomplishment of the reorganization of states. It may not be to the full liking of everybody, but the problem has been solved amicably and a great work done indeed.

India is wedded to the principle of building a socialistic pattern of society in this country where there will be less division and distinction between man and man. Production should be enough to keep every home fully satisfied and production should be equally shared. But how India is going to produce more? India lives in its fields, villages and factories and during the last few years there had been a revolutionary change in all those spheres. The National Extension Service Project and the Community Development Project have brought about revolutionary change in one lakh fifty thousand villages out of a total of seven lakh villages, bringing about profound change in the life of ten crores of people. India's achievement during the Second Plan period will be more impressive but if the war, as threatened, breaks out, all these efforts will be thwarted.

The pacts like Baghdad, SEATO and Atlantic could not stop turmoils. On the other hand, these had widened the scope for such turmoils. Under the plea of these pacts, armies are being posted at different places creating an atmosphere of hostility. Such rehearsals are not conducive to the cause of peace.

People are now more anxious for democracy. After the death of Stalin the great changes are taking place towards democratization. But this process suffered a setback as a result of such war manoeuvres.

If war comes, what the people of India are going to do? Whether there is a war or not, there are certain basic qualities which a nation must attain at such critical periods. Even if there is a war, the people will not flee the country. In the face of that crisis, I expect the people to remain united, sink all their differences and must march forward unitedly with determination. If the question of defence of India crops up, then the people should not hesitate or waver.

How to increase the strength of the people? The First and Second Five Year Plans are primarily directed against increasing that strength of the country. India has so long been dependent for its essential supplies upon foreign countries, but now the process is being reversed. India is going in for setting up basic industries to produce its own machines. A great amount of national wealth is now being spent in purchasing machinery but this huge amount will be saved when India's own heavy industry will be built up.

When India is engaged in such a war of production and against poverty, those

sections of people who keep self-interest above national interest are to be warned. Those people must not take advantage of the transition period and even if war breaks out in some other parts of the world they should not enhance the prices of the essential commodities. If the prices increased, the people will be subjected to great hardship and the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan will suffer a setback. If the prices continued to rise, then the cost of the Second Plan will go up by several thousand crores. Therefore, the Government is determined to see that prices do not rise and nobody can take advantage of such a situation.

I appeal to the people to face the difficult situation with dignified calmness which people from a mature nation are expected to. My appeal to the people of the country wherever they may be, either in the field or in the factory or in the office or in schools, colleges and universities, that they must realize that India is not against any country or even thought of inimically about any country, but is engaged in a war against poverty, disease and illiteracy. That is the only war India believed in. How to fight that war? Larger productions both in fields and factories are the essential requisites to win this war. The shape of new India will have a socialistic pattern of society but its foundation will be built by hard labour and toil and more productions. People in their agony often forget the basic thing that there occurred a large drain upon the national resources when India had to purchase rice and other essential commodities to meet the internal shortage of food. Look at Pakistan. That country had to bring in food from far distant countries in exchange of national wealth. How long a poor country like India or Pakistan can afford to buy rice and other commodities at such tremendous loss of national wealth?

The only answer to poverty is more production. The First Five Year Plan is directed towards improvement of agriculture and we had spent large sums on irrigation and other ancilliary projects. The Second Five Year Plan is directed to build up heavy industries and to make India self-sufficient in machinery, steel etc. These plans are primarily meant to fight the food shortage, to increase industrial production and thirdly to remove unemployment. India's steel production will go up by four times as a result of the establishment of the three new steel plants for which agreement has already been entered into with Russia, Germany and UK.

The zamindaries all over the country had been abolished and an edifice of olden India, had been brought down. In the new India where the programme is for reconstruction, here are still small holdings which are a handicap against increased production. When India is committed to the building of a socialistic pattern of society, the peasants and the villagers should now look to cooperative farming and mechanization of agriculture. I call upon the peasants to form cooperatives for more production and more unity.

Today, it is true that the workers are not owners of factories and have practically no say in their management. But a day will come when the workers will have greater control in the management of factories. The workers of factories should run their undertakings by not indulging in mutual conflicts and strifes. The socialistic pattern of society will not be feasible unless they create the first condition for its establishment, namely, productions on a large scale. Therefore, during this transition period the workers should see that incrcased productions are assured, that there is no strife or mutual conflicts and that they will take it as their primary concern to stop flow out of national wealth for the purchase of commodities.

The students and teachers and those who are engaged in educational institutions, should popularize the objectives of the Second Five Year Plan, so that they may be able to understand what efforts are being made in their country for economic recovery.

There should be great emphasis on development of cooperatives in agriculture to save wastage in land and manpower which is inherent in fragmented land holdings. What we are trying to develop in the country is a cooperative commonwealth where people will cooperate for individual benefit as well as for the benefit of the nation.

The achievements of India during the short period of nine years since attainment of Independence are satisfying. Liquidation of princely states, abolition of zamindari, fulfilment of targets of the First Five Year Plan, Community Development Projects and the National Extension Service are some of these achievements. But much is yet remained to be achieved for banishing poverty. The task before the country is more production. While cooperatives shall be developed in agriculture, there must be greater amity between workers and the management in industries.

The cooperatives in agriculture has a two-fold benefit—preventing wastage in bigger landholdings and helping mechanization of agriculture wherever possible. The spirit of resorting to strikes and lockouts in industries should be condemned.

India's progress has attracted wide attention in other countries and people from foreign lands are streaming into India to learn from our experiences. But the world events, took a sudden turn for the worse. It has started with the crisis over the Suez Canal—immediately after the Egyptian Government decided to nationalize the canal.

Things are, however, improving and a meeting is arranged to solve the problem through negotiations. But before the meeting could take place came the worst type of aggression in recent history. Israeli troops invaded the Egyptian soil, followed soon by the aggression of France and England. When the situation is

pretty bad, the Soviet Prime Minister sent a note, warning that Soviet Russia will use force in Egypt if France and Great Britain do not withdraw their forces as they are determined to stop the war in Egypt.[3] This can very well become a signal for a world war. All the big powers will have been involved in the war with atom bombs and other destructive weapons. Fortunately, it has not happened and the United Nations has succeeded in making France and England agree to ceasefire.

The five principles of coexistence, proposed by India, are first signed by me and the Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lai. We proposed this *Panchsheel* to the world and many nations in Asia and also in Europe agreed to it. But the aggression of Egypt is nothing short of a violation of this principle.

I do not want harm to any other nation. I want to see the prosperity of all the nations just as we desire to make our own country prosperous. Unfortunately in the past some western powers, for their own prosperity, harmed the growth of some Asian countries, kept them in bondage and their progress hampered. The world has changed and a new Asia—a resurgent Asia—has been born out of the turmoil of centuries. The clock cannot be put back any more.

A new process of democratization has started in the Soviet Union and the eastern European countries and under her influence. What is happening in Hungary is a civil conflict—an internal strife. In that conflict the Russian troops also has taken part. It is wrong for foreign military bases or stationing of foreign troops wherever they might be. It is wrong in principle. It offends the sovereignty of the nation concerned. There are many countries both in Europe and Asia which allowed foreign troops or foreign air bases in their countries. In eastern European countries which are under Soviet influence, Russian troops are posted under the Warsaw treaty. They say that it is because of a military threat caused by the existence of the NATO.

3. See *post*, pp. 438-440.

4. Statement on Economic Policy[1]

The achievement of Independence cleared the path to social and economic progress and the progressive well-being of the people became the paramount objective before the country. In order to achieve this, the Congress laid down the objective of organizing the social framework on the socialistic pattern and this has become the accepted objective of the country and progressive steps to that end are being taken.

2. In the First Five Year Plan, attention was concentrated on the development of agriculture; a substantial increase in agricultural production occurred and the targets laid down were exceeded. The Second Five Year Plan lays emphasis on industrial production and, more especially, on the building up of heavy industry, without which there can be no rapid extension of industry. Priority has therefore to be accorded to produce goods, like steel, coal and cement, as well as the machine making industry. Essential consumer goods also should be made available in sufficient quantities so that the mass of the people do not suffer hardships.[2]

3. Industrial development must, however, be based on a large increase in agricultural production, far beyond the figures initially adopted in the Second Five Year Plan. Increase in agricultural production is also the key to keeping inflationary forces in check. Agricultural yields in India are the lowest in the whole world and it has been demonstrated that, with care and effort, crops can be raised with more than twice the present average yield. During the next five years, the present agricultural production must be raised by at least thirty-five per cent. This target should not be difficult to achieve with the help of the Community Projects and the National Extension Service, as well as the large provision of agricultural credit and the resources made available for irrigation and other facilities.

4. In the present state of the agricultural economy, the progress we expect demands a fundamental change in the outlook of those concerned with

1. Draft resolution for the AICC, Kolkata, 11 November 1956. File No. G-23(B)/1956, AICC Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. The resolution "Statement on Economic Policy" was moved by G.B. Pant on 11 November and passed unanimously on the same day.
2. The AICC accepted an addition to the statement suggested by Bhagwat Jha Azad that "adequate emphasis should also be placed on small-scale and cottage industries."

agricultural production. Improvement in the economic condition of the individual agriculturist and his family is an essential part of the target, but such improvement requires a pooling of resources, and ability and endeavour in this field. In a democratic set-up, the only way to do this is by large-scale cooperative effort in the agricultural field. The well-being of the individual farmer as well as that of the nation is dependent upon the rapid extension and strengthening of agrarian cooperatives covering all aspects of agricultural production.

5. The Plan gives a definite place to deficit financing as a means of providing a part of the resources. Deficit financing can only be practised if prices are stable and foodgrains and other essential consumer goods are available in adequate quantities. The need of foreign exchange can, in the main, be met only by the ability to export. In the present stage of our development, exports can be augmented chiefly through agricultural commodities. In view of large imports of essential machinery, restrictions will have to be imposed on the import of non-essential goods.

6. The internal resources for the Plan are largely dependent on the people and it is by their full and wholehearted collaboration that they can be raised. An underdeveloped country seeking to quicken the tempo of development and raise the level of income and living, will have to set aside an increasing proportion of its income for investment for some years. It is not intended, nor is it desirable, to put too great a strain on the common people or to lower their present low standard of living. It is essential that this standard should progressively increase. A substantial part of the additional resources however, must be set aside for investment.

7. The Second Five Year Plan contemplates the growth of a new administrative and institutional framework which will be consistent with a planned approach to a socialistic pattern. Planning, therefore, cannot be done merely within the existing economic framework, and a constant effort has to be made to mould this framework into a socialist pattern on a democratic basis.

8. The Congress aims at the establishment of a cooperative commonwealth. This involves the progressive organization of the entire life of the community on cooperative lines. In industry, the interest of the workers must be identified with the industrial unit in which they are working and they should be increasingly associated with the management of industry. This requires disciplined workers who identify their own interests with the larger national interests.

B

1. To achieve success in the implementation of the Second Five Year Plan,

certain essential conditions have to be fulfilled. It is of particular importance that prices, especially of essential commodities, are maintained at reasonable levels. The resources needed for the Plan have to be raised without creating inflationary pressures. Foreign exchange resources have to be conserved and enlarged to ensure timely procurement of machinery and materials for carrying out the development programmes of the Plan. For all these purposes, a sustained effort and discipline on the part of the people are necessary.

2. Two factors stand out prominently in the strategy that can lead us to the goal—the expansion of production in all directions and a degree of restraint on consumption beyond desirable limits.

3. Everyone concerned with the processes of production as well as distribution—workers, management and merchants—should perform these functions with zeal and integrity and with due regard to the interests of the consumers, that is the public at large. Such regulation of supplies becomes inevitable in the interests of the consumers, and the community should, as far as possible, be carried out on a voluntary basis through the agency of the associations of the various interests concerned. In India's democratic set-up, self-discipline must help in measures of regulation, whenever these may be considered necessary, and a strong and active public opinion must act as the most effective curb on anti-social tendencies and practices.

4. A socialist pattern of society envisages a welfare state when health and well-being and opportunities for growth will be made available to all sections of the community. To hasten this process and to ensure the success of the Plan, all possible steps will have to be taken so that current consumption is kept within limits and savings progressively increased. While the burden must necessarily fall more on those who can afford it, every person in the country can and should have the privilege of participating in this process of building up the country by making his own maximum contribution to savings and investment. This will also help in preventing inflation and maintaining a reasonable price level.

C

The grave international crisis which confronts the world today, and which has over-shadowed all normal activity, has demonstrated forcibly that the country's hopes and plans for progress are bound up with the continuance of peace in the world. The All India Congress Committee earnestly hopes that this threat to the peace of the world will fade away and peace will be firmly established. But the nation must be prepared for any emergencies that might arise. A shrinkage of supplies might arise as a consequence of the crisis. This has to be faced in a

manner so as to cause as little dislocation as possible to the life of the community. This requires organizational effort and the exercise of restraint, discipline and mutual help on the part of all the people of the country. The AICC expects that the people will prepare themselves to meet these trials calmly, with disciplined and cooperative effort.

5. Evil Effects of Military Pacts[1]

Mr President and comrades,
First of all, may I add a few words to what the President said to you in welcoming our distinguished guest, the Prime Minister of Indonesia.[2] It has been my privilege to have known him for some time, to have worked with him in various conferences and meetings, to have discussed many problems of Asia and the world, and I have found that he brings right wisdom and experience to all these difficult tasks, and throw light upon them. He is, as you all know, one of the most distinguished statesmen of Asia, and I am particularly happy that he has come here to help us to find a way out of this difficult international situation. I do not presume to say that we can control the thinking or the action of the world; of course not. But, I do think when an earnest effort is made by any earnest people who want peace, that effort will find an echo in the hearts of millions all over the world. It is not a question of Indonesia or India or the other countries of Asia issuing some kind of a mandate to the other countries of the world. Who are we to issue mandates? We do not issue mandates, nor do we accept mandates from anybody. But our approach is friendly approach and cooperative approach, firmly founded on our desire for peace, firmly founded not only on our desire for peace, but, as we believe, on the world's desire for peace. And, because, what we say fits in with the thinking and passions and desires of millions of people in

1. Speech at the concluding session of the AICC, Kolkata, 11 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Ali Sastroamidjojo, who came to India specially to participate in discussions that were going to be held in New Delhi on 12 November under the aegis of the Colombo Powers, was present at the AICC session. Dhebar said that the discussions were bound to affect directly or indirectly the current of thought so far as world peace was concerned.

the world, whether Western or Eastern world, it finds an echo in the hearts of men; not because we said so, but because we happened at the moment to say something which is already present in the minds of men. So, we shall meet tomorrow, and I hope in our meeting we shall be blessed by the spirit of Bandung, and that spirit of Bandung will also permeate and spread to other countries of the wide world.

Now, I shall say a few words about the last statement on economic policy,[3] as it is called, which you have been considering. This last statement cannot of course be the full economic plan. It is not a kind of summary of the Second Five Year Plan. It is intended to draw your attention to certain important aspects. We talked about the Second Five Year Plan so much, I do it so much, and you do it. But perhaps sometimes some of you may get a little tired of this constant repetition of the Second Five Year Plan. What is the Second Five Year Plan? Well, it is contained in that big red book which the Planning Commission issued and which our Parliament approved of, and I commend you to read that book. But when I think of the Second Five Year Plan, I feel much more than what that book contains. That book contains arguments, that book contains Plans and priorities, and statistics and figures. Figures and statistics are important. All these Plans and priorities are essential, because without them there is no planning. Yet, when I think of the Second Five Year Plan, I think of it as some kind of—shall I say—dry bones of what we are going to have. I think we try to cover the dry bones with flesh and blood of humanity. I think of those three hundred and seventy or three hundred and eighty millions of India, moving forward, marching forward, and even improving their lot, getting rid of misery and unhappiness and poverty, which has been their lot for generations. So far as I am concerned, the Second Plan, or the Third Plan that will come afterwards, is something more than statistics and words. It becomes a living human being on the march, living human being growing—our children being looked after, children who will be going to build up India of tomorrow. That is why when I think of this Second Five Year Plan my heart is filled with excitement. The printed words do not excite me, but this thought gives me a sensation, the thought of millions of Indians getting out of their ruts, getting out of their economic ruts, political ruts, social ruts, and marching ahead for their own good, for the good of their country, for the good of the world, always keeping to certain principles, always not forgetting the great master who gave light to this country. All the big schemes that we have now, whether they are iron and steel plants, river valley projects, or agricultural cooperatives, are good. We must pursue them. After all, our business

3. See the preceding item.

is the business of building men and women in this country. It is men and women who do all these things, and it is men and women of character and integrity, it is men and women who have something of idealism in them, something in the widest sense,—shall I say, spirituality and character in them—that make a country great. I would not have India, or any other country for that matter, taking pride in military might or industrial might, or economic might. I would not have her take pride in any of these things at all. I hope that as we go ahead, as we go forward, we shall grow in humility also. Because, I find, when I look round this world, how dangerous is wealth, and how dangerous is power.

Great countries and great powers today stand—I shall not say—on the brink of war; perhaps not, but nevertheless, in danger of war. But why is that so? They are great powers, great nations, cultured nations, and highly advanced societies. Why should this happen? I wonder. Is it fear? Is it hatred of each other? Is it just a habit that gets them into conflict against these countries? Europe, specially, has a record of conflicts and wars which no other continent can rival. Are we to get entangled into these conflicts, and complications and rivalries of Europe? I hope not, and specially now, when any major conflict means something terrible in this age of atomic energy. What is it? You have passed a resolution about international crisis. You have expressed your strong disapproval of what is happening in Egypt, and you have expressed sorrow at what is happening in Hungary. There are many other things which you might have referred to, but you have not. There is so much in the wide world today which adds to unhappiness, conflict and violence. There is a long list of it. You have not referred to Algeria. There has been enough of unhappiness and misery in Algeria. I remember I said a few words yesterday, something about an outstanding event that happened the other day. Five leaders of Algeria were suddenly surrounded in mid-air and forced down to a wrong airport and arrested. Is it not a most astounding act for any nation to do, whoever did it? All this is happening. Why? Why was Egypt attacked in this way? Why was this tremendous cry in the Western world when President Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal company? Why was then this tremendous outcry? Maybe there are many causes behind that.

You are told many other things; first of all, oil. Is oil more important than human beings in this world? Oil is important; we want oil wherever it is to be used, to be shared equally, and not to be the monopoly of any company. In fact, at the present moment, it requires a great deal of looking into, this oil monopoly and the price of oil. Who governs the price of oil? We, sitting in India, we pay price of oil produced in India, which is more than the same oil sold in England. Is it not extraordinary that oil produced in Burma should be more expensive in Burma, and oil produced in India should be more expensive in India than elsewhere. I do not know about Indonesia. Why? Because the price of oil was

fixed by what is called the gulf price of oil, price at the gulf of Mexico. So, the price of oil produced in India is fixed by some kind of calculation based on oil coming from Mexico to us.[4] Is that reasonable? It seems to be very odd. However, I am not discussing oil here. What I was saying was that how important the question of oil is. I know very well the economy of the United Kingdom very largely depends upon oil that comes from Middle Eastern Region. I don't wish, and I know, you do not wish, to upset the economy of UK. Nobody wants it, President Nasser does not want it. Let the oil flow. Why all this trouble? Oil was flowing even after nationalization. It stopped flowing only since the actual attack on Egypt. Remember this, it is the attack that stopped the flow of oil. It was the attack that made the Suez Canal unusable at least for some time. Meanwhile, other things had happened. In course of this war, pipelines have been blown up so that the actual thing to be protected suffered most by these actions. Why is this so? Now, we are told these attacks were made because some of the Western powers were afraid of the Soviet influence creeping into the Middle East. It may be true, it may not be true. Now because the Western Powers are afraid of Soviet influence, or Soviet Union is afraid of Western influence, the poor countries of Western Asia should be knocked about this way and that way, and bombed.

Then again, take the events in Hungary. Some people have said that the resolution you passed two days ago about Hungary[5] was a weak resolution; what we said about Egypt was much stronger. That is true. That does not imply any difference in our way of judging events. But we find it a little difficult with regard to facts before us to say much more. But there is no doubt about that—speaking for myself—we have been deeply aggrieved at what is happening in Hungary, the killing and all that that has happened, and that brought infinite misery to Hungary. The people of Budapest or a large part of it are starving and are not getting the necessaries of life. Naturally, our sympathies go out to them. Why that is happening? Again, I speak with all respect to the great powers, why is all this happening? Because, I take it that essentially the Soviet Power does not approve of a neighbouring country like Hungary becoming hostile to it. I can understand it. Just like, England and France do not approve of some country in Western Asia becoming hostile to it. It is exactly the same type of mentality, whether these people were of the Western Power or Eastern Power. Because of their fears of their rival powers they want to play this kind of chess with weaker nations and human beings who suffer.

Now, what are we to do? We, the countries of Asia and Africa, and even for

4. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 120-122.
5. See *ante*, pp. 275-277.

the matter of that elsewhere, who are in a military sense weak, obviously, we cannot challenge the might of these great powers and we do not want to. Indeed, as you know, we do not believe, as we have often said, that war solves any problem. We see, whether it is in Egypt or Hungary, that the small countries are being dragged hither and thither, pushed about, and made to suffer because of the rivalries of great powers. You will remember this famous phrase—I believe a new phrase since the last Great War—it is the phrase of the cold war. And the cold war resulted in cold blocks of power—Western and Eastern. It resulted in military grouping of powers which were always called Defence Treaties, but they have restrained aggressive look about them, and certainly considered aggressive by other countries. You have the Atlantic Pact, and so, you have the Warsaw pact, balancing each other. They are told if something happens, the Atlantic Pact countries cannot allow this to happen. We are told that in Hungary, the Warsaw Pact came in the way of troops being withdrawn. You see how these pacts come in the way. Let us come nearer home. On the East, there is SEATO covering the region from which our distinguished guest comes. On the West is the Baghdad Pact. I do not know myself how much life is left in SEATO or Baghdad Pacts. I think, they are pretty dead. But you will observe how this stream of Pacts, whether in Europe or in Asia, instead of leading to security and peace and growing cooperation among countries has kept up the spirit of war, hatred and violence, and fear. We, on our part, and some other countries of Asia have kept out of these Pacts. I would venture to say that any person now taking a survey of the last few years can only come to one conclusion; that these Pacts have not been the instruments of peace, but have been instruments of increasing war mentality or the cold war. And it is because of these Pacts indeed that much of the present troubles exist.

Take Egypt. Public memories are short. But this confusion in Western Asia has largely arisen from the time the Baghdad Pact came into being. It split up the Arab countries into two groups. Arab countries were cooperating together for their mutual advantage. Some were in the Baghdad Pact, some were against it.[6] The unity of the Arab world was shaken up. From that, other things followed, one step after another; and as a consequence what has happened now, has followed. As a result of the Baghdad Pact another important thing followed; and that was the greater interest of the Soviet Union in the Middle East. After all, the

6. The Baghdad Pact of 1955 was signed by Iraq, Turkey, Iran, UK and Pakistan. At the opening session of the Conference of Arab Prime Ministers in Cairo on 22 January 1955, Egypt strongly criticized the proposed Baghdad Pact. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, pp. 379-391.

WITH THE KING OF SAUDI ARABIA, RIYADH, 24 SEPTEMBER 1956

WITH A GROUP OF SCHOOL CHILDREN, RIYADH, 25 SEPTEMBER 1956

Soviet Union is a neighbour, and a huge neighbour. You cannot ignore the Soviet Union in the Middle Eastern sphere. Because the Baghdad Pact was aimed against the Soviet Union, the reaction of the Soviet Union with its greater interest in the Middle East was natural. And result was the reaction of the Western countries objecting to Soviet Union taking interest in the Middle East.

So, you see, step by step, conflicts grow, rivalries grow, leading to major conflicts. So, the international situation is very bad, and I hope it will lead to some clear thinking of people of the Western world, as well as of the Eastern world, and that they will realize that the way to peace and harmony is not the way through military pacts which really increases fears, increases armaments and all that. And, I hope you will come to the conclusion that it is no longer feasible for even great powers to impose their will on small countries by force of arms. We have seen something developing in recent months, something that might be called conscience of the world in such matters. It has no physical force at its disposal; but we have seen that the conscience of the world does make a difference today, and even great powers do not at all like offending that conscience of the world. Therefore, I hope that it will be recognized in the future that small countries should be left to work out their destiny even as big countries are. And big and powerful countries will not interfere with small countries. They may help, they cooperate with them, but they must not coerce or compel by force of arms, or in other ways.

I think it will come to be recognized that this habit of one big country keeping its armies, armed forces, aircrafts and bases etc., in other countries, is not the way of peace or security. Therefore, all major countries or minor countries will keep their armed forces and aircraft and whatever they possess within their own territory; and not other's territories. If this is done, if it happens, I am quite sure that the whole atmosphere of the world will change; there will be far greater sense of security than there is now. As a matter of fact, all these foreign bases and armed camps in other countries have, from practical point of view, become rather out of date. Why? Because of the tremendous and unfortunate advance in the art of warfare; because you don't want a base in another country today. Five thousand miles away; You can function from your own country today; you can send rockets, aircrafts from thousands of miles away. Necessity of foreign bases is not so evident as it was some years before. It was unfortunate this result should come through an improvement in those terrible weapons of war. Anyhow, whatever it may be, I submit that recent events have shown that this placing of armies in other countries, whether you call it as a result of treaties, Atlantic Treaty, Baghdad Pact or any other pact, is not safe, good and legitimate, and leads ultimately to conflicts. This should go.

Finally, I may say that the only way for the countries to behave with each other for international relations to be conducted, is the way of what we have called *Panchsheel.* What is that, let us remind ourselves. What are the ten principles[7] adopted at the Bandung conference which included these five principles of the *Panchsheel*, what is it, I shall repeat it, for you must remember it, and the world should remember it. They are simple—recognition of sovereignty and integrity of a country, non-aggression, non-interference in other countries either for political or ideological reasons, mutual respect and peaceful co-existence. Can anyone raise his voice against these? If this is acted upon in the world, surely wars will not take place; surely this aggression in Egypt would not take place, surely the intrusion in Hungary would not take place; surely attempts to crush Algeria would not take place. We do not say that it solves all problems, but problems become a little easier of solution.

So, now, I have ventured to take your time and give expression to some of the thoughts that torture my mind because it is not a mere game that has to be played for which we pass resolutions here. The whole point is not merely condemnation or disapproval of something. The whole point is solving this riddle of the world, until the knots are loosened and root out bitter causes of hatred and violence. They come up whenever they get an opportunity. This is the problem of the world, and we should approach it with all humility, not in spirit of pride; but a desire to help; and not merely express some opinions. Thank you.

Jai Hind!

7. For the ten principles mentioned in a joint communique of the Asian-African Conference on 24 April 1955, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, p. 137.

(II) OTHER MATTERS

1. Prelude to Elections[1]

Friends,
We are parting today after nearly two months of work, two months of, I think, probably heavier work than we have had in any other session during a similar period. In number we have passed, I am told, 31 Bills but it is not numbers rather the quality of work that we have done matters. We have faced the most controversial and difficult questions during this session, and many people thought, at the beginning of this session and before this session of Parliament met, that we had taken on problems too big for us, too complicated and we were likely to be crushed under them. They were pretty big and pretty complicated. Although you would remember they were not in the ordinary sense political problems and certainly not economic and they were not party problems as such. These were matters largely of sentiment, and of feeling. There were certain economic and political aspects in it but in the main there were problems of sentiments. Not in value of sentiments of course, it is important you cannot ignore it. If sentiment goes beyond, it upsets the apple cart of State. Now, undoubtedly, in the last few months, what we have seen in regard to these states reorganization, the reactions in various parts of India have brought to light one factor that local patriotism, shall I call it, local nationalism I may call it, or local provincialism or linguistics are for the moment at least basically stronger than an All India patriotism and nationalism. Not that any person in Orissa or Bengal or Bihar or Maharashtra or Gujarat is devoid of all India nationalism, I do not mean that. What I mean is that at the moment of crises the dominant feeling of the mind was something else and he forgot or he acted in a way which ignored these broader national and all India considerations. It is for this reason, I say, that our parochial associations are stronger than our all India ones. It may be said that sometimes when a religious agitation is raised in the moment of excitement, people forget everything about India, they just get angry at something, they do not reason that. That is a bad sign. On the other hand there is another aspect of it. If this has occurred in India it has occurred because it was

1. Speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, New Delhi, 13 September 1956. Tape no. M-20/C (ii), NMML.

in us, it was not imported from abroad. We have that that narrowness of feeling, whatever you like to call it, in our minds and hearts we had it. And if we had it there, well perhaps, it was that which came out and when it came out, we ourselves, as a whole saw the nature of it and therefore, a reaction gradually came in to fight it. If it was there it would have come out sometime or other. Well, it is out, what more there is inside us I do not know, there might be plenty more evil inside us. Anyhow there it is, we have to face it. Well, these tremendous and most discouraging events that took place in the last year over this states reorganization exhibited, as nothing else, our inner weakness. Of course, all this has been broadcasted all over the world, in pictures of fightings, street fightings, and in articles in every way. Our friends abroad have been disheartened, and our opponents and enemies have rejoiced, and almost expected India to break up. Well, in spite of all this it was rather extraordinary how these matters were resolved in this Parliament. Resolved with an amazing degree of unanimity and goodwill. These problems, that is, our narrowness, parochialism coming out was bad, and the manner of our solving them was good. It showed that if there was evil in us there was strength also to overcome the evil, which is a satisfying thing. But we are warned, we are warned how easy it is for us, for our people, including us, I do not exclude anybody, to be swept away. I have no doubt that much of the trouble of this states reorganization matter was due to the proximity of the elections and it has not much to do with the actual context of the thing. Elections are near, well, elections are there and no doubt every single type of trouble will be played up wherever it may be by our opponents and we shall have to face that. Now, how can we face that, not surely by adopting an attitude of, well, compromise on principles, trying to get either on the all India basis or a provincial or a local basis to get some groups or some individual's sympathy merely because we think, well, this may help us in our elections. Nothing is more fatal, I think, than that. Nothing can be more fatal to the Congress than to loose its soul. I am not prepared to say quite frankly that the soul of the Congress is bright and shining at the present moment. I do not think so. Nevertheless, we still possess a bit of it, and that gives us some strength. The moment we loose that bit, then we go to pieces completely. And it is important, therefore, that we should not demean ourselves or lower ourselves in any way merely for the sake of some election, either general or local.

I speak quite frankly to you that while we are going to fight these elections with all our strength and I am sure we shall win but I really do not care very much if we win or loose. And I shall tell you one thing more, it is because I do not care very much if we win or loose that I am much stronger than them. I do not care two pins, because fear does not grip me about consequences. Therefore, I can fight better, and hit hard and be aggressive and not defensive. It is the

mentality of fear that makes one defensive, that makes one compromise, that makes one give up this or that, speaking in a low voice, when you should speak in a stronger voice. I do not care very much if I personally win the election or in the larger sense, if the Congress wins a little or loses a little. I do care, of course, that is why I want Congress to win, but I am saying that the approach to this question should be a courageous approach, not an approach of fear. It should not be a defensive approach, not an apologetic approach, not a compromising approach but a fair and square approach. We stand for this and we fight everybody who is in the field against us, that should be the approach. You can only take that approach if you are clear about what you stand for and when you are convinced of the rightness of your position, then you can take up that attitude, a strong attitude. But if you yourself are in error or trying to gain the support of this group or that undesirable group merely for some local advantage, then you cannot take up that brave attitude, because there is a chink in your armour. So, I think, I am more conscious than anyone can be of the difficulties which Government has had to face, and of the Government's failures or feelings and all that. I do not face the Indian public with any shame or apology in regard to the work of the Government or Parliament, in spite of my knowledge of our many failings and I want to approach them with the fullest frankness, talking to them about our failings as well as our achievements, treating them as comrades, taking them into my confidence because not only is that the right approach, not only is that the democratic approach, but from the strictly practical point of view, it is the most paying approach. And once you trust them they trust you, if you like them they like you. It is the law of nature. One thing I am convinced that our acts as individuals or as groups, and our thinking have a powerful effect on others. If we are good to others, the others are very likely to be good to us, and I have no doubt about this rule of life. If we are gentle, others will be gentle, and so on and so forth. Well, I do not mean to say that I behave in that way because I have innumerable failings but I do believe in that. And I want to treat and I have tried to treat the Indian public and the Indian masses in this way. I have often spoken harshly to them and they have put up with much from me which they might not put up with others. My own explanation of it is, that even when I have spoken somewhat harshly to them, I have spoken with affection for them and they know it, that I do not bear ill will but I bear affection for them. So the point is, it is quite extraordinary, I may give you an instance, a dog is very conscious of a man who approaches him. Whether the man is friendly or hostile, we do not see anything, but a dog feels more than perhaps human beings. You will see some people to whom animals go automatically in a friendly way even if they are strangers, and in case of others the dog will begin barking the moment he sees them from a distance. It is some psychological impulses that goes out

from a human being. I am using a different language for some things that are said in hackneyed language. For instance, you may say that we must go and serve the masses. I do not like the word service, I might tell you. I do not like it at all. I do not like the conception of service. I like the conception of cooperation, two persons cooperating with each other. You see, why do I say I do not like the conception of service, not that it is bad. Of course it is good, but it is a dangerous thing. First of all, in a sense, the person who is doing the service has a superior feeling and he conveys that to the others. You see I am superior, you see, I am doing this work for you, I am more or less superior, I am otherwise superior and thereby the relationship of two human beings which should be one of cooperation, is somehow put aside and one becomes dependent on the other and resents that dependence. These are psychological things. That is why I do not like this business of service and the rest. It is just like in other sense what well meaning women and well-to-do women go to do good works, they may go to a slum area and do a little good here and there or they may open a little dispensary and do some good work, which is good, but the whole conception of doing something for an inferior, is a bad conception. And I do not want therefore that approach. However, I am running off into other directions. My point was we must approach the Indian people absolutely frankly without inhibitions, frankly confessing to what we have not done we ought to have done, and telling them what we have done, telling them of our difficulties in the future, telling them what they will have to do, and how we cannot solve these problems except unless we work together and so on and so forth. Do not merely go about bragging, about our good deeds, confess the other things too and in a sense discuss these matters with them with not only frankness but so as to make them feel that you are treating them as equals in intelligence, they may not be equal in intelligence with you, but the mere fact of your approaching them makes you gain their confidence, you are treating them as equals externally. And having done that, having worked hardest, well, whatever the results are, we accept. We do not shout and tear hair and weep about the results if they were against us. We are not going to vanish from India, if we lose an election or two. Indeed, it may be very good thing for those to lose the elections. They might be pulled up from their self-complacency and other habits that we may have developed. Having said all this, of course, the fact remains that we are going to fight the elections with all our strength and aggressively, not defensively.

Now, some of you, as I mentioned there was this new grave development that has taken place in the Suez Canal. It is a very serious development. And I really do not know what this might lead to. We cannot do very much, of course, we can make a little difference now and then. I do believe that in the course of the last few years even the little that India did, probably prevented one or two wars

from taking place. Not that we did very much, I do not wish to exaggerate, but when the two scales of the balance are equal, are balanced, well even a little push in one direction brings down the other and there were occasions when the scales of peace and war were balanced, and that little difference that we could make a difference between war and peace in the world. So, we go on trying and if we can do anything, well, we shall do it, but this time the matter appears to be a little beyond our attempts, though our attempts will continue. Of course, the matter is not merely one of the Suez Canal. After all, if you analyse it there is not very much difference between what Colonel Nasser has said and what the French or British Governments have said. There is a basic difference, true. Surely everybody wants that the Suez Canal should function efficiently and properly. They have no confidence in each other. Colonel Nasser says that let there be an organization of user countries, that is to say, an advisory body. The others say let there be an organization of user countries with executive authority. Now, the difference is marked, of course, and yet is not so great between the two. Even an advisory body can exercise tremendous influence, and if their advice is not taken, well, the world will wake up and then say why it is not taken and other consequences may follow. The difference is not so great. But the gap really is due to the fact that there is the whole question of oil behind it and who is going to control this ultimately. There is fear and apprehension about Asian and Arab nationalism going too strong and so on and so forth. I am not going to that question any more except that it is a dangerous situation and we have to be very wide awake. As I said in the Parliament today, if necessary, we shall convene an emergency session of Parliament at a week's notice by telegram and we have to think, what steps to take in case some untoward does happen. We have to go to our people and explain everything to them. Not enough if a Government issued a decree and we have to tell them what has happened, how we tried, whose fault it is and what we have to do in the circumstances.

Some of you are going to China on a deputation.[2] I met them for a little while today with the Speaker. China is a country which is, well, worth visiting and trying to understand what is happening there and what we can learn from there. As a matter of fact a mission is coming from China soon,[3] I think, may be next month, I forget, to study agriculture. And they are coming here for two and a half months' stay and study. It is not a holiday tour. They have come here to

2. On 27 September, a twenty-six member Parliamentary delegation left Kolkata for China.
3. A twenty-member agricultural delegation from China, led by Vice-Minister of Farming and Reclamation, Chiang Chi-hsien, arrived in New Delhi on 15 September 1956.

work hard and find out how we do things, so that if they can learn anything from us they will learn. You know that quite apart from communism and the rest, the Chinese people are highly civilized people. Civilization and culture, of course, is often an individual matter, an individual can acquire it, it is also partly a racial matter, how far the race grows and how far the race imbibes certain habits and cultural traditions. In India, we are an ancient race too and with an ancient civilization. So, the Chinese are highly civilized, and it totally makes no difference if they are communists, or anti-communists or anything. They are very courteous, very polite, very hard working with a capacity to cooperate with each other which is much higher than ours, more homogenous in so far as China proper is concerned, and all that. When I talked to them, they did not brag about what they had done although the Chinese are intensely proud of their country. They did not brag, they asked me to tell them what their faults are, to tell them how they can improve. Whenever I went to see, they wanted us to tell them and criticize them and tell them how they can improve, that is, not through any false modesty, partly they wanted to know, but partly it was their civilized nature to approach us in that way and not brag, so that those who go there may advise them and they, with all respect, used to listen more and not talk too much, and to look at things, ask questions of course, try to understand things in that way, try to learn, there is much to learn in a great country's experiment. I believe even for the Chinese, there is much to learn in India. And so with this note we part company.

Thank you.

2. To Vichitra Narain Sharma[1]

New Delhi
7 October 1956

My dear Vichitra,[2]
I have your letter of October 2 in which you have given me much good advice.[3] Advice is always welcome and, as you know, has of course much to commend it.

But is it not rather silly of you to say that I refuse to rise to my full stature, that I do not stand up erect and so on? If after a long period of public activity, I cannot quite stand up straight, I am not likely to do so now.

You refer to the PSP and suggest that we should make it easy for them to join the Congress with dignity. I agree with you. Indeed, I do not mind if they function separately also but in broad cooperation with our activities, thus maintaining their individuality. For the last two or three years I have tried to work to this end. Usually this has resulted in the PSP people getting angry with the Congress and accusing it of trying to undermine them. I came to the conclusion that the best course would be not to make any definite effort which led to harmful results and to allow matters to develop in the normal way. Privately, of course, we met many of them often. But what is one to do when Jayaprakash Narayan talks the most unmitigated nonsense and hates the Congress so much as to prefer the devil to it. There are, of course, very good people in the PSP but they do not control it effectively. The persons who seem to carry the PSP generally with them are not too different from the Lohia crowd and that is saying a great deal.

You talk about communalism. My trouble is that there is far too much communalism within the Congress itself. Are you sure that some of your

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Public Works in the UP Government.
3. Sharma wrote that he was disappointed because Nehru did not rise to his full stature and also failed to talk to his own people with courage, conviction and faith. Communalism, according to him, was the greatest danger, wheras Nehru hesitated to close the doors of Congress to those who believe in the cult of communalism. Sharma felt that it should be made respectable for PSP supporters to support the Congress without branding them as 'beggars'. He alleged that Nehru was dividing the nation on the basis of election issues but very few people understand these issues and vote on considerations other than democracy. Lastly, he advised that it should be the responsibility of the Congress to see that no communalist or communist got elected to Parliament or the state legislatures.

colleagues in the UP Ministry do not feel that way? It is always easy to blame others and not to see the beam in our own eyes.

But apart from all this, how many of us have even tried to keep pace with this changing world of ours. It is difficult to find answers to the problems of the day. But surely one must at least know how to frame questions before we can think of answers.

It is astonishing how backward in our thinking we are and how little we realize what is happening in the world. This is all very well in a political struggle for freedom, but this is dangerous when we have to deal with much more complicated economic problems of today. It astonishes me how we have given up the art of thinking or reading or trying to find out what others think and go on repeating some slogans, like the Communists, but the slogans being different without any reality in thought behind them.

Probably, Uttar Pradesh is one of the more backward states in India from the point of view of thinking.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Keep Pace with Revolutionary Changes[1]

It is wrong to think that communism is the solution for India's problems. The Communist way of violence and hatred, will only result in class war and civil strife in this country. It is possible that our aims are identical, but our paths are different. It is useless to talk of fighting among ourselves and we cannot fritter away our energy in fighting.

Do the Communist Party want to repeat in India the whole struggle of Russia under the leadership of Lenin? In China, they established the present social order after forty years of ceaseless fighting. We cannot afford all that process of fighting and then reconstruction in our country.

1. Speech at the Congress workers' camp organized by the AICC, Alipur Community Project Centre, Delhi, 7 October 1956. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald,* 8 October 1956.

The Communist Party in Soviet Russia is born of a revolution. In India, the Communist Party swears by whatever emanated from Moscow and follow Russia with a religious zeal. Karl Marx is a great philosopher but he wrote in a period which is now one hundred and fifty years old and those principles cannot be applied in this country. There are many in the Communist Party with a history of sacrifice, but they have closed their mind. A repetition of slogans raised a hundred years ago will not carry us anywhere.

Socialism is all right as a principle but India cannot accept internecine battles and hatred. The Russians had made Stalin their god and then, after his death, called him a tyrant. This is the result of choosing a wrong path. Inevitable mistakes follow when a wrong path is chosen. Gandhiji taught the Indians that the means to achieve the ends should always be correct, although they might be difficult. Communist Party is free to propagate its ideology but there should be no resort to violence. They can unite labour and are within their rights to go on strike, but everything should be by peaceful means.

The communal parties, particularly the Hindu communal organizations, are worse than Communists. These parties have neither an economic programme nor any faith in democracy like the Socialists or others. That is the way of violence. They want only to establish a *Hindu Rashtra*. The Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party have the same aims as the Congress.

Capitalism was born of Industrial Revolution in the West. It resulted in the stepping up of production a thousand-fold and it brought about a new way of life. It is wrong to think that socialism meant complete equality. It is equality only to a certain extent. Socialism is an offspring of capitalism. It is claimed to be a cure for the state of things in which the rich grew richer and the poor poorer. Its objective is that the means of production should be in the hands of the people. The idea of equality is certainly there in socialism, but it is not complete equality. In Soviet Russia, there is no discussion about equality. Equality, they say, is possible after some time, but not now. They paid their engineers and technicians ten times or even more than they paid others, because they wanted work to be done. But even now in Britain, which has a capitalist system, the general condition of the people is better because Britain had the advantage of one hundred and fifty years of industrial advancement. It can nevertheless be said that the period of capitalism is over, that it does not fit into the Indian pattern just as zamindari or *jagirdari* do not fit in with the present times.

You should realize the changes that have come over the country since Independence. You must keep in step with these changes. It is also necessary that we carry the masses with us and know the mind of the masses.

The Congress has its defects. We have to understand these defects and try to

eradicate them. The Congress must do something more than merely fight and win the elections. It must have its roots in the soil and must encourage introspection among its members.

India lagged behind because her people had ceased to think and to enquire. Other countries of the world, particularly the Western countries, had progressed very fast while we remained at the same static level. Our ideas are moving in narrow grooves. We looked upon visits to foreign countries as sin. The bullock cart had remained our means of communication from the time of Asoka down to about one hundred and fifty years back.

Therefore, there is need for a revolutionary change in the attitude of Congressmen. In ten or twenty years atomic power will bring about tremendous changes. We should keep our minds open and receptive to these changes.

For the first time in her history, India has become politically one. She has also a cultural heritage and a way of thinking handed down through generations. I hope that two or three more five year plans will entirely change the face of this country.

4. Strengthen the Congress[1]

The idea of leaving the office of Prime Minister, which occurred to me four years ago, is still persisting in my mind. I feel that whether I remain the Prime Minister or not I can well serve my country. About four years ago, while leaving the Congress Presidentship, I decided to remain the Prime Minister.[2] But I do not like the feeling that nobody could do my job except myself.

The Congress has become very weak and it is the duty of Congressmen to strengthen it. The situation arising out of states reorganization had slipped out of the hands of Congressmen and it is indicative of the fact that the roots of the organization have been weakened.

It is a historic necessity that the Congress should exist and discharge the

1. Speech at the open session of the thirty-seventh Uttar Pradesh Congress Provincial Conference, Jaunpur, 28 October 1956. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 29 October 1956.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 20, pp. 301-304 and Vol. 21, p. 391.

responsibilities laid on its shoulder without faltering. Its history is associated with the history of the nation. Therefore, it must be revitalized.

Discipline and organization are necessary for the Congress, but they should not stifle the life of the organization. Life is more important than discipline. There cannot be discipline for the dead.

Congressmen are suffering from a fear complex and are always afraid of losing seats. This is an unhealthy state of affairs. Let us once shake off this fear and think of losing all seats. This will give us strength.

The Congress has decided to bring in socialism. But how many Congressmen understood this term? If the significance of socialism was fully understood, then in the selection of candidates, progressive elements in the organization would have been encouraged and preferred by the selecting authorities.

The real function of an organization ceases to exist when life of that body ebbs away. The Congress grew up quickly and became a living organization under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. It shaped the history of the country. Congressmen should now make an inquiry about its health. I sometimes feel like asking whether the Congress has vitality and life to discharge its responsibilities. All these questions occur to my mind because the Congress as an organization will either live or die, but it cannot adopt a middle course. The Congress today mirrors the feelings of the masses. Party considerations like a particular man of this group or that group should be set up as candidate, are signs of weakness of an organization.

Things are fast changing in this changing world. New issues are cropping up every day. There are various problems like the Suez Canal issue, the Algerian question, Singapore, Formosa, Indo-China, Poland and Hungary. I do not want to comment on these problems, but one thing is apparent that the old order is being uprooted. If Congressmen today moved with the time, well and good, and if not, they will sink into oblivion.

The Communist Party, the slogans and ideology of which had wielded a great revolutionary force in the past, has become a reactionary party in this country. The Communists get annoyed when we call them reactionaries. But one thing should be noted that while other political parties carry on studies on the present-day problems and try to understand them, the Congressmen do not. Every political party has its merits and demerits, good and bad elements. So, there is no point in criticizing others. Congressmen should examine their own organization to eradicate weaknesses and to make it strong.

The Congressmen ever thought of or read about the significance of the age of the atom bomb and the problem facing India? Other political parties are ahead of the Congress in this respect. If the Congress really has to exist as an effective body in every village and city, there should be responsible Congressmen. In

every street there should be responsible Congress workers doing service to the people.

The Community Project Administration is in touch with at least ten crore persons through the development block link. It is bringing about a revolution in the countryside and doing good work.

The real problem facing the country is the question of stepping up food production, which is not possible through small holdings. There is a strong necessity of developing agrarian cooperatives. Cultivators in this country have to understand their own interests. I hope kisans will like these cooperatives. The Congressmen today are not bold enough to emphasize such new things like agrarian cooperatives for fear of losing the sympathy of the electorate. Such fear should go from them and they should boldly assert what is right.

The resolution is good[3] but its language is not understandable to the kisans. I can now feel their pulse and I am sure the resolution will not be understood by them. The work of the Congress is for the masses and kisans. The drafting of the resolution reveals in which way the Congress is drifting.

3. The Conference passed a resolution condemning the anti-national activities and appealed to the Congressmen to dissociate themselves from these.

5. To U.N. Dhebar[1]

New Delhi
22 November 1956

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

I am writing to you about a somewhat delicate matter, but I feel that I should nevertheless do so.

There are, as you know, a considerable number of Ministers in the Central and State Governments. I have to deal directly with the Central Ministers. But what I am writing would no doubt apply to the other Ministers also.

1. JN Collection.

Is it to be presumed that existing Ministers, when they stand for election and get elected, must necessarily be Ministers again? Obviously, this cannot be so in the case of all of them. It has been suggested to me that in the event of someone not being chosen for a Minister's post after election, it would be better to inform him before the election, so that there may be no misunderstanding. Clearly I cannot do so. To begin with, that would involve a number of presumptions: firstly, that the Congress Party gets a majority; secondly, that I get in and am elected the leader; thirdly, that the person concerned is elected also.

While there may be a fair chance of all this happening, it is not right to proceed on this basis. A Ministry should be formed after the election from the best human material available, subject to some essential considerations about representation from various parts of India, etc. It is not possible to have a ghost Ministry before the elections. Of course, everybody knows that some of our leading men in Parliament are bound to be in any Ministry, if they are elected. But this cannot be said of everyone who happens to be Minister now.

I am merely dealing with this matter as a question of principle. I have no particular ideas at present in regard to any person and I do not see why I should burden my mind with the consideration of this matter at this stage.

Naturally, when we select persons for the election, we have to keep in mind, to some extent, that we get in Parliament the kind of persons who are likely to be Ministers. So also in regard to state legislatures. But it must be clearly understood that there is no assurance, much less a guarantee, that a Minister now is bound to be a Minister later. Even any negative decision now would not be right.

All this seems obvious enough, but I thought I should make it clear.

There is another aspect of this question of elections about which I have already talked to you. We have at present too many Cabinet Ministers in the Rajya Sabha. I think this proportion should be varied in future, as far as possible, and most of our Ministers should come from the Lok Sabha. This might mean that some Ministers who are at present in the Rajya Sabha might stand for election for the Lok Sabha during the general elections. This might involve some inconvenience to them, but I think it would be the right procedure.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Adaptability to Changing Circumstances[1]

In this rapidly changing world, when one crisis follows another, any individual or organization which cannot adapt itself to changing circumstances, tends to become static and out of date. Congressmen should remember this. We have a fine record of achievements in the Congress during its long history, but that very success has added to our responsibilities and burdens.

In this age of atomic weapons and cold war, with all its undesirable consequences and the hatred and violence that it produces, I have come to believe more and more that the basis of our action must be integrity in thought and activity. Unless we have thought and courage, we shall drift about and find no heaven. This applies to the whole country and not merely to the Congress. I believe that we have succeeded in a large measure because we have had some integrity. In the measure we have not succeeded, we have lacked integrity of thought and action.

While this is the foundation, the superstructure is also important. That superstructure has to deal with international problems as well as domestic problems. On the whole, we have maintained some standards in our international policies. In the domestic sphere, the problems are in a sense more complicated and more difficult. We have produced a Second Five Year Plan after a great deal of thought and I believe it is a good plan. It requires all our effort. But no plan is static and we must keep wide awake all the time and in line with changing conditions. In addition to basic character, we must have an intellectual understanding of this changing world and its problems and a practical application of our thinking to existing issues.

I do not expect every member in the Congress to be an economist or a specialist, but I do expect them to try to understand where we are today, where we want to go to, and the main path which will lead us to our goal. I want him to be earnest and to avoid as far as possible the failings which come from living in an acquisitive society. To the extent that he will serve other, he will do good to the country and to himself.

We meet in Indore at a difficult time in the world's history. We shall require all our wisdom to face the crisis that encompasses us.

1. Message for the Souvenir brought out on the occasion of the sixty-second session of the Indian National Congress, held in Indore from 5 to 6 January 1957. 23 November 1956. File No. 9/2/56-PMS.

7
KASHMIR

1. To D.P. Dhar[1]

New Delhi
21 September 1956

My dear DP,[2]
Your letter of August 31st reached me many days ago. I did not reply to it then for a number of reasons. I was terribly busy during the closing days of our Parliamentary session. Apart from this, I wanted to give full thought to these various matters and there was some chance of my seeing G.M. Sadiq[3] and Bakhshi Sahib.[4] I did in fact meet them later.

You will remember that when we met here in Delhi, I gave you a broad analysis of the situation in Kashmir, as I saw it. It was and is easy to make a list of the failings or mistakes of any person and there can be little doubt that any number of mistakes have been committed in Kashmir, or, for the matter of that, in India as a whole. We can all be wise after the event. The point is how to disentangle ourselves from the jumble of petty facts and controversies and see the broad features of the situation. I told you that the basic fact that stood out was the necessity of Bakhshi Sahib in the governmental set up in the State as Prime Minister. Indeed, I might go a little further and say the necessity of Bakhshi Sahib as the acknowledged leader in Kashmir at present, whether it is the government or the organization. This basic fact is quite clear to me for two reasons, one positive and the other negative.

The positive reason is that he has shown remarkable qualities in dealing with a very difficult situation. He has the quality of leadership, in spite of the many failings he may have. He has considerable organizing ability and he can evoke a popular response from the people. He mixes with them. Bakhshi's ways of functioning are very different from mine. I could not do some things that he does or I would do them differently. But I recognize the great part he has played in Kashmir during these difficult years.

Negatively, I cannot see anybody who can possibly take his place. This does not mean that there are not good men about, but goodness or intelligence or any

1. JN Collection.
2. Deputy Home Minister, Jammu & Kashmir Government.
3. President, Constituent Assembly of Jammu and Kashmir, and Health and Education Minister in Jammu and Kashmir Government.
4. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

other specific quality by itself is not enough. There has to be a certain mixture in a popular leader and the head of a government which it is rather difficult to describe. I suppose, in my own way, I satisfy some of the tests of popular leadership or headship of government. This does not mean that other people are not better or abler than I am, nor am I comparing myself to Bakhshi Sahib.

Anyhow, the point is that the whole structure of the Jammu and Kashmir State will, I think, collapse without Bakhshi. I had pointed that out to you in our talk and you agreed with me completely. If that is so, then the necessary corollary is that we must strengthen in every way Bakhshi Sahib's position and not create a feeling in his mind or in the minds of our colleagues or in the public mind that we are dissatisfied or that we are constantly nagging at him. It is our duty to discuss every problem and express our viewpoints and to try to improve conditions as they are. Nobody doubts that there is great room for improvement. But the very act of trying to improve them fails to achieve its purpose if behind it there is suspicion and resentment on either side. That act might even increase that suspicion and resentment and will then not be considered on the merits.

The second point that I mentioned was the necessity of a team spirit in the Cabinet as well as in the organization. In Kashmir there are enough dissident elements and mischievous persons to create trouble, quite apart from our neighbour country. The only way to face these dissident elements and mischief-makers is to put up a solid and united front. Otherwise, the whole structure will progressively crack up with disastrous consequences.

These are obvious facts of the situation which you agreed with completely and which later Sadiq also agreed with fully. If so, why then all this internal trouble? One might say that, accepting all these facts as stated above, there can be no doubt that in many matters urgent steps are necessary for improving the present state of affairs. Quite true. How is this to be done? Not by weakening Bakhshi or nagging at him, because that produces the opposite effect or may even result in a break which would be disastrous. If a team is to go together, it can be done and is done as a result of team work under an acknowledged leadership. If the leadership itself is challenged or even a suspicion of that arises, then this cannot be done.

For my part I am convinced that it would be highly undesirable for any major changes to be made in the present set-up of government in Jammu and Kashmir State. That itself would add to the forces of disruption. But, at the same time, I consider it even more necessary that Bakhshi Sahib should function as leader and Prime Minister and, in the ultimate analysis, his will should prevail.

Together with your letter you sent me a copy of the letter you have written to Bakhshi. I think that the line you took up with Bakhshi Sahib, as reported in your letter, was perfectly correct. You were also right in offering your resignation.

But it is obvious that suspicions had gone so deep that even your earnest exhortations did not produce much effect on Bakhshi Sahib. However, I think they will produce effect if they are followed by behaviour and action in accordance with them.

I do not propose to take up separate matters about which much can be said on either side. But there is one broad aspect to which I want to refer.

I have repeatedly observed that some members of the present Jammu and Kashmir Cabinet give the impression that they represent a more advanced and leftist outlook and therefore in some way they are much superior to the others, including Bakhshi. Not only that, but in some of their activities they try to push things in a particular direction which may be called near-communist. The recent draft of the Constitution that was framed by a committee was seen by me originally with much surprise, more especially, the Directive Principles of State policy, etc.[5] All this seemed to me so juvenile that I could not understand how this was incorporated seriously. Much of it, I find, was some kind of adaptation of the Soviet Constitution. I gather that Danial Latifi[6] was sent for from Bombay to help in drafting this Constitution. I have nothing against Danial Latifi and I have not met him for many years. But when I did meet him, I found him to be an earnest young man without too much intelligence, the kind of person who repeats a number of slogans and considers the Soviet Union as the haven to be sought after. We have seen that type in India and elsewhere. Recent events in the Soviet Union have given a shock to that particular type.[7]

I do not wish to discuss communist policies here, except to say that, quite apart from the basic objectives of communism, those policies have been demonstrated in many ways to be singularly futile in countries other than the

5. Some of the provisions of the Directive Principles of State Policy of the draft Constitution, submitted to the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly by the Drafting Committee on 10 October 1956, envisaged not only a readjustment in the economic structure of the State but provided for structural reorganization of the economy of the State. These had an impact on economic transformation. For example, Section 13 of Part IV of the draft constitution, directed the State to promote the welfare of the people by establishing and preserving a socialist order of society, and Section 14 laid stress on protecting the public sector.
6. (1917-2000); took part in revolutionary student politics and the freedom movement, co-founder, Federation of Indian Student Societies in Great Britain and Ireland; took an active part in the trade union activities; after Independence, resumed legal practice and championed civil liberties.
7. The reference is to the changes brought about by the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, p. 334.

Soviet Union and to some extent even in the Soviet Union. The arm-chair communists have been thrown completely out of gear. In the Soviet Union at least people have to deal with practical situations, and whether they are right or wrong they have to adapt themselves. Not so the camp followers in other countries who live in some kind of an airy world of their own and go on repeating slogans which are quite out of date.

However, we are dealing with Kashmir and not with the rest of the world and I just do not understand how all this applies to Kashmir, more especially, as it is today. Then again, I heard that in some schools the teaching of Marx and some kind of communism was organized. The boys know little about Kashmir or India, but they were supposed to learn about the heroes of the communist world.

These are some odd examples which may not be important in themselves, but which do indicate the way things happen. They also indicate, I think, a lack of understanding of the situation in Kashmir and, for the matter of that, in the world today. It is obvious that if this kind of rather academic and starry thinking goes on unrelated to facts, this will create trouble, both in Kashmir and in India. I have mentioned this because I have felt that this is one of the things that comes in the way of team work in your Government, apart from being, I think, wholly out of touch with reality.

As I have mentioned above, I saw Bakhshi Sahib here some days ago and naturally spoke to him at some length. I can take the liberty of speaking quite frankly to him because I proceed on the basis of supporting him fully. I tell him whenever I meet him whatever I might have in mind and do not hesitate to criticize any particular action which, I think, may not be right. In the same way I have to write to you quite frankly. Otherwise, there is little point in my writing or doing justice to you or to myself. I have a high regard for your intelligence and capacity which, I am sure, can be of great service not only to Kashmir, but to the whole of India. I do not want this to be wasted in little matters or in the so-called odd leftist activities which have little meaning today.

This letter has become a very long one. I have written it, even though I am hard pressed for time and in another two days I am going to Saudi Arabia on a brief visit.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To G.M. Sadiq[1]

New Delhi
21 September 1956

My dear Sadiq,
Thank you for sending me a copy of the letter you addressed to Shaikh Abdullah[2] in reply to the letter he had sent you in your capacity as the President of the Constituent Assembly.[3] I think that your letter had been carefully drafted and is very well written. I sent a copy of your letter to Pantji. I hope you do not mind.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. In his reply of 11 September 1956, Sadiq recalled the events since the inception of the Kashmir Constituent Assembly and Abdhullah's comments on the same. Reminding him of his address on 5 November 1951 setting out two objectives before the Assembly of providing democratic organs and determining future constitutional affiliations, Sadiq wrote that this was followed by a period of delay and drift. Abdullah reiterated the same on 11 August 1952 after conclusion of the Delhi Agreemnt (July 1952) which again was followed by studied inactivity and deliberate sidetracking of completing the Constitution. Sadiq referred to Abdullah's comments in May 1953 in a sub-committee, considering the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and application of Fundamental Rights, that these were "not only unnecessary but also unreal" because Abdullah "did not at all believe in the basis of our relationship with India." Sadiq also denied the use of Indian Army to deal with disturbances following Abdullah's arrest on 9 August 1953 and denial of civil liberties. He added that absence of a few members from its deliberations could not alter the Constituent Assembly's representative character.
3. Criticizing the move to convene the Constituent Assembly for finalizing the Constitution of Jammu and Kashmir, Abdullah in his letter of 16 August stated that the present Government had forfeited the confidence of the electorate and hence it would be wrong if the same body sat to frame a constitution. He also alleged "widespread repression let loose by Indian Army" and the suppression of civil liberties after 9 August 1953.

3. Relations with Kashmir[1]

The Pakistan High Commissioner[2] has just seen me and he gave me the attached Aide Memoire.[3] I said that we would answer it formally in due time. He wanted to know, however, my immediate reactions.

2. I told him that when this Constituent Assembly of the Jammu and Kashmir State came into existence we had welcomed it. What we had stated in the United Nations and elsewhere about it was that it was perfectly competent to decide anything it chose in regard to the State, but its decisions need not bind us unless we accept them. We had said then that we stood by our commitments.

3. Since then much had happened and many developments had taken place. The situation had changed markedly, and indeed many months ago I spoke in Parliament[4] here and pointed out that the relation of the Jammu and Kashmir State to India must be considered as final.

4. I had met the Prime Minister of Pakistan on more than one occasion during the last two or three years and had drawn his attention to these various developments as also to a clause in our Constitution that we could not make any change in our relationship with the Jammu and Kashmir State without the agreement of the Constituent Assembly or Legislature of that State. That did not bind us to accept everything that the Constituent Assembly might decide, but

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Cabinet Secretary, 22 November 1956. File No. 110-KU/56, Ministry of External Affairs. Also available in JN Collection and V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.
3. It pointed out that in accordance with UN resolutions of August 1948 and January 1949, both India and Pakistan stood committed to plebiscite under UN auspices to decide Jammu and Kashmir's accession to India or Pakistan. Characterizing the Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly as "so called", the Aide Memoire stated that it was not competent to decide the question of accession and that it was made clear by Sir Benegal Rau in the Security Council that the opinion of the Constituent Assembly would not bind the Government of India or prejudice the decision of the Security Council. The Pakistan Government, the Aide Memoire added, wanted to know whether India proposed to violate the UN resolutions by accepting the decisions of the Constituent Assembly and integrating Jammu and Kashmir with India.
4. On 29 March 1956 in the Lok Sabha. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, pp. 301 and 532.

we considered them fully competent to decide anything except in so far as certain matters referred to in our Constitution were concerned which were common matters and could only be decided by consent.

5. In fact, the process of Constitution-making in Kashmir had begun nearly six years ago.[5] The first change was about the Head of the State and some other changes also came soon after. Many important laws were passed changing the economic structure. The Zamindari system was abolished.[6] Thus these changes both in the political and social structure had been continuous during the last five or six years. The recent passage of the Constitution was only the last step in this process.

6. That step appeared to us to be a logical one and a correct one. This did not involve us in any contradiction with what we said in the UN Assembly or elsewhere some years ago. It was a development of that necessitated by changing circumstances and a succession of events, which we had pointed out from time to time.

7. This is more or less what I said to him. I promised to send a formal reply later.

5. The Jammu and Kashmir Constituent Assembly met for the first time on 5 November 1951 and adopted the Constitution on 17 November 1956, which was commenced from 26 January 1957.
6. The zamindari system was abolished in March 1952 without giving compensation to the zamindars.

8
EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. India's Commonwealth Connection[1]

With reference to the attached telegram from Jakarta, the following reply should be sent:

"Your telegram 46312 dated November 12th.[2] Report quoted by you is wholly incorrect. Following is almost verbatim report of what Prime Minister said in Calcutta.[3]

Referring to the point made during the discussion on the resolution that India should leave the Commonwealth, he said he quite appreciated the feeling that had led to this suggestion. But he thought that for the AICC to come to a decision on the matter would be wrong. He did not know what the future would be. It was open to India to keep the Commonwealth relation or sever it, but whatever was to be done, should be done coolly and calmly after considering every aspect of the issue. He did not say that the connection could never be broken off, but he would not like to do so unless circumstances compelled him. In relation to the Suez crisis and recent occurrences in Egypt, India had not hesitated to express her wishes in the strongest possible manner. It was clear that Commonwealth connection did not stand in the way of the policies that India wanted to pursue. He felt that India would be better able to serve peace by remaining in the Commonwealth. To leave the Commonwealth now would be an act merely of angry reaction and not a step taken with wisdom."

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, 13 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. This telegram from the Indian Embassy in Jakarta quoted from a United Press despatch from Kolkata as Nehru's statement that, "I am very strong member of Commonwealth" and quitting on the Suez issue would be an act of "strong angry reaction". The English daily *Times of Indonesia* criticized Nehru for this, averring that "present is just the right time for strong angry reaction".
3. At the AICC session in Kolkata on 9 November. For Nehru's reference to Commonwealth *see ante*, pp. 285-286.

2. Suez and Hungary[1]

Friends,

...It has been our custom to meet at the beginning of a session usually a day before. On this occasion too, we had decided to do so but repeatedly the day of the meeting was postponed because of these Prime Ministers from some of the South Asian countries coming here.[2] And so I hope you will excuse me for these repeated changes. They went away this morning and you must have seen the joint communique that we issued which has been published in this morning's newspapers.[3] Well, naturally our minds were full, apart from internal happenings, with this critical situation that has arisen in Egypt as well as in Hungary. So much has been said about this recently, so far as I am concerned, I spoke in the All India Congress Committee session,[4] and then there is this joint statement that was issued this morning and on other occasions too I have spoken and others have spoken. There is not much point in my trying to give you a chronological account of what has happened. Those of you who are interested must have followed it in the newspapers, although there is this danger that in this abundance of detail sometimes important facts become rather shrouded up. Nevertheless, the main facts are quite clear. So far as Egypt or the Suez Canal

1. Address to members of the Congress Parliamentary Party, New Delhi, 15 November 1956, Tape no. M-22/C (i), NMML. Extracts.
2. The Prime Ministers U Ba Swe of Burma, Ali Sastroamidjojo of Indonesia, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, and Jawaharlal Nehru met in New Delhi from 12 to 14 November 1956 to consider the situation in Egypt and Hungary. The Prime Minister of Pakistan could not attend the Colombo Powers meeting owing to the Baghdad Pact meeting which was also held at the same time.
3. The joint communique termed the attack on Egypt as a violation of the UN Charter and contravention of Bandung declaration and welcomed the creation of the UN International Force. Appreciating the progress of democratization process in East European countries and the peaceful changes in Poland, the communique regretted the tragic events in Hungary and declared that each country had an inalienable right to shape its destiny free from external pressures. It urged the avoidance of world war; decried aggression by strong nations over weaker countries and suppression of their urge to freedom; it condemned the resurgence of colonialism in all forms and advocated peace on the basis of freedom and disarmament. The communique also proposed to set up a machinery for joint consultation among the Colombo Powers.
4. See *ante*, pp. 277-291 & 300-306.

are concerned, you will remember that this question came up before us during the last session of the Lok Sabha, and I made a statement then.[5] In fact I even said that in case the situation deteriorates badly, if it is considered necessary, we shall summon an emergency session of Parliament. Some members, not members of our Party as far as I remember, wrote to me and telegraphed to me asking for a special session. This was about two weeks ago. Well, since Parliament was meeting today and the most that could be done with the greatest effort was to have the session say three, four days earlier, because India is a big country, and to inform people, allow them time to come, I do not think it was right to disturb every member's convenience and the country's convenience by doing that, it would have upset everything. And as we were actually meeting, it so happened today, there was no point in doing it. Undoubtedly, we have passed through a great crisis. But the crisis continues and is likely to continue. It is not that something that happened we have to deal with, we have to deal with it today, we shall have to deal with it tomorrow and the day after.

Now, the first point I should like you to bear in mind is that in spite of the ceasefire in the Egyptian area, the situation has not improved very greatly. Well, it is better to have a ceasefire than to be fighting and the major part of the fighting is over. But essentially, it is a very difficult and critical situation. The original situation in Egypt, that is, prior to this Anglo-French attack on Egypt, was a continuation of the discussion on the Suez Canal. I need not tell you what our views were on that issue, because I made a statement in Parliament. We thought that the attitude taken up by some countries notably by England and France was unreasonable and dangerous, three months ago. Immediately after Egyptian nationalization, they sent their troops, aircraft carriers and airplanes to Malta and Cyprus, all converging on Egypt. It is true that no actual attack on Egypt took place then, because of other occurrences, because of world opinion, because of United States of America also trying to pull these two great powers back, so it did not happen but throughout these months, one stood at the verge of a greater crisis developing. And there was the first Suez conference in London,[6] a second conference of selected people[7] and then the matter went up to the Security Council, where just about a month ago, some kind of very preliminary agreement appeared to have been reached.[8] That is, some broad principles were agreed to which were to form the basis of future talks and agreement. Well, that

5. For Nehru's statement on 8 August 1956, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 348-354.
6. See *post*, pp. 389-390.
7. Held from 19 to 21 September 1956 in London.
8. See *post*, p. 419 fn 4.

was a satisfactory advance in so far as it went, and we felt relieved. And there was sensation that the possibility of military operations was over. They were supposed to meet the representatives of Egypt, England, France and maybe some others soon after to discuss further. Even a date was provisionally suggested, it was to be, I think, round about the 27th or 28th of October for the meeting to take place in Geneva. It was not fixed somehow. It appeared that some people wanted to postpone this or not to take place at all. Well, the 28th October or rather about two days later or so, saw another remarkable development, that was the attack by Israel on Egypt.[9] And within the very few hours of that came an ultimatum issued by the Anglo-French Governments to Egypt[10] giving them 12 hours to reply, asking both parties, that is, Israel and Egypt to withdraw 10 miles away from the Canal from either side and the objective being that they want to prevent military operations in the Canal, they want to protect the Canal. And, because the Canal is precious and valuable and there are so many ships involved and so many British and French and other lives involved and also freight and goods, so the objective was to protect the Canal, therefore, they were asked to move away 10 miles. Now, that was very odd, because Egypt was asked and Israel was asked to do the same thing. To ask Egypt to move away 10 miles from the Canal meant, in effect, that Egypt should retire from all her territory, east of the Canal, the Sinai peninsula over a hundred miles, plus 10 miles on the other side of the Canal. It meant in other words, that the very thing that had been argued about, for three months and about which an agreement had been arrived at on some principles from the Security Council that was the Suez Canal—now, by one swoop they pushed out Egypt from both sides of the Suez Canal and said they would take possession of it, no doubt temporarily they said, but they took possession of it. So, agreeing to their thinking, they solved the Suez Canal issue which had been troubling them for three months by this military coup. And secondly, to ask Israel to keep 10 miles away from Canal meant inviting Israel to come hundred miles up to the Canal because they were not at the Canal, the position of 90 or 100 miles of Egyptian territory. Then again, this ultimatum was followed up by other things, troop movements, ships and after about a week or ten days I think, bombing of Cairo and other places and ultimately by landing round about, both sides.

Now, it is clear that all the military operations that took place there, were not worked out suddenly after the Israeli invasion. In fact, it is admitted now that there were military operations which had been decided upon three months earlier,

9. On 29 October.
10. On 30 October.

but could not be given effect to for two reasons. One rather very practical reason was that neither the British nor the French were quite ready for them. They could not get their forces together quickly, as they were spread out. The second was, meanwhile, world opinion had grown and exercised some considerable influence, but the point is that all this had been decided beforehand, and the Israeli invasion became some kind of an excuse to put this old operation into action. Now, it is said, many people accuse the Anglo-French Governments of having been party to the Israeli invasion, having colluded with them.[11] It is impossible for me to say, it is known however, that some days before the Israeli invasion, the Governments of France, certainly England, and possibly America knew that something was coming[12] because you will remember that both France and America issued some kind of warning, certainly America issued some kind of warning to Israel, 'you must not do anything like this', so there was something in the air. They expected something to happen, otherwise why suddenly issue a warning. Well, it is not for me to go into motives of any country but whatever the motive, it so happened that the Israeli invasion of Egypt just fitted in with the then existing plans of the Anglo-French Governments, and they swooped down without any reference to any country. Questions were asked, and may be asked in Parliament to me, "Were you consulted about this as a Commonwealth country"? Well, the answer is 'No'. The answer further is that no Commonwealth country was consulted. Even their very close allies, the United States Government, was not told about it, till it had taken place or till I heard about it, just maybe within three or four hours of the actual action, that is, this action is going to be taken tomorrow morning, I learnt at midnight, and so did other governments too of the Commonwealth. In fact, either they were in a terrific hurry to do it lest something should happen in between or they just did not want other countries to know. I know for a fact, quite apart from India or any of the Asian countries in the Commonwealth, so the other countries of the Commonwealth were very much put out by this action, without reference to them. Not only because of the lack of reference but because they disliked the

11. James B. Reston, in a dispatch to *The New York Times* on 31 October, stated: "Officials of the US Government lent some credence to reports that the Israeli Government not only had informed the French and British in advance of the plan to invade Egypt, but that they had the support of France and perhaps even of Britain if they did move..."
12. On 26 October, Israel announced partial mobilization. On 28 October, President Eisenhower announced immediate talks with Britain and France on Middle East situation. On 28 and 29 October, a tripartite conference of Britain, France and USA was held in Washington. Israel invaded Egypt on 29 October.

action, they thought it was a wrong action. But they did not want to go about in public, saying very much about it, although it is fairly well known. Now that some of the countries of the Commonwealth took strong exception to it in the earlier stages. It is no good my going to this long history but what I wanted to lay stress on was, that in spite of the ceasefire the situation there is a difficult one.

Overlapping with the situation, you might say, things happened in Hungary too.[13] There had been ferment and all that, for many months throughout, and towards the end of October it came to a head. Now, it is very difficult to say how far the events in Egypt rather encouraged developments in Hungary or the events in Hungary rather encouraged developments in Egypt. No doubt, in international affairs you cannot isolate events, one affects the other. The Russian charge is that some of the western governments, notably England and France, thinking that the Soviet Union was heavily occupied in the East European countries, Poland, Hungary, etc., thought it was a good moment to encourage Israel to attack Egypt. The Anglo-French and American charge is that the Soviet Union, thinking that England and France and others were rather tied up with Egypt, took advantage of the situation and attacked Hungary. Well, take it what you like. But there is no doubt that one affects the other. There are many people in England who accuse their own Government and say, the people who feel very strongly for Hungary, that the Anglo-French action in Egypt, if it had not taken place, what has happened in Hungary would possibly not have taken place, certainly not in this way. So, there are these two things. Of course, while you may regret or dislike what happened in Egypt and what happened in Hungary equally, these two cases are of a different genre, different type undoubtedly, both involved suppression and depression. We should not mix up the two. We can consider each separately. Well, that is the position in Egypt. At the present moment, I believe, we have agreed to send some troops to form part of a UN International Force.[14] We hope to send them tomorrow from India by air. What this UN International Force is going to do? Well, it has been partly defined in the UN resolution.[15] When we accepted this invitation to join this Force, we stated clearly that, first of all, we will only join it after we receive further details; secondly, subject to Egypt's agreeing to it; thirdly, we did not want our Force to be a kind of army of occupation of Egypt, but we were prepared to go to the Armistice border. We are not going there to carry out, well, the programme of

13. See *post*, p. 452.
14. India sent a batallion for the United Nations Emergency Force.
15. See *post*, p. 435 fn 3.

occupying the Suez Canal or something like that. Anyhow, these things are being discussed by the Secretary General of the United Nations with the Egyptian Government and I think, he is likely to reach there tomorrow, probably tomorrow morning or afternoon.[16] You will remember that at a very critical stage of these developments in Egypt, that is after the Anglo-French attack, a number of letters were issued by Mr Bulganin, the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, to the Prime Ministers of England, France, Israel, President of the United States and the President of the Security Council. The letters vary in phraseology but the basic thing about those letters was a definite indication that if this aggression continued, the Soviet Union might be compelled to take action.[17] The language used in these letters was strong and might even be interpreted as being in the nature of a threat, that is, to state it quite clearly, that if you can bomb Cairo we have more efficient weapons to bomb you, from a distance, without sending them by ship and all that. Well, what effect this Soviet warning had, it is difficult to measure, there is no doubt that it had a powerful effect. Because thus far, all these activities had been undertaken thinking that there was no danger of world war. Now suddenly, world war appeared on the horizon and the UN also came in, this resulted in the ceasefire, not a very willing ceasefire but nevertheless under pressure of events. Of course, one fact should be mentioned and very important fact, that in England, the very powerful parties, the opposition, the Labour opposition, as well as many others, were greatly and violently almost opposed to the action their Government had taken. Now, many of you may be acquainted, broadly speaking, with English history. I do not know even a single instance where England took military action without ensuring two things. One was that, broadly speaking, there was unanimity in the country among the major groups, individuals apart. Secondly, by cultivating some measure of public opinion in its favour. All were anxious to have public opinion and to put forward a case, which at least they tried to justify. For the first time, the British Government did something which enraged, let us say, half their own people, maybe more than half, I do not know, which even to some extent weakened or shook up their own party and which was widely condemned all over the world. They were isolated, it is an extraordinary thing. Of course, the more I think of it, the less I understand how any responsible statesman could have plunged into these actions, with such dire consequences, apart from Egypt, for itself, because it was a gamble of the most terrible kind. They may have won the gamble, even

16. Hammarskjold was in Cairo from 16 to 18 November 1956.
17. See *post*, pp. 436-439.

if they won the gamble, they gained not too much. If they lost, they lost so much more. However there it is.

Now, in regard to Hungary, as you know, there has been a succession of events in the Soviet Union and in the East European countries and what is called a process of democratization or liberalization have been going on there. This greater freedom of expression of opinion, not certainly as great as we have in India, but greater relatively, and many people who have been in prison have been released and reinstated. Now, this started in the Soviet Union itself, all these processes of de-Stalinization and all that. But it had even more powerful effect on the other countries in the Soviet orbit—Poland, Hungary and other countries. Another thing happened that the old quarrel between Yugoslavia and Soviet Union was made up and Marshal Tito, well, stood completely justified in what he had said and done previously, and he was consulted, he became a place where people journeyed to consult him not only the great leaders of the Soviet Union but people from Poland, from Hungary, from Romania, all going one after the other to Belgrade to consult Marshal Tito, both in regard to general politics and even in regard to what the right form of communism should be, the Stalin type of communism having been discarded. So, all this ferment is going on there and behind this ferment, in Russia, the question of nationalism did not arise because communism in Russia includes the nationalism, their own but in other countries the question of nationalism arose, the question of being under some kind of well, dominating influence of the Soviet Union which their nationalist feelings objected to, of policy being dictated from outside. These European countries like Poland, like Hungary have a very very strong tradition of nationalism. Chiefly, because the nationalism of these countries had been repressed so often. Poland has been split up several times between Germany and old Austria and Russia, parts occupied and they have continued to fight against it. It is almost a romantic form of religion with them, their own nationalist tradition. Hungary too had a fairly strong tradition. So, all these forces came up. In Poland, the Communist Party of Poland itself took the lead, not against Russia, but for being free of any outside control and for liberalization and people who had been put in prison came out and given important offices, they became Prime Ministers and all that. And on the whole the equilibrium was established. In Hungary, there was greater difficulty. No outstanding person was there and there were other difficulties also. Anyhow, a situation arose in Hungary which rapidly changed from day to day and which was probably mismanaged badly by the then ruling authorities of Hungary, that is, some of the important communist leaders of Hungary. They are no longer there now and this led to a fierce outburst and insurrection, a nationalist insurrection against, first of all, against the secret police—the big force and secondly, others who rode with them, you might say.

It was not originally very much against the Soviet Union.[18] At later stages when Soviet troops came in, it became that. Soviet troops were there at that time in Hungary and in Budapest under the Warsaw Treaty and the Soviet troops took part, well, asked by the then government, the government had changed but even the second succeeding government of Nagy asked the Soviet troops to assist in the restoration of order. Well, they did. But soon after they were withdrawn from Budapest and a statement was issued by the Soviet Government on the 30th October laying down their policy, a fairly good statement in the circumstances.[19] Now, something very odd happened between the 30th October and the next three or four days which led to the return of the Soviet troops there. It is not particularly easy to go into the minds of people why this was done, or to have a connected account, one can have all kinds of accounts, one has accounts, of course, of brutal repression in Budapest and elsewhere. To begin with, if I may say so, the first account that comes to mind is when the Soviet troops were withdrawn or the insurrectionary forces, including the old Hungarian army, going out and killing any person of the old secret police, which was a very big one, killing them openly, hanging them in public squares, burning them, funeral pyres and all that and killing others too whom they thought were opposed to them. Practically, there was no government functioning. And this was the stage when anti-Soviet feelings rose much higher, anti-Russian rather. The borders and frontiers broke down, anybody could come and go, there was no government functioning. Quite considerable number of people came in from other countries, either Hungarian emigrants who had gone out, or others, fairly well armed and encouraged people to revolt. It happened within those two or three days. Parachutes were supposed to have come down too and so on and so forth. Whatever the reason, the Soviet Government had declared on the 30 October their withdrawal of the army, three-four days later decided the other way and sent back their army, not only sent it back, but sent it back in a much stronger way. Their case is that they are still prepared to withdraw in the normal way after consultation with the Government of the Warsaw Powers but when they saw this massacre of patriots, according to them, going on, and all kinds of people coming in from other countries to create trouble, and establish a reactionary feudal type of government, they had to take action, they were not going to allow this. Well, the other case is something different. There was no doubt about it that Hungary has a big nationalist uprising, and that at the present moment that has been suppressed by Russian forces. It is true that the Russians

18. See *post*, pp. 451-452, 456.
19. See *post*, pp. 453-454.

say that as soon as normality is established, they shall withdraw their forces. It is also true that when the Russian forces came, there was practically no government functioning, all broken down. A new government was established[20] which invited the Russian forces to come in, but really, it was a kind of a government at the top with no influence left.

Now, I would not go into the details of the history. But one matter I should like to refer to you, because it has been discussed in the public press, that is, a vote that was given in the United Nations by our delegation in regard to Hungary, our delegation voted against the resolution which was proposed by Cuba, Peru, Pakistan and Italy. There were four resolutions proposed there. Some by the United States, some others. All these came up suddenly within about 12 hours all. United Nations has shown that it can function with great rapidity. The General Assembly came in, was convened immediately, not the Security Council but the full Assembly, and overnight they got notice of the resolutions and passed them. Now, the question of Hungary is a new question, I mean to say, as it was not there before previously. The moment this question of Hungary came before us, our general advice was that two principles should be laid down. We said it is a complicated question, you should not go about condemning people but you must state that the people of Hungary should decide their future themselves and that foreign forces should be withdrawn, foreign forces should not interfere, we laid down these two principles. I mean to say, do not go about saying much more because we did not quite know this about ten days ago or so or more. Now, those directions were carried out completely. This particular resolution against which we voted, contained and that was the basic part of the resolution, the clause that election should be held in Hungary under the auspices of the United Nations. To that we have the strongest objection and we still have great objections.[21] Well, in any constitutional way, it was wrong. But it introduced a precedent of dangerous quality, that is interfering in a country under the guise of the UN. It brought in intervention and if you remember, whether it is Soviet intervention or somebody else's, we consider it bad. To replace one intervention by another we consider bad and the UN being behind that intervention, giving it a semblance of law, is a dangerous thing for any country in Asia or Europe or Africa, because that precedent could be used for their interfering in weaker countries everywhere. So, we are entirely opposed to it apart from the fact that it could not have taken place at all. I mean to say, it seems conceivable that that could have been done without a major war, there have been a major war, before

20. Janos Kadar took over as Prime Minister of Hungary on 4 November 1956.
21. See *post*, pp. 459, 466.

the UN could go there, it just could not. As it is, whatever the internal condition of Hungary which is pretty bad, the fact is that Hungary is an indcpendent member country of the United Nations, and it had a bad time for the last fortnight. It may settle down but for foreign armies to come in there, for other foreign armics to come in thcre, was simply means of Hungary becoming major battlefield of the great war between the Soviet army and others. Hungary of course, would disappear, whatever happens in the great war. It was no love for Hungary to propose such a thing. So, our delegation opposed dcfinitcly this, this specific proposal to have elections there under UN auspices. That was thc main thing that we have just voted against the resolution after moving amendments and we are still convinced that that kind of thing should be opposcd whenever it arises. For the rest, you have seen our general attitude in the joint statement issued today of the four Prime Ministers where reference is made to Hungary.[22]

Well normally, when I spcak to you on thesc occasions I discuss much more internal problems than external. But the external problems have rather overshadowed internal problems for the time being, although our business is really with internal problems. But even internal problems are affected by this situation. Everything is affected. The Sucz Canal lies blocked up and no ships can come through, for two months, three months, four months, five months, I do not know, even if everything is settled, it will take three months or so or it may take much longer. So, now we have to think again and plan again how this affects our planning, our Five Ycar Plan, our supply situation and all that. It is being considered. But, it is necessary for thc public also to be aware of the situation, apart from sympathizing with Egypt or Hungary whatever it is. They should realize that this is a crisis, which now demands vcry carcful thinking and action, conservation of our supplies, elimination of waste, and so many other things and which may grow suddenly into a far bigger one, one never knows, and it is for you, all of you, to not only to keep this in mind, the situation but whenever you have the chance to explain it to your constituencies and others, because the one thing that is always harmful in a country is mental unpreparedness for any contingency, good or bad. Preparedness consists of two factions—mental preparedness and other types of physical preparedness and of the two, both are important, mental is even more important because it is out of the mental awareness that the other things come. Complacency and getting lost in other things at such a moment is fatal. So far as thcse questions are concernod, that is all I shall say now. I propose to make a statement tomorrow in the Lok Sabha.[23] There is not

22. See *ante*, p. 334 fn 2.
23. See *post*, pp. 346-351.

much that I have to say in the Lok Sabha because my repeating all these facts, joint statement and all this; and I have been so utterly occupied during the last many days and lately, because of this Prime Ministers' Conference that I have not been able to give any thought to this statement. I do not quite know when I shall do it because I am supposed to give a banquet to the UNESCO people tonight and that will occupy some hours of my time till late at night. However, something will emerge, I suppose, in time.

For the rest, you know that we had a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta.[24] Even that Committee had to give much thought to this international situation but it also discussed fairly fully our other problems specially economic and it adopted a procedure which, I think, is a happy procedure; that is to say, apart from some public functioning, we sat in private committees splitting up into two committees of 50-60 each and discussing matters, not delivering speeches but discussing matters which is, I think much more profitable. I hope this practice should be followed in future. And I should like to commend with your notice the resolution on economic policy that was passed.[25] Now, that resolution is not meant to cover all our economic policy, of course not. I will tell you how that resolution came into being. We felt, we had to draw the attention of the public to certain essential things to be done now, to keep down prices and to keep up savings and so on and so forth, and to prevent waste. These are things which we have repeated before, if we wanted to lay special stress in view of inflationary tendencies and so on and so forth. Now in view of the world situation, that was really the core of the resolution but gradually it grew and grew and it became what you see it. Therefore, while it was not an attempt to lay down the economic policy as a whole, because broadly speaking, that policy is contained in the Second Five Year Plan, apart from ourselves having declared it previously. But it is meant to lay emphasis on certain aspects which it does and I commend it to your careful attention because it is important, not only that you should know but you should explain it to others.

It is surprising in some recent, you call it gallup polls or something of that type in India, we found so many people who never heard of the Second Five Year Plan. And I am quite sure there are very large number of Congressmen who, having heard of it, know nothing about it. It is not right. We should be an intelligent party and mentally alert and aware and discuss matters. So, I hope that at any rate these elections are coming and the elections are a nuisance but they have some virtues and the virtue is that it forces people to explain things. I

24. From 9 to 11 November 1956. See *ante*, pp. 275-307.
25. For resolution on economic policy, see *ante*, pp. 297-300.

hope the elections will be conducted on the basis of explanation and not of vituperation.

I just welcome with affection our comrade Morarji Desai. He is not a stranger to any of you or to any Congressman in the country. I cannot tell you, how his coming here is a comfort to all of us, certainly to me, certainly to Pantji, certainly, I think, to every member of our Cabinet, because we really are facing some day-to-day more and more difficult problems—internal, external—and his presence, his ripe experience and wisdom will be a great help. So, on your behalf and mine, I welcome him to our fellowship.[26]

26. Morarji Desai joined the Central Council of Ministers on 14 November as Minister for Commerce and Industry.

3. To Lord Pethick-Lawrence[1]

New Delhi
16 November 1956

Dear Lord Pethick-Lawrence,[2]
Thank you for your letter of the 5th November.

It is true that there is a very considerable demand in India for our withdrawal from the Commonwealth. But so far as our Government is concerned, we do not agree with this and have stated this openly. It is difficult to say what the future developments in the world will be and the situation is a dangerous one. I hope, however, that there will be no more military operations.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary of State for India and Burma, 1945-47; and Member, Cabinet Mission, 1946.

4. Situation in Egypt and Hungary[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, on the 13th of September 1956, the last day of the last session of the Lok Sabha, I made a statement in the House about the developments relating to the Suez Canal issue.[2] Previous to that, on the 8th August, I had given to the House an account of the developments which followed the action of the Egyptian Government in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company.[3]

Over two months have passed since my last statement on this subject in the Lok Sabha, and much has happened, which has been reported in the public press and must be within the knowledge of honourable Members. The matter was taken up by the Security Council, and there was broad approval of certain basic principles which should govern any agreement in regard to the Suez Canal.[4] It was proposed that the chief parties to the dispute, namely, Egypt, the United Kingdom and France, should meet soon after to discuss this subject further on the basis of those principles.

That meeting did not take place. Instead, on the 29th October, Israel launched a sudden and premeditated attack on Egypt, and large concentrations of Israeli troops made deep penetrations into Egyptian territory. The next day, the Governments of the United Kingdom and France sent an ultimatum to Egypt and Israel to the effect that if they did not stop fighting and withdraw their forces to ten miles on either side of the Suez Canal, British and French forces would intervene to stop the fighting. The ultimatum expired on the morning of the 31st October and, soon after, British and French forces commenced aerial bombardment of airfields and military objectives in Cairo and elsewhere in Egypt. This was followed a few days later, by landings of airborne troops near Port Said and heavy fighting there.

As the house knows, India had viewed with grave apprehension the policy of the UK and the French Governments after the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company. In particular, the massing of troops and aircraft for the purpose of military operations in Egypt appeared to us to be a reversion to past colonial

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 16 November 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, Part II, cols. 260-267.
2. See *post*, pp. 400-403.
3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, pp. 348-354.
4. See *post*, p. 419 fn 4.

methods and an attempt to coerce Egypt by show of armed might. Indeed, it was stated by responsible statesmen in the United Kingdom and France that the regime in Egypt must be changed and, in particular, the Head of the State and of the Government of Egypt should be removed. We had hoped, however, that after the Security Council resolution, more peaceful methods would be adopted to solve this dispute. The starting of military operations against Egypt by the United Kingdom and France and, more particularly, the bombing of parts of Cairo city and other parts of Egypt came, therefore, as a profound shock not only to people in India but also to large numbers of people in other countries including the United Kingdom. This appeared to be a flagrant case of aggression by two strong powers against a weaker country with the purpose of enforcing their will, even to the extent of changing the Government of that country. This led to widespread world reactions against the Anglo-French action, and as the Security Council proved ineffective because of the exercise of the veto by the United Kingdom and France, the UN General Assembly, at an emergency session, expressed its disapproval of this action and demanded the stoppage of military operations in Egypt and the withdrawal of the armed forces of Israel, France and the United Kingdom, from Egyptian territory. An uneasy armistice followed, and it was declared on the part of the United Kingdom, France and Israel that they would withdraw their armed forces, though this was made subject to certain conditions.

These developments gave some hope that peaceful methods would henceforth be employed and I ventured to say a few days ago that the situation had slightly improved. Today, I am by no means sure that this improvement has taken place. There are numerous tendencies which may well lead, unless checked, to a rapid deterioration of the situation and a reversion to warfare. If unfortunately, military operations begin again, it is possible that they might extend over a much wider area and might even develop into a major war.

Two days ago, the Prime Ministers of Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and India issued a joint statement which has already been placed on the Table of the House. That statement gives expression to the views of these Prime Ministers to the recent happenings in Egypt and in Hungary and points out the danger of war inherent in the present grave international situation.

In spite of the resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, sporadic fighting continued and there has been no attempt at withdrawal of forces from Egyptian territory. It would appear, indeed, that these forces have established themselves firmly on Egyptian territory and have no present intention of leaving it. If these foreign forces continue to remain on Egyptian territory, the situation is likely to deteriorate rapidly and bring the danger of fresh military operations nearer.

The Governments of the United Kingdom and France, though apparently accepting the United Nations resolution, have laid down certain conditions which are not consistent with that resolution. The Prime Minister of Israel[5] has continued to insist that he will not evacuate Gaza. If the foreign forces are not wholly removed from Egyptian territory, this will amount to a clear violation of the United Nations resolution.

Meanwhile, India has agreed to send a contingent of her armed forces for the United Nations International Force and this contingent is expected to leave India by air today. This United Nations Force will not be concerned with the Suez Canal issue as such, which can only be considered separately after peace has been fully established and all foreign forces removed. The main task of the International Force is said to be to ensure that Israel remains within the demarcation lines set by the old Armistice Agreement.[6]

The accounts that have appeared in the newspapers have not indicated that the fighting in and around Port Said was severe. We have received some accounts of this fighting and these show that the casualties, chiefly among Egyptian civilians, were very heavy, running into many thousands. Conditions in Port Said have been distressing in the extreme.[7] We are taking immediate steps to send a large stock of medicines by special aircraft to Egypt for purpose of relief.

The story of the past three and a half months, ever since the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, is full of tragic drama, and events have happened which I would have thought could not possibly occur in this modern age. I find it a little difficult to deal with this record of unabashed aggression and deception. The explanations that have been given from time to time, contradict one another and exhibit an approach which is dangerous to the freedom of Asian and African countries and to world peace itself. It has brought misery and disaster, hatred and ill will, with no gain whatever, and in addition, we live now under the threat of possible world war.

During all the controversies since the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company, Egypt has conducted herself with a large measure of propriety and forbearance. Without the least justification, Egypt was attacked not only by Israel but also by the United Kingdom and France. Whether there was any previous consultation between the aggressor countries, I do not know. But it is obvious that their plans fitted in, and the Anglo-French attack helped Israel's aggression and was itself helped by it. Egypt, the victim of Israeli aggression,

5. David Ben-Gurion.
6. Armistice Agreement of 1948.
7. See *post*, pp. 447-448.

was attacked immediately after by the armed forces of the United Kingdom and France. It was only the widespread indignation of peoples, not only in Asia and Africa but also in Europe and America, and the action taken by the United Nations, had put some check on this aggression. But it appears to me that the ceasefire having taken place, there is a tendency to complacency and to allow matters to drift. Indeed, there has even been some attempt made to minimize and justify this utterly unprovoked and brutal attack on Egypt. Attention has been diverted to some extent to the grave and distressing occurrences in Hungary.

Even as we were distressed by events in Egypt, we viewed with grave concern and distress events in Hungary. It is possible that what happened in one of these countries produced its reactions in the other, and both created a very serious international situation. But it is well to remember that though both deserve serious attention, the nature of each differed from the other. Neither can be held to justify the other.

We are concerned with an attack on freedom anywhere in the world. We are concerned also with strong nations dominating, by armed force, the weaker countries. In regard to Hungary, the situation was obscure for some days, and it was only gradually that the story of the tragic events that have taken place there, became known. From the very beginning, we made it clear that, in our opinion, the people of Hungary should be allowed to determine their own future according to their own wishes and that foreign forces should be withdrawn. That has been and is our basic view in regard to Hungary. This has been repeated in the joint statement of the four Prime Ministers.

There was a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly in regard to Hungary, sponsored by Pakistan, Cuba, Italy, Peru and Ireland, against which we voted,[8] and as some criticism has been made in regard to our vote on this resolution, I should like to remove any misunderstanding that might have arisen. The resolution was, in our opinion, improperly worded. But the most objectionable part of it demanded that elections should be held in Hungary under the supervision of the United Nations. We took strong exception to this because we felt this was contrary to the Charter and would reduce Hungary to less than a sovereign State. Any acceptance of intervention of this type and foreign supervised elections seemed to us to set a bad precedent which might be utilized in future for intervention in other countries. The resolution was voted paragraph by paragraph. We abstained from voting on all the other parts of the resolution. In regard to the paragraph about elections under the United Nations supervision, we voted against it. When the whole resolution including this

8. On 9 November 1956. See *post*, pp. 459 & 466.

paragraph was put to vote, we also voted against it because of that particular paragraph to which we objected strongly.

H.V. Kamath[9]: Under instructions?

JN: The honourable Member would hold his soul in patience. He will get every kind of information which he desires, and much more too.

H.V. Kamath: I am prepared for the worst.

JN: This voting on this particular resolution was entirely in consonance with our general policy and instructions. It seemed to us that this resolution, apart from the basic objections we had to a part of it, would not prove helpful to Hungary at all. We were trying to get the Soviet forces withdrawn from Hungary. What was proposed in the resolution would come in the way of that withdrawal and an attempt thereafter to intervene with armed force would have led to a major conflict. It might well have led to Hungary perishing in the flames of war. The people of Hungary had already passed through a terrible ordeal and it was the duty of other countries to rescue them from further warfare and destruction and, at the same time, to create conditions which would enable them to recover their free and separate individuality and to have the government of their choice.

We are arranging to send relief to Hungary as early as possible.

The tragic dramas that have been enacted almost before our eyes, have demonstrated the inherent dangers of a recourse to arms to settle any problem. The Israeli and Anglo-French attack on Egypt has not only brought infinite suffering to the people of Egypt, but has let loose evil forces which are driving the world towards destruction. The recourse to force and the armed intervention in Hungary have not only cost the lives of many brave men and women, but have also checked the progress towards greater freedom which we had welcomed.

The world appears now to be in the grip of the fevered psychology of war, and I am reminded of the months preceding the last Great War. I am convinced that it is not by war and violence that these problems will be settled or freedom established. I am convinced that colonialism, whatever new look it may put on, can revert to its old brutal self, and the only remedy for it is to give place to freedom.

The world stands facing great danger, and it may be that the little wars we

9. Praja Socialist Party Member from Hoshangabad.

have had, are only a first round and bigger conflicts lie ahead. In particular, the ambitions of strong nations imperil weaker countries. The only hope lies in the United Nations, representing the world community, succeeding in putting an end to the law of force and substituting for it, a more civilized method of dealing with problems. Today, the choice lies between the hydrogen bomb and the *Panchsheel*.

5. India and the International Situation—I[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker Sir, three days ago, on the 16th of November, I made a statement in this House on the international situation with special reference to Egypt and Hungary. In initiating this debate, it was not my intention to say much at this stage, but rather to reserve my remarks to the end of the debate when honourable Members have expressed their views. I feel, however, that it might be desirable for me to bring before the House some later developments in regard to these matters.

I beg to move:

"That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration".

I need not point out to this House how important this debate is. It is important because the issues before the world today are of high importance and deal with questions of war and peace and the suppression of freedom and and issues that affect us too directly as well as indirectly. What we say in this House is not merely listened to by our Members here, but has a much wider audience in this country and even abroad. Therefore, I feel rather burdened with this occasion and I wish to use language which, I hope, will not in any way come in the way of such peaceful developments towards peaceful settlement as might be taking place. Three days ago, I mentioned that the situation was a very grave one and although there appeared to be some elements of progress in it, nevertheless, it continued to be very grave and was viewed by us with concern. That position remains as it was, although there are some elements which may be considered

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 19 November 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, Part II, cols. 371-393 and 473-475.

to be helpful. But, basically, the situation is a very grave one. I hope, honourable Members also, in considering these matters which are before us and the world, will do so calmly and objectively and, if I may use the word with respect, with some caution so that their words and our words may not lead to greater tension, and might put perhaps some difficulties in the way of what we seek to achieve.

Now, we read our newspapers daily and everyday there are all kinds of reports and allegations, and naturally, we react to them. And yet it is not particularly easy for us to find out what is true and what is not true and what is perhaps exaggerated. We hear of Anglo-French troops landing somewhere in Israel. I believe this is contradicted. We hear reports of Soviet aircraft going to Syria. This is contradicted and it is said that except for some aircraft that went long before the crisis as a result of purchase by the Syrian Government, there has been no despatch of aircraft there. We hear so many other reports of this kind which are either directly contradicted or not substantiated. In these cases, there is very great difficulty for a responsible body like us or for the United Nations to proceed on the basis of unconfirmed reports and it might, very well, not only create complications but come in the way of giving a correct lead if those events happen to be not true, on which the reports were supposed to be based.

Only recently, we have had reports of deportation of people from Hungary, specially young men, deportation, it is said, by Soviet authorities.[2] Now, the Hungarian Government has denied in the United Nations. So has the Soviet Government. I believe even today a resolution has been placed before the General Assembly on this subject based on the newspaper reports which are denied by, apparently, the two Governments which are most concerned and which should know.[3] Now, it becomes extraordinarily difficult for any one to come to a conclusion without further information or further enquiry into the matter. In fact, I believe, it was stated in the General Assembly on behalf of the Hungarian Government that they not only categorically deny this but that they have taken steps to allow some representatives of the workers, young men etc., to go

2. Reports reaching Vienna from 13 November onwards indicated that the Russians were deporting a large number of young Hungarians of military age to the USSR. On 15 November, a British Foreign Office spokesman confirmed that deportations were in progress "on a substantial scale." The number of Hungarian refugees, who crossed the frontier into Austria, amounted to over 100,000 by 1 December 1956 and included large numbers of young persons who fled the country to avoid mass deportations to Russia.
3. Clause 2 of the Cuban resolution, discussed in the United Nations General Assembly on 19 November, urged the Government of the USSR and the Hungarian authorities to take immediate steps to cease the deportation of Hungarian citizens and to return promptly to their homes those who had been deported from Hungarian territory.

themselves, to sit at the various points of exit from Hungary, to see if anything was being done there or anybody was sent away. Now, it is quite conceivable—it is only a guess—that these young men or workers were being sent to see things for themselves, and it might have been thought that they were being deported. I do not know, I am merely pointing out the difficulty of getting a correct picture.

Now, in regard to Egypt, as the House knows, we in India have been intimately associated with events during the last few months. To begin with, even our relations with Egypt are intimate, and we are in constant touch with what happens there. Ever since the nationalization of the Suez Canal, we were in very intimate touch, so that whatever happened did not come to us without any foreknowledge of the events preceding it. That is, we were in a position, we were in a much better position to judge that situation. It was an open situation at that time. Later things have happened in Egypt which are rather confusing, say, the state of affairs at Port Said etc., but the broad facts were clear to us and, therefore, we ventured to express a very clear and definite opinion about it.

In regard to Hungary, there was a difficulty that the broad facts were not clear to us, and also the occurrences in Hungary took place at a moment when suddenly the international situation became very much worse and we had to be a little surer and clearer as to what had actually happened and what the present position was. Therefore, we were a little cautious in expressing our opinion in regard to facts. We were not cautious about expressing our opinion in regard to the general principles that should govern conditions there. As the House knows, right from the very beginning, we made it perfectly clear that in regard to Hungary or in regard to Egypt or anywhere else, any kind of suppression by violent elements of the freedom of the people was an outrage on liberty. I said that and I made it perfectly clear that firstly, foreign forces should be removed both from Egypt and Hungary—although the two cases are not parallel, the facts are different, but this fact was there. Secondly, that the people of Hungary should be allowed, should be given the opportunity to determine their future.

I believe even now facilities are not being given, both in Hungary and in parts of Egypt occupied by foreign forces like Port Said, like the other parts occupied by the Israeli Army, to outsiders to go there. On the last occasion, I said in this House that from the reports we had received conditions in Port Said were very bad and that casualties were heavy. The statement I made was cautious. The reports which we had received were much worse than what I had said, but because I did not wish to proceed on those reports without further confirmation, I moderated my language describing it. The fact is that even up to now, so far as I know, nobody is allowed to go into Port Said. The reports that came to us previously were partly from refugees and we do not usually attach very great

importance to statements of excited refugees—not that they deliberately misrepresent, but they are emotionally wound up and they tend not to give a correct appraisal of events. The reports that came to us about the events in Port Said, were the reports of some foreign journalists who had gone to Port Said, at the peril of their lives and who had made these statements in foreign papers in Europe. Even so, we hesitated to accept them because they were so bad that we thought they should be confirmed. In fact, we have been suggesting in the case of Egypt, as in the case of Hungary, that it is desirable from every point of view, even from the point of view of the occupying forces, that impartial observers, preferably sent by the United Nations, should go, look at the things there and report. I earnestly trust that the Governments or the authorities concerned in both places will permit this to be done, otherwise all kinds of wild reports are circulated and believed in.

We have been receiving fairly full accounts, dispatches from our Embassies abroad, our Missions abroad. Almost daily we get these reports from New York, Washington, London, Moscow, Belgrade, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus, Berne, and some other places, from Vienna and Budapest also, because we have had one of our young officers in Budapest throughout this period.[4] It was true that he could not communicate with us easily and his telegrams usually reach us now about six days late because they have had to go to Vienna presumably by road and then they are dispatched from Vienna. Gradually, the picture of events has taken some clear shape. All this daily information that we get not only from our Missions but by the courtesy of other governments—more especially I am grateful to the information we have received from the governments of the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and some other Governments too—all these despatches have resulted in such an abundance of information which is often contradictory. I will say it gives a picture which is a very confused picture, but it is true, I think that one can make a fair appraisal of these events. Now, may I just say, without mentioning our representatives abroad, that I should like to express my appreciation of the work done by our Ambassador in Cairo[5] which has been of a high order.

So far as the situation in Egypt is concerned, the House knows that the first contingent of our forces has already gone there. Others will follow. I want to

4. The Indian Ambassador in Moscow, K.P.S. Menon, was concurrently accredited to Hungary as a Minister. The resident Indian Charge d'Affaires in Budapest, M.A. Rahman, had been sending messages to the Foreign Office in New Delhi through Vienna.
5. Ali Yavar Jung.

make it perfectly clear on what conditions we sent these forces to join the United Nations Forces. First of all, we made it clear that it was only if the Government of Egypt agreed, only then we would send them; secondly, they were not to be considered in any sense as a continuing force, continuing the activities of the Anglo-French forces which was entirely a separate thing; thirdly, that the Anglo-French forces should be withdrawn; fourthly, that the United Nations Force should function to protect the old Armistice Line between Israel and Egypt; and finally, that it should be a temporary affair. We are not prepared to agree to our force or any force remaining there indefinitely. It was on these conditions, which were accepted, I believe, that these forces were sent there. I repeat this because, unfortunately, statements are sometimes made about this United Nations International Force which are not in consonance with the decision of the United Nations or, I believe, with the agreements arrived at by the Secretary General of the United Nations with Egyptian Government.

Then, the first question that arises in Egypt at the present moment, in regard to the Resolution of the United Nations General Assembly, is that of the withdrawal of the Anglo-French and the Israeli forces from Egyptian territory. This is a dangerous issue because if there is any attempt to create delay and certainly if there is any attempt not to withdraw, there is likely to be a resumption of hostilities which, I think, will be on bigger scales than earlier.

It is stated—and I believe on fairly good authority—that there has been some days ago, perhaps, some addition to these forces. One does not know when sometimes forces are exchanged, some are withdrawn and some are sent and so one cannot say. But, anyhow, it is a vital matter that Anglo-French and Israeli forces should withdraw from the area they have occupied because without that nothing else can be got going and so long as they remain, there will be constant fear of hostilities being resumed.

I have already mentioned about Port Said which requires immediate attention and which can only be done properly by Observers being allowed to go there and report. The House may know that we are sending— I think tomorrow—a very large aircraft, in size about three Dakotas, of medical supplies and relief goods which are being taken both to Egypt and to Hungary.

In Hungary, as I said, the conditions, especially the rather detailed developments, were for some time not at all clear to us. I am not quite sure if they are completely clear even now; but, I think, the broad facts are clear enough. There is little doubt that the kind of nationalist uprising which took place there after demonstrations etc., developed, after coming into conflict with the Soviet forces there. The Soviet forces were withdrawn from Budapest and a statement was issued on the 30th October, embodying the Soviet policy in regard to these

countries, which stated that they would withdraw their forces after consulting the Warsaw Powers and so on and so forth.[6]

It is a fact, I think, that they were withdrawn. But, very soon after, other events occurred in Budapest—and this matter is not quite clear—I think not in Budapest but in Hungary and within three or four days the Soviet forces returned and in far greater mechanized power. There were big conflicts in Budapest which were ultimately suppressed by the Soviet armed forces. Some people say that even while the Soviet Forces were withdrawing from Budapest roundabout the 29th or 30th, actually the Soviet army had come across the frontier and that this was not—if I may use that word—a bona fide withdrawal at all. Others think that something happened in the course of those two or three days which made the Soviet Government change its policy, because we must remember that before any government does that, more especially the Soviet Government or the British Government or any major power, all these separate questions are weighed presumably in the light of other international developments and with the possibility of a bigger flare-up. That is always in their mind. Anyhow, the fact remains that the Soviet forces came back and there was a major conflict in which a fairly large number of Hungarians suffered, as they fought very bravely. And, it is possible that the Hungarian army itself was on the side of the Hungarian people and in the initial stages the Soviets also suffered fairly considerably, though, naturally, in lesser numbers. It is not, at the present moment, of any great importance that we should know the details of this. The major fact stands out that the majority of the people of Hungary wanted a change, political, economic or whatever the changes were, and actually rose in insurrection after demonstrations etc., to achieve it but ultimately, they were suppressed.

I think, it is true that there were some elements on the side of the Hungarians which might be called by a word which is rather misused sometimes, 'Fascist' elements. I think, it is true that outsiders also came in because the border forces were not functioning and I think, it is also true that arms came from outside to some extent. All that is true. But, while all that is true, this is not the major fact. The major fact is that the people of Hungary, a very large part of them, claimed freedom from outside control or interference, objected to the Soviet Forces coming, wanted them to withdraw and wanted some internal changes in their Government. That is a basic fact which nobody can deny.

Another rather implicit feature of the situation, perhaps, more significant than even the fighting that the Hungarian people indulged in, is the fact that when fighting stopped—it stopped some days ago, I think, they are not fighting

6. See *post*, pp. 453-454.

now—certainly in Budapest not in Hungary—in spite of all this, there was rather an extraordinary demonstration of passive resistance. That is, the people of Budapest refused to go back to work, refused to take part in other normal activities at a time when the city was suffering very greatly by the stoppage of work during the period of armed conflict. In spite of all that resistance to forces by fighting, this resistance of people in a peaceful passive way seemed to be, so far as I am concerned, more significant, of the wishes of their country, than an armed revolt which might be aroused by some groups here and there.

I wonder how many of the honourable Members present here have in mind the past history of Hungary. It is a rather tragic history with frequent attempts to attain freedom, frequently suppressed. During the regime of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, there were such attempts. We know well, nearly 40 years ago, when we in this country first had this picture of non-cooperation put before us by Mahatma Gandhi what we were told; and we really read about the kinds of non-cooperation or something like it in other countries. Among those countries, more especially it was in Hungary, where somewhere in the middle of the 19th century, a movement of passive non-cooperation, passive resistance arose under the leadership, I think, of O'Dver, which achieved some objectives too, though not completely. But then, five weeks before the First World War was over, just after the October Revolution, as it is called or soon after, I do not exactly remember the dates, but anyhow, in 1918, there was an upheaval in Hungary; Austro-Hungary was breaking up; the German armies had been there and they were withdrawing and there was an upheaval more or less on the lines of the upheaval in Russia at the time. The leader of that was one Bela Kun, an associate of Lenin and he established the Republic of Hungary.[7] That was a time of intervention by other foreign countries in the affairs of the Soviet Union after the Revolution. The Romanian Army marched into Hungary then, and suppressed this new Republic of Hungary and suppressed it, so far as I can remember, in an exceedingly ruthless manner. In fact, it was not merely a suppression of the Republic, but widespread loot of Hungary by these armies. As a result of that, the Republic of course, ceased to be and a regime was established under Admiral

7. On 16 November 1918, Hungary was proclaimed as an independent republic, with Karolyi as provisional President. On 21 March 1919, Karolyi's government was replaced by a republic under Bela Kun, who had promised Hungary, the Russian support against the Romanians. But it never arrived, and on 4 August, Kun and associates fled Hungary. Two days later Romanian troops entered Budapest.

Horthy,[8] a kind of feudal regime. Honourable Members may perhaps remember that Hungary has been in the 19th and 20th centuries one of the most feudal countries in Europe, with very large number of landholders, with very out-dated aristocracy. There was conflict between the various groups. Anyhow, Admiral Horthy's regime was there. I had a glimpse in 1918 when I happened to be in Budapest. It was not a very satisfying spectacle; then came the big War. I merely mention these just to bring to the mind of the House this tragic history of Hungary, and there are many names connected with Hungary which are famous in the fight for freedom of peoples. Anyhow, there is little doubt that the present movement in Hungary was a popular one; it was a movement with the great masses of the people behind it, with the workers, with the young people in it; maybe of course, a number of people against it, I cannot speak about all of them and this, I think, has become even more patent by this passive resistance of the people inspite of the heavy army's strength being opposed to them.

So far as we are concerned, we entirely agree with what has been stated in the joint statement issued by the four Prime Ministers a few days ago. Apart from this, there is this aspect, if I may say so. The first thing, I think, is that qualified Observers could go, whether it is Port Said, whether it is other parts of Egypt which are occupied by foreign forces, or whether it is Budapest or some parts of Hungary, they should go and their mere visiting there will not only bring out facts, but will open a window there, which the world can look in, and find out what has happened and what is happening.

Now, behind all these, there are all kinds of other forces at work and other dangers. We want naturally foreign forces to be withdrawn from Egypt as well as Hungary. Of course, this question does not arise in Egypt, because there is a Government there, but in Hungary, it does arise. The House knows that during the last year or two, there had been certain currents and motions in Eastern Europe, in the Soviet Union itself, which have, to some extent, liberalized the functioning of the regimes there, which in Poland went perhaps farther than in other places, and the same ferment existed in all countries, and the fact, which has always to be borne in mind not only by us but by other countries, was that if anything is done which comes in the way of this internal and organic process of change, which may well have the opposite effect to that intended, then it becomes tied up with the larger issues of war and peace. What do we see behind these

8. Nicholas Vitez Horthy (1868-1957); Hungarian military and political leader; led counter-revolutionary 'white forces' against the Communist government of Bela Kun, 1919-1920; Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary, 1920-44; forced to resign by the Germans and deported to Germany in October 1944; published his *Memoirs* in 1956.

issues? In the final analysis—fear, fear of the Western Powers, of the armed might of the Soviet Union, fear of the Soviet Union, not only of the armed might, even more so, of the possible armed might of re-armed Germany. All over Eastern Europe, whether it is Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia and those countries which have suffered from invasion repeatedly from the German side, there is this fear of an armed Germany; there may be fear from the Soviet Union; it may be a balancing of fears, but there is that fear and because of the fear of the Western countries against the armed might of the Soviet Union, there came into existence the NATO and much later, also the other pacts and military alliances like SEATO, the Baghdad Pact and the like. Then came into existence as a counter-blast, the Warsaw Treaty, each pretending to be an association for peaceful defence against attack, each having the effect really of frightening the other party and making it more apprehensive of danger and, therefore, helping in this race of armaments.

Because of this background, when situation arose in Egypt, that is to say, about three weeks ago, when the Anglo-French bombing of Cairo etc., took place, immediately there was a danger of this spreading. The Hungarian situation arose and the two taken together definitely, greatly added to this danger. Now, honourable Members will see—I speak with respect and with deference—it is not my intention in my present speech to go about condemning countries—not that their acts are not worthy of condemnation, but the fact is that because of these two, the situation in Egypt and the situation in Hungary, every attempt is made by one party to lay stress on what has happened in the other place so as to hide its own misdemeanour. There was the Anglo-French action in Egypt and there was a world outcry against it in the United Nations. Then came Hungary. Bad enough. But immediately, it was made use of to hide what is happening in Egypt. The struggle in Hungary was the basic thing so as to somehow cover up the misdeeds in Egypt. Now on both sides this is happening.

Now, I do not mean for an instant to say that we are nobler or higher or purer than other countries. But we happen to be in a position which perhaps, to some extent, helps us not to get so frightfully excited about one side or the other and, therefore, we can view these events a little more objectively perhaps.

Now, so far as recent developments are concerned, the House will know that only yesterday Premier Bulganin issued an appeal. I received a letter from him containing some proposals for a conference to consider the world situation and more especially disarmament.[9] The various proposals have been examined and there is no doubt that disarmament is of high importance, more especially in

9. See *post*, p. 449.

this context. This question as to whether there is a conference or not, whether this question of disarmament will be considered, will really be decided by the Big Powers. We haven't got a big army to disarm. Anyhow, in this context, it is the three or four Big Powers that really count. They have to decide this. If we can be of any help in this business, naturally our services will be there.

Now, I should like to put before the House a few other considerations, rather to look behind the surface of things, into the deeper changes that are coming out. First of all, we see this brutal exercise of violence and armed might against weaker countries. Prima facie, this appears to be the triumph of violence and armed might and this puts every militarily weaker country in peril, its independence in danger, and more particularly, every country in Asia and Africa must feel this danger. That is so. But there is another aspect of it and that is this exhibition of violence and armed might has failed or is going to fail. It has created great damage, great suffering and great bitterness but in the final analysis it has failed or, I think, is likely to fail in achieving anything. Take the aggression of Egypt. I think it is fairly clear that the United Kingdom and France have not gained anything and are not going to gain anything; they will lose much. Apart from the fact that Egypt has suffered tremendously, the United Kingdom and France have also suffered, not in human beings so much, although even the loss of human beings has been far more considerable in the Anglo-French side because of the roundabout fight and the parachute landing etc. Then there are the very heavy financial losses which are going to continue which will upset all these countries' economies. It will affect the whole pattern of trade and everything in countries like the United Kingdom and France. The results of this adventure in Egypt are going to be very serious and probably lasting a long time.

It is said that this operation prevented the Russians from coming into the Middle East. I confess, I do not see how it has prevented the Russians coming in. It has, in fact, possibly opened the door through which they might come in future, just as the Baghdad Pact, which was meant to protect the Middle East from the *a parte* or the defence pact, as it is called, really resulted in the Soviet Union taking far greater interest in the Middle East than they have done previously. So, this argument that the aggression in Egypt has succeeded in keeping Russians out, does not work at all. In fact, I think, it has made the Middle East becoming the possible scene of a major conflict relatively easier. So, in the final analysis, whatever Egypt may have suffered and England and France may have suffered and may continue to suffer, they are more to lose than Egypt has suffered.

Now, take the other side—Hungary and the Soviet Union. There was no immediate aggression there in the sense of something militarily happening as there was in the case of Egypt. It was really a continuing intervention of the

Soviet armies in those countries based on the Warsaw Pact. Now, I am not very much concerned about the legal implications of the Warsaw Pact. It may be that some lawyers may say that strictly in terms of the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet army should be present there. But that is a very small matter. The fact is, as subsequent events have shown, that the Soviet armies were there against the wishes of the Hungarian people. That is clear.

H.V. Kamath : A welcome change.

JN: Any other explanation is not adequate. It is true that the great force of the Soviet Union triumphed in the military way from Budapest to Hungary. But at what cost? And what the final outcome will be, I do not know. I have no doubt in my mind, whether it is sooner or later, the Hungarian people, who have demonstrated so vividly their desire for having freedom, desire for having a separate identity and not being over-shadowed by any other country, are bound to triumph. I have no doubt in my mind about that. Of course, I cannot say what intervening difficulties may come because of this world situation which is very very complicated.

But apart from that, we must realize that all these events have powerfully affected the prestige of the Soviet Union in such matters, not only in the many countries which are supposed to be uncommitted countries but more in countries and governments which believe in that country, European countries including, if I may say so, the people of the Soviet Union itself. That is a much more precious commodity—the respect that a country, its Government and its policy has—than anything else, financial or anything that you may lose. We see today, therefore, powerful trends. I believe in every country whether it is the Soviet Union or England or the countries of Europe or America, and certainly in Asian and African countries, trying to understand what has happened, trying to find out what they should do and in a state of considerable confusion. Even the clarity of those people who were intimately tied up with one particular policy, with one particular, if I may use the word, bloc of countries, is not so quite clear in their minds as to whether that policy was the correct one. In the Soviet Union, it was some time back, two or three years back, that I said that certain new trends displayed themselves and affected the life and activities of the Soviet Union and later the East European countries. But we have seen that the progress made was too slow in the East European countries and they wanted it to be more rapid, and this created a difficulty for the Soviet Union, and resulted in this conflict. Whether this conflict will lead to a greater liberalization on the part of the Soviet Union or the reverse, I cannot say. It would have been clear in my mind but for this complicated international situation. But apart from

the immediate future, as I just said, I have no doubt that forces have been set in motion in all these countries among the rulers and among the common people—in all these countries including the Soviet Union or Western European countries or elsewhere—which make people think on somewhat different lines. They say, I believe, that they have been going along wrong lines. All the system of pacts and alliances, where has it led them? Not to peace or security, but to trouble. What is the position now of the Baghdad Pact? You may talk about the Baghdad Pact, but everybody knows that the Baghdad Pact is dead and it has absolutely no life left in it. What the SEATO alliance is doing I do not know, but we have not heard of it for a long time—it may be in a dormant condition. The Warsaw Treaty—we see the effect of it and the reaction to it in the East European countries. It may continue, that is, in form; but it has lost its contents.

Regarding the NATO, we have seen the differences between the powers included in the NATO. It has ceased to be, if it was so earlier, a kind of spiritual crusade. Both were in a sense spiritual crusades against each other. Both have lost that spirit of crusade. They have only become some paper arrangements behind which certainly are the armed forces which lack, on either side, their quality or the spirit which perhaps gave them some meaning previously.

So, we have arrived at a stage when violence has interfered, and the use of armed forces by the big countries while apparently, has achieved something, it has really showed its inability to deal with the situation. It is the weakness which has come out in the present day world.

But the fact remains that in people's minds violence has been shown up and this ferment is bound to continue working. I earnestly hope that as a result of all these we may survive this crisis and then take further steps towards disarmament, towards putting an end to all these military alliances which have proved so worthless and, in fact, proved so dangerous and try to fashion some new line of approach.

We have often been told, we know, that technology has greatly advanced, and technology has got us the atom bomb and hydrogen bomb which, after all, is the result of technological progress. When we reach higher levels of technique, the higher levels demand a higher level of international cooperation; they demand really a higher level of social organization; they demand a higher level of international cooperation. You cannot have an advanced technology and an out-of-date society and an out-of-date system of international relations.

The difficulty is that while technology has gone up to hydrogen bomb, our international relations are still very backward and have not caught up to that. So long as they do not catch up, all these frictions will continue. In our aspect of this question, we have these ideas which people, often people of great merit and integrity, have pursued in a crusading way—communism or other 'isms'. There

is no doubt that the appeal of communism affected large numbers of young men, not today, but 38 or 39 years ago, and it has continued to do that in varying degrees. All kinds of organizations were formed—Cominform, Comintern and so on and so forth. Even though communism gradually became somewhat more, if I may use the word, respectable in people's eyes in the sense that communist governments functioned as other governments, nevertheless, it had that aspect of some kind of religion, often spread by intervention. Whether it was armed intervention or other intervention depended on circumstances. Gradually, that has become less and less, but it is there.

The whole basis not of the internal economic system which is apparent—you may agree with me or not—but of the international implications of the internal economic system of the country is such as to create apprehensions about intervention in other countries. And we have seen, in fact, instances, but the most recent instance is the fact that undoubtedly the Government in Hungary was not a free Government, was an imposed Government, and that the people of Hungary were not satisfied. Ever since the last War, more than ten years have passed, and in the course of ten years in Hungary if the people could not be converted to that particular theory, it shows a certain failure which is far greater, which seems to me the failure of the military coup. It indicates that all of us, whether we are communists or non-communists or anti-communists, have to think afresh. We talk about violence. The question of Egypt has come up and the question of Hungary has come up. For the moment, it has put aside other questions. Whether it is Africa or parts of Asia, essentially there is no difference, except that one gets used to evil. A new evil creates a sudden reaction, while we get used to the old evil. Therefore, we have to view this matter from this point of view that whether the evil is a new one or an old one, if it is based on violence, if it is based on the suppression of a country and a people by armed forces, then it is a bad thing and it has to be removed, liquidated, because so long as it is not done, it will create trouble and friction and possibly lead to war.

Therefore, apart from the outward features of the present crisis, there is this crisis of conscience, a spiritual crisis almost in peoples' minds. I hope that mere strong reactions to events will not smother this spiritual crisis, this attempt to find a better way of international cooperation. That way, I would submit, it has been shown, cannot be based on, or cannot have any stability if it is based on armed forces being used to suppress people, wherever they may be and however they may exist. If that fact is accepted, let us have full freedom, whether it is a communist society or an anti-communist society. If violence is once taken away and the ways of violence and the ways of suppression, then everything, all these theories, have a free field. They can be experimented upon and we shall learn by the experience of others, adopt such things as we like and not adopt things

that we do not like and progress in this way.

There is one thing more before I finish. I have in view a certain controversy that has arisen in regard to India's voting in the United Nations on a resolution on Hungary.[10] We circulated through the Lok Sabha Secretariat to honourable Members two speeches relating to Hungary delivered by our representative, Shri Krishna Menon on the 8th and 9th November.[11] We got them day before yesterday.

J.B. Kripalani: We have got them here just now.

JN: I am sorry. Anyhow, we got them day before yesterday and it was yesterday that I said that copies had to be made. A reading of these speeches will give a better idea than any quotation I can give.

I have today got further details of the voting on those days. I would have gladly circulated it, but I got the telegram only this morning. That resolution consists of nine paragraphs. I think some of you have got it. The first five paragraphs are what are called the "preamble", the next four are called "operative". Now the voting on the resolution was on each separate paragraph. I do not know whether honourable Members want the exact figures, or what India did.

Preamble 1: India abstained. There were sixteen abstentions and India abstained. Preamble 2: India abstained.

H.V. Kamath: May I request the Prime Minister to tell us in each case how the Arab-Asian group reacted and voted.

JN: I will read out. More or less it is the same, with slight variations.

In regard to the first part of the Preamble the abstentions were Afghanistan, Austria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Egypt, Finland, India, Indonesia, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, Yugoslavia. With slight variations this continued, the abstentions in the Preamble.

Preamble 3: as in Preamble 2 India abstained.

Preamble 4: India abstained with that group.

Preamble 5: India abstained with the big group.

Now we come to the operative part in which there are four paragraphs.

Operative 1: India abstained.

10. On 9 November. See *post*, p. 459.
11. See *post*, p. 466.

J.B. Kripalani: May we respectfully request the Prime Minister to read out the operating part.

JN: The whole resolution?

Mr Speaker: Copies of the resolution have been circulated. Honourable Members may kindly look into the resolution.

Some Honourable Members: We have not got copies.

Lanka Sundaram[12]: Only the two speeches of Shri Krishna Menon were circulated.

H.V. Kamath: In view of the Prime Minister's categorical statement now and also I believe on Friday, that the Government stands for and has supported the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Hungary, may I ask whether this abstention from voting on paragraph 1 of the operative part of the Resolution is consistent with Government's stand?

JN: There were four resolutions on Hungary. India voted in favour of one and abstained from some. We must read it in the context. When India abstained she stood for withdrawal, but I am for the moment giving facts regarding the context and the way it was put.

The operative part is –

"Calls upon the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to withdraw its forces from Hungary without any further delay."

That is one.

The second is –

"Considers that free elections should be held in Hungary under UN auspices as soon as law and order have been restored to enable the people of Hungary to determine for themselves the form of government they wish to establish in their country."

Here separate voting took place on the phrase "under United Nations auspices". In this voting, India voted against. So also, apart from the other countries mentioned previously, Ceylon and Yugoslavia. They voted against this phrase "under United Nations auspices". This was the only thing that India voted against

12. Independent Memebr from Vishakhapatnam.

in the whole resolution—the phrase "under United Nations auspices".

In the remainder of paragraph two India abstained and in paragraphs three and four also she abstained. When finally the resolution was put as a whole with the phrase "under United Nations auspices" India voted against. That is the factual position.

J.B. Kripalani: Who else voted against?

JN: At what time?

J.B. Kripalani: Who else voted against the whole resolution?

JN: Apart from a number of countries associated with the Soviets, Yugoslavia, India, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, etc., about eleven of them.

H.V. Kamath: Asian-African Group abstained?

JN: That is all I have to say. I beg to move my motion.

Asoka Mehta[13]: We are grateful to the Prime Minister for the information he has given. We would also like to be enlightened why we abstained on some of these clauses.

JN: I have said that. It is because we did not like the whole context.

Asoka Mehta: I would like to know—let us take paragraph by paragraph.

JN: Two or three resolutions were put out that day and we did not like the whole object and the context. These are broad directions; for instance, if there is a resolution, you have to see the context. You have to rely on the judgment at the time. One does not have much time to consider these matters.

H.V. Kamath: May I request for copies of India's amendments.

Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: The honourable Members will reserve their comments, they will have an opportunity to speak.

13. PSP Member from Bhandara, Maharashtra.

JN: I suggest that the honourable Members may read the speeches of Shri Krishna Menon, the speeches that have been circulated because they deal with the points that have been raised.

H.V. Kamath: I suggest that copies of India's amendments to this resolution may be furnished to us now or tomorrow. India moved some amendments but they are not available either in the Parliament Library or in the Ministry.

JN: I am not sure whether we moved any amendment to this resolution; there were amendments to the other resolutions; I am not sure whether they relate to this particular resolution and I have no further information on the subject.

May I interrupt a minute? A complaint is made that I had not helped them with anything. I have done everything. I have done everything as it came to me. I said that normally details of the voting do not come, that voting takes place about half a dozen times a day, it is complicated voting and the details do not come. I said previously that each paragraph is voted on separately. If more details are necessary, I have to send for them. I got Shri Krishna Menon's speech the night before last. Yesterday, I asked for copies to be sent round and it is here this morning. I did as far as it was possible for me and I could not do it earlier.

Sarangadhar Das[14]: I was not going into the matter of the vote in UNO. The Prime Minister's announcement, from the time of his speech in the UNESCO meeting, has been stepped up in one way or another until we have a complete picture now.

Whether all the information was available from the very beginning or not, the Prime Minister has now admitted that it was the absolute right of the people of Hungary to have their own Government and no foreign power could intervene. This should have been stated long ago and if that had been done by the Prime Minister, I believe, with the most cordial relations he has with the Russian rulers, the matter might have been different. All this suffering that the Hungarian people had gone through would have been obviated. However, now that he has drawn the full picture and put the blame where it belongs in the matter of Hungary just as he has been doing with regard to the Anglo-French and Israeli attack on Egypt, I believe that he is now in line with the other great power of the other bloc, namely, America.

14. Socialist Party Member from Dhenkanal-West Cuttack, Orissa.

JN: Who is in line with what? I am in nobody's line. From the very beginning, I condemned the action of Soviet Russia in Hungary.

I am in line with nobody except with our country. We agree with the United States on many matters and we disagree with them in some. We agree with the Soviet Union on many matters and we disagree with them in some matters.

> Sarangadhar Das: When I say that we are in line with the USA, it does not mean that it showed us the way and the Prime Minister followed it. I do not mean that. I meant that it was what the American Government had done from the beginning in condemning the Soviet action in Hungary; that position is now completely asserted by the Prime Minister.

JN: I will again tell him that that is not so.

6. India and the International Situation—II[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy Speaker Sir, I am grateful to the House for the many kind words said about our policy and, in particular, the attitude taken up by Government in the course of the last few weeks.

When I spoke on my motion, to begin with, I pointed out and laid some stress on the gravity of the situation, gravity not merely because it was a question of war and peace but because many deeper issues were involved, and I appealed to the House to view them in that context.

Sometimes, if I may say so with respect, some honourable Members spoke with some levity as if this was a matter for making fun. Some spoke, as they often do, in some kind of an old-world picturesque manner which had no relation to the facts of today. Let us have first things first. I say, yes, first things first. But my difficulty is that many honourable Members never have the first things first before them, but they take the 9th, the 10th, the 50th and the 100th. They never get out of that rut of thought in which they had remained. Shri Kamath talked

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 20 November 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, Part II, cols. 570-600. Extracts. This was in continuation of further consideration of the motion on international situation moved by Nehru on 19 November. (See the preceding item).

vaguely of their going to establish a brave new world of democratic socialism.[2] I wish them all good fortune in doing so. What has happened recently? A country, which prided itself on its democracy, like England, has blown democracy to bits. A country like France, which had a big socialist party, supports this invasion of Egypt, apart from supporting what is happening in Algeria.[3] Where is socialism and socialist party, I should like to know.

So far as communism is concerned, quite apart from the military adventure which it has indulged in, as I ventured to say previously, it has done something which has uprooted even the deep faith of many communists, so that you see this uprooting of convictions and a grave crisis of the mind of the people, who think—of course, people who repeat old platitudes and so on—that it is impossible to get anything across to them. Here is a deep crisis of the mind everywhere, apart from the deep crisis of the physical world which may lead to war.

We are told by honourable Members like Shri Asoka Mehta, what have you done in Algeria, what have you done in Cyprus, what have you done in Israel previously, as if the Government of India is a kind of boss for the whole of the world, orders it about and tells it, do this and do that or, as if, alternatively, the Government of India is a kind of debating society, like the honourable Member's party, which sits down, passes resolutions and then goes to bed with no responsibility left about it. We are a responsible Government, responsible to the country and responsible to the Parliament. We have to talk in a responsible way about a deep crisis. And the first thing to do is to avoid war and not talk bravely of democracy, of communism, of freedom or anything, because all those things fall off, if war is there. If war is there, there is no democracy left, there is no freedom left, there is nothing worthwhile left. That is the main thing.

Honourable Members say, why don't you go and do this? That is because we judge everything, first of all whether it is going to ease the situation or create a

2. Referring to the Communist Manifesto, H.V. Kamath said: "...today the spectre of Communist imperialism is facing the people of Europe, as the spectre of Communism in 1848 faced the Rulers of Europe...But we the people of Asia and Africa are a billion people on the march today—a billion heads, two billion hands but a single heart. We shall face this Communist imperialism and conquer it, overcome it and remould Asia and Africa at least, if not the whole world, nearer our heart's desire, that is the desire of achieving a democratic socialist revolution by peaceful means so that human freedom and peace are not jeopardized but are promoted by all means in our power."
3. The rebellion by young Algerian Muslims in support of effective participation in government was being suppressed by the ruling white settlers with the help of the French Army.

more difficult situation and lead to war. That is the first thing we see. That does not mean giving up any principle. But one does not shout out principles from house-tops whether the occasion is appropriate or not. One does not bring in all the ills of the world simply because one does not like them.

There are in India itself a hundred ills. We know them and we are criticized for that and we also talk about them. But we cannot remedy them suddenly. We have to go through a certain process and work hard before we can gradually, step by step, remedy them. If we cannot do that in our own country, how much less can we do it in the whole world?

Apart from this political and military crisis that we see, if we look at the world, we see—that is a platitude if I may say so—a period of heavy transition from an old world to the new. Whether it leads to the new world or not, I do not know, but it is obvious—whether it is political, economic, scientific, atom bomb—that this is a period of tremendous transition and it is about time that our mind moved a little with this period and thought about it. Here is the old civilization changing. I am not talking about the ancient civilization, but what I mean by old civilization now, is the present-day civilization which is changing economically, politically and culturally, for good or for bad. But it is changing.

Take, for instance, what is called a country with the most entrenched capitalism—the United States of America. Everyone knows that thing; the United States today is capitalistic. But the capitalism in the United States is vastly different from what it was 50 years ago. It is getting more and more socialist. It is approaching in a certain direction, because the whole tendency in the world is in a particular direction. It is no good saying I do not like it. I may not like some things in Russia or England. But we have to look at these things objectively without sitting down in this block or that group. First of all, try to draw lessons from them for our own sake. What are we to do in our country?

Secondly, wherever we have to function in international organizations, we have to function gently, politely, and in a friendly way. And to press our viewpoints, and not condemn this country or that country. We have sometimes to express an opinion which is tantamount to condemnation and we cannot help it. But the point is, if I may put it so, the old and the new are under conflict. There is something that is emerging in every country. We find perhaps, in a sense, the most advanced type of this thing in the technological world, in the United States. In the Soviet Union, it is rather different but, nevertheless, each represents a particular type. We find them in some kind, and not only in some kind but with a great deal of ideological difficulty of war and conflict, and yet, we see both of them represent a new society, perhaps the other country representing it more. It may be good for us or bad for us. If anyone of you have gone to the Soviet Union, you will find this new civilization growing up there.

There is plenty of evil there and yet this new civilization is growing up and trying to break its shackles.

The interesting and fascinating part of it is that it was gradually breaking its shackles. It may not succeed and something else might come. But am I either strong enough or foolish enough to go about condemning America, Russia, England, because I do not like something and I consider myself an acme of perfection in democracy and socialism and every other quality that a country or individual could possess?

Sometimes, people accuse us and say, "Oh, you are trying to be very superior, or trying to be, as the phrase goes, holier than thou". We know very well our imperfections and the imperfections are greater than those of other countries. Let us not be afraid of them, because, if we do not realize this fact, we never grow and we shall never grow. The other countries are spiritually greater than us in many ways, and we may be so in some ways too. But we do not like this idea, if I may say so with all respect, of our sitting complacently and then thinking that we are spiritually greater even though materially we are not, and we may be poor. But, if we really grow spiritually, material things do not matter. It is because that we are not spiritually great, in the real sense of the word, that we look in others something which we condemn or criticize.

We sometimes venture to express our opinion. Well, we express our opinion, and why? For two reasons: firstly, we think that it is the right of every country, as of every individual, to express its opinion, and out of the welter of ideas truth sometimes emerges. Secondly, we are so placed—and that is a virtue which we possess—that we are not consumed with hatred of this country or that country, and if a country is consumed with hatred and fear, then its mind is clogged. It cannot think straight. I say with all respect, that in the United States, there is no clear thinking about Russia just as there is no clear thinking in Russia about the United States, because the minds of both are clogged with indignation, with fear of the other and hatred of the other. The result is, naturally, all thinking is clogged. I do not say it is permanently clogged, but I am talking about a temporary phase. I have not a shadow of doubt that if they come to know each other more—it does not matter whether they agree or not and they probably will not agree about many things—hatred and misconceptions will go and they will realize one thing more than anything else, namely, that the other country, whatever it is, however wrong it may be in its opinion, is a living entity, a growing entity, has something new and worthwhile that has to be studied and has something to be learnt from. That is the important thing. That is why we have always sought to encourage contacts and mutual understanding.

Now, so far as we are concerned in India, we have had this advantage, and so have other countries too or at least some of them, that is, we can approach other countries in a friendly way. Whether we agree with them or not is a matter

which is secondary. Because we can approach them in a friendly way and in a receptive way, and we can profit by that contact and approach. We can profit by understanding them. At any rate, we remove the barriers of prejudice in so far as we can.

The greatest danger which the world is suffering from is this cold war business. It is because the cold war creates a bigger mental barrier than the iron curtain or brick wall or any prison. It creates barriers of the mind which refuses to understand the other person's position which divides the world into devils and angels—that we are the angels and the others are devils. We can take it that we have something angelic in us, something divine in us, but also that we have a good deal of the satan in us. Whether we are a country or individual, the whole point is that we should stress and try out the good in ourselves and take the good from others and thereby suppress the evil aspects.

Now, I claim this is a virtue for us, for our country, for this Parliament and for our people. We are not obsessed by fear. We are not obsessed by hatred of any country. We are not obsessed even with the dislike of any other country. You may dislike here and there but not any country. Therefore, our minds are a little more receptive than those of others—whether it is communist, anti-communist or non-communist or socialist. I do think that is a virtue in us and it is in the good democratic tradition. When that goes, then it is bad for the world. When it goes completely, then there is war, and war means, as everybody knows, truth becomes a casualty. The first casualty of war is truth. If the first casualty of war is truth, apart from other casualties that follow—the cold war also brings these casualties of truth, not adequately perhaps because the barriers are not so rigid and there is some kind of communication—it encloses one's mind in a shell of prejudice. That is why wars and the cold war of the last few years, have been bad for the world, bad for humanity, apart from the damage that they have done. The cold war has resulted in these blocks of nations and fears, and a race of armaments and the like and all these treaties. We say, "Do not have any military alliance or pact." We honestly mean that, and yet, when I say that, I know the fear in the other party's mind.

Nobody likes spending vast sums of money on arms when they can spend it on better things. But why do they do it? It is because they are afraid that if they do not do it, something worse might happen. I do not think it will happen, but that is another matter. Why was NATO started? It was because of the fear of Russia. Why were the SEATO and Baghdad Pact started? It was again because of the fear of Russia or China. I think, and I believe most of the Members of this House think that that way was the worst possible way of meeting that particular fear or apprehension; I think events have proved it. It is absolutely the reverse of

it. Why was the Warsaw Treaty made? It was because of the fear of NATO and the fear of Baghdad Pact. So, there is action and reaction.

I believe, the Russian leaders have said, "we shall withdraw every soldier from Eastern Europe—Poland, Hungary, Rumania and other countries—if the foreign soldiers from Germany are withdrawn." You may laugh at that, but there is something in it. It is because they are afraid, just as America is afraid; and, I have no doubt that ultimately all these soldiers will be withdrawn. I will give you an instance. I was reading today the full text of the recent joint statement issued by the Prime Minister of Poland and the Prime Minister and other leaders of the Soviet Union when they went to Warsaw.[4] I will read it out to you, because it deals with this matter; not that it represents my opinion, but it shows the mind of the Poles:

> "Both parties (the Polish Government and the Soviet Government) discussed the questions connected with the temporary presence of the Soviet army units on Polish territory. The parties have stated that so far no agreed decisions had been reached which might give the European States sufficient guarantees against the revival of German militarism. The continuous questioning by the revanchist forces of the correctness of the existing boundaries between the European States and in the first place the established and existing western boundary of Poland also is an essential factor impeding the normalization of relations in Europe.
>
> Both parties reached the conclusion that this state of affairs as well as the present international situation warrant the temporary presence of Soviet army units on the territory of Poland, which is also connected with the necessity of the presence of Soviet troops in Germany in conformity with the international treaties and agreements."

Now, that may be an excuse, but it does represent a fear. I wonder how many honourable Members remember that the present Polish boundary, the western boundary, has never been accepted by Germany. They challenged and said, "we will take back the territory." I offer no opinion on the merits of this question;

4. In fact, a delegation from the Polish Government and the United Workers' Party visited Moscow from 15 to 18 November 1956 for talks with the Soviet leaders. The delegation was led by Gomulka, First Secretary of the U.W.P., and included Cyrankiewicz, the Polish Prime Minister. On the Soviet side, the talks were conducted by Voroshilov, Khrushchev, Bulganin, Mikoyan, and Saburov. On 18 November, at the conclusion of talks, an agreement was signed and a joint statement issued.

but, at the back of these problems, the fact which I mentioned on the last occasion can never be forgotten that twice within my memory, and possibly more than twice in other people's memory, the German armies have desolated Eastern Europe and other parts of Europe too. Germany is a great country, great in the arts of peace and very great in the arts of war; it turns easily to the arts of war. It is great in science and all over Eastern Europe, there is a memory of German invasion. Therefore, one of the dominating thoughts in the mind of everybody in Eastern Europe, whatever country it may be, is, "let us not have another German invasion; let us protect ourselves from it." I believe personally that the German people as a whole—at least a majority of them—have no such idea, but the fact is that anything that leads to German militarism is frightening to them; and, as it is, it becomes for the western powers a question of taking no risk. Why did they start NATO? It was because they wanted to take no risk about the Russian power. They say and other parties say, "we will not take any risk." When it became a question of survival, then the final principles and platitudes do not go far enough; it is a life and death struggle. A cold war is exactly the production of that.

Look at this problem today. We have arrived at a sudden international crisis, if I may say so. The crisis, of course, has been brewing all over the place in a sense more especially from what followed the nationalization of the Suez Canal, the crisis brewed and the House will remember that the Anglo-French forces were sent to Malta and Cyprus, soon after nationalization. They were not moved for some time; they were sent by aircraft carriers, ships of war and others, creating a greater crisis than actually existed and frightening people that a world war was coming. This was the development taking place on one side. On the other side, there was the other development, internal ferments taking place in Poland and Hungary and to some extent in other countries of Eastern Europe too. In Poland they gradually resolved themselves peacefully. The movement was identical. In fact, the movement, in a sense, was given the start in Soviet Russia itself by loosening certain restrictions and shackles that they had in Poland. In Hungary, it did not happen that way and I venture to think that it is quite possible—I cannot be certain of it, nor can anyone be—that this warfare in Hungary resulting in the suppression by the Russian troops would probably have taken a very very different turn if there had been no invasion of Egypt. That thing suddenly let loose all kinds of evil forces, fear and others. First of all, it brought matters to a head. There may be an international war and if there is an international war, well, we are going to take no risks about it.

Secondly, the example of countries like England and France with their high reputation as a democratic world, doing something now in the middle of this 20th century, released the bonds of law and order and international relations

that normally exist to some extent—not to a full extent—and it became easier for other countries to do likewise, especially when fear was attached to it. What is that fear? I am trying to understand and analyze it. If something happened in Hungary, it made Hungary a hostile power to Russia. Then, the hostile frontier comes up to the Soviet Union. Then this may have affected Romania and Bulgaria and upset things; and, in addition to German militarism, this, that and anything may happen. You may say and I may agree with you that all this was not quite justified. But, if I may say something else, I was discussing these matters once with a great Russian leader and I ventured with all respect to point out to him that the kind of speeches they delivered were not very helpful towards international understanding and they sometimes infuriated the people. He said, "You are quite right; we sometimes do these things. But remember that for the last 30 or 40 years, we have been in a state of siege and we have developed all the complexes of the people who live in a state of siege. We react quickly to the danger and fear of something. We think this is too great a risk. We have got into that habit and we sometimes say many things and regret afterwards." There is this psychology.

Today it may well be said that no country wants war and yet each country is afraid of the other and prepares for war.

Acharya Kripalani said something which surprised me, which I thought was not at all justified. He was talking about the voting on the Resolution.[5] He said that Yugoslavia voted, as they did, because they are in fear and terror of Russia. I do not think that anything can be more unjustified than that remark. Yugoslavia, like the other countries, does not go about like Don Quixote with lance in hand, perhaps like some friends of our Socialist Party do, tilting against wind mills, announcing their principles to the world. They have to understand the world as it is. They do not just announce to the world that the world is bad and it ought to be better and go into meditation. Nevertheless, Yugoslavia, for the last so many years, has stood up against the Soviet Union at great risk, tremendous risk, and stood up by its principles. Lately, in the course of a year or two, some of the barriers between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union have been removed, removed chiefly by the Soviet Union, not by Yugoslavia except that Yugoslavia agreed to the removal. The initiative came from the Soviet Union. The initiative came from the Soviet Union because of the inner ferment and changes that are taking place in the Soviet Union itself, not because of fear of Yugoslavia but because of this ferment. They have been removed and Yugoslavia's influence in that part of the world has been very considerable. What happened in Yugoslavia has

5. On Hungary, on 9 November in the UN General Assembly.

affected naturally Poland, Hungary and other countries. It has affected to some extent Russia itself. It has affected other countries. Yugoslavia has been playing a role of helping and encouraging these movements, two types of movements you may say. One is towards liberalization or democratization in their own sense, not perhaps in your own sense, and secondly, that each country should be completely independent and not within the influence or dominion of any country or compulsion of any country. They can develop. The Yugoslavs are socialists, communists, not communists exactly as the Russians are. They have their own view of communism. They say, each country must develop socialism in its own way which, I think, is a perfectly legitimate way of looking at it. Anyhow, I shall venture to say that they have resisted throughout and not given up their own policy and their own attitude either through fear or any other impulse, emanating from Russia. To say that they were afraid and gave their vote in this manner, seems to me quite an extraordinary thing. I mention this specially because I believe that the Praja Socialist Party has had a high opinion of Yugoslavia and its policy. Some of their leaders have gone to Yugoslavia.

J.B. Kripalani: My high opinion is not less because of this.

JN: I am very glad to hear that. They have gone there, they have conferred with them and representatives from Yugoslavia had come to their conventions, congresses and conferences. I might say that in the last two or three years, some of us in the Government of India and the Government of India itself have come into fairly close contact with Yugoslavia on the personal level, on the governmental level and Yugoslavia has become a country with which we exchange our appraisals of the situation more frequently than any other country. We attach great value to this in regard to Europe. That is because Yugoslavia, first of all, is geographically so situated as to be in intimate touch with the developments in Central and Eastern Europe and Southern Europe. Secondly, historically, linguistically, it has been intimately connected with them. The history of the last 30 years has seen both the closest union of Yugoslavia leaders with the leaders of Russia and other countries in Europe and also their parting company with each other and the subsequent coming together again. The result is, the leaders of Yugoslavia, more especially, the President of Yugoslavia, Marshal Tito, are in a better position to make appraisal of the situation. You may or may not agree, that is a different matter. But, it comes from persons of great ability and great experience. Because, experience is not a question of high principles sitting here, but of knowing and trying to get what is at the back of the mind of the other party. So, we value them very much. I am free to confess that we have, to some extent, been guided by their appraisal of the European situation. So far

as Asia is concerned, we presume to know a little more than they do and perhaps sometimes they are guided by our appraisal in regard to Asian situations. In regard to the European situation, we certainly attach value to what they say.

I was reading this morning a report of a speech that President Tito delivered, I think, on the 11th of November at Pula.[6] It is a long speech. But, the Yugoslavian Government have been good enough to send the twenty-page speech to me by telegram, which reached us yesterday. I was reading it. It is his analysis of the situation in Hungary, in Egypt, in Europe, in the world. The analysis that he has made is special to him. I mean to say that I have not seen any other analysis which would fit in with any other conclusion, though analysis may be part of the same. It is true that the objectives before him are not exactly the objectives that any country may have or we may have. That is a different matter. What I submit is, here is a person who has been working for the last few years in his own quiet way for this process of democratization in the Eastern European countries, changes in Russia, etc., and has played an important part in it. He knows the leaders of those countries thoroughly. He can talk their language, not having interpreters in between. His appraisal is, therefore, helpful. I am not going to read the 20 pages of the appraisal except to say that in many points it seems to be very correct, though in some I find it a little difficult to agree with him. One thing I would read out to you, the remarks that he has made about the present Hungarian Government. I say that because, to my amazement, an honourable Member on this side of the House, in his excitement, talked about Mr Kadar[7] as a quisling, imposter, as a puppet and what not, and wanted him to be thrown out of the window or some such thing.[8]

I do, if I may say so, with all respect, a little more responsible thinking and responsible talk in this House. I am sorry that such utterly ridiculous statements can be made by any Member of this House even though he may be a Member of my Party. Mr Kadar, I do not know him but I am prepared to say, does not perhaps command the allegiance of the majority of the Hungarian people. That is a different matter. But, to run down an individual whose whole life and career has been one of fighting and struggling for freedom, who has been sent to prison by the Communist Government in Hungary for a number of years and kept there, that is to say, by the previous Government or the Stalinite Government, if I may call it, and kept in prison for years[9] and who has come out now and who

6. See *post*, pp. 470 & 478.
7. Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of Hungary at this time.
8. Asoka Mehta on 19 November and H.V. Kamath on 20 November, called Kadar a puppet.
9. Kadar was imprisoned from 1951 to 1954 by Matyas Rakosi, General Secretary of Hungarian Communist Party, when Imre Nagy freed him after becoming Prime Minister in 1953.

was a member of Mr Nagy's Government, a senior Member—just to call him a quisling and all that really does seem to me, to go to an extreme limit of irresponsible thinking and speaking.

Other Members said: "Do not recognize this Government." I do not quite understand how those honourable Members think about these problems. Recognition and non-recognition. We have recognized Hungary as an independent country. If some honourable Member tells me it was not independent, not wholly independent, I might be prepared to agree. But I would add there are very few countries in the world which are wholly independent and whose leading strings are not in somebody else's hands. They may be independent countries, in the United Nations they may vote this way or that way, but I doubt very much if their voting is hundred per cent free voting. Quite a large number of countries would fall into that category of lacking completc independence.

I am just reading a paragraph from Prcsident Tito's long speech. After the analysis, he said:

> "We must help today the Kadar Government. Comrades, I have gone a little away from the matter of which I have spoken. I wanted to tell you that viewing the current developments in Hungary from the perspective of socialism or counter-revolution, we must defend Kadar's present Government. We must help it because it is in a very difficult situation...."

I will not read more. The point is that the situations that a country or the world has to deal with, are not black and white, are not simple. Very often in the world or in our individual life or our national policies, one has to choose what is called the lesser evil. One might take a particular step in order to avoid a catastrophe, in order to avoid a war.

Some honourable Members seem to think here that everything that has happened in Hungary was dead clear and there was no doubt and we can deliver a fine speech about it. I can tell them that during these last twenty days or so—because this crisis, we might say, arose in its present form with the ultimatum to Egypt by the United Kingdom and France round about the 31st October—during these days or the first fortnight certainly, my Ministry of External Affairs here worked till the small hours of the morning because we were in a difficulty what to do, what to say, what to reply, getting all kinds of messages from our own people, from other countries, leaders of other countries, at midnight, at one o'clock at night, having to answer it immediately, sometimes trying to telephone to other continents. It was a difficult situation. A situation is not resolved by the enunciation of a maxim. One has to take a step to improve and a step that will avoid worsening of the situation. And the first thing we had all the time in our

mind was that we must avoid a war, we must do everything in so far as we can to avoid a war because if there is a war everything goes to rack and ruin; if there is not, one can repair the damage, one can gradually begin thinking on straight lines and do something. And to some extent that has been the fate of many of our diplomatic representatives elsewhere.

Honourable Member Shri Shiva Rao[10] complained that we did not give the House enough information, that we should issue memoranda to Members from time to time. I should be very happy to give as much information as we can from time to time, but I do not quite understand what he meant. If Parliament is sitting, naturally if anything important occurs, it is my business to come to Parliament and state it, and no memorandum is necessary. If not, I can otherwise do it. But in these two and a half weeks—Parliament met on the 14th, from two weeks practically before that—with an ever-changing situation, with facts not quite clear and our trying to get those facts, it was not an easy matter to issue a memorandum, lest we say a wrong thing or the right thing at the wrong time. Remember this, right may be right, but right said at the wrong time may create wrong. It is a very difficult thing, in these matters what to say, when to say and how to say it.

Then again, Acharya Kripalani said that our diplomatic representatives ought to have sensed that this was going to happen. Well, if they could do so, I would have been very happy, but how we should expect our young men to sense future happenings like this when, as far as I know, hardly anybody in the wide world knew of them, is more than I can understand. It is a fact that in so far as the Israeli invasion of Egypt took place, there were some rumblings three or four days before. The House may remember that almost exactly one month before the Israeli invasion of Egypt, Mr Ben-Gurion, the Prime Minister of Israel, declared that he was not in favour of a preventive war and he was not going to have a preventive war—just a month before he attacked Egypt in a big way. It is an extraordinary way for a Prime Minister to give that kind of assurance and break it within a month.

There were some rumblings in the sense that one felt it and presumably because—naturally, the resources of England and America are far greater than ours—President Eisenhower issued some kind of an appeal, a vague appeal, asking Israel and others to restrain themselves. There was some talk of people being ready for evacuation. We read that in the newspapers just a little before. Then came the Israeli invasion.

10. Congress Member from South Kanara-South.

So far as the Anglo-French ultimatum was concerned, so far as I know, no country in the world including all the Commonwealth countries, including America which is a very close ally of England and France, knew anything about it, till just before the ultimatum. I got a message just about simultaneously with the ultimatum, late at night. I got it late at night when the ultimatum was to expire at 8 o'clock the next morning, I got it at midnight or thereabouts.

We need not go into this question which Acharya Kripalani and other people have repeatedly referred to, namely, why were we not consulted. Nobody was consulted, even the United States which is of such great importance to the military and other policies of the United Kingdom. There is naturally very considerable resentment in the minds of some—if not all, most members of the Commonwealth—that in a matter of this kind they were not consulted. However the point is, it did come like a bolt from the blue, and no diplomatic representative, however experienced he might be, unless he dealt in some astrological methods, could possibly sense this.

Two or three months ago I met our Ambassador in Egypt[11], while coming back from my visit to Saudi Arabia and Syria. He came to Beirut.[12] I found him rather ill from sheer hard work. In fact, to my great dismay, as he and I were walking in a corridor in Beirut, he suddenly collapsed, fainted. It was astounding. We took him up, put him in bed and he gradually revived. Just so much overwork. I told him: "Please rest a little here in Beirut for at least seven or eight days". The day after when I came here, we got the news of the nationalization of the Suez Canal, and immediately after this, news of British ships of war moving about. Poor man, he had to hurry back to Cairo. He went to Cairo and worked hard again all the time, because there was work in Cairo then, very hard work during these two or three months. When he was thoroughly worn out, we gave him a little leave and we thought that now, after the Security Council had decided the six principles on which the Suez Canal[13] question will be settled, the danger of war was over. Most people thought so and actually a date was fixed or suggested by Mr Hammarskjold, the Secretary General of UN, for the meeting of representatives of Egypt, England and France and may be some others. Curiously enough, that date did not come up and on the day which Mr Hammarskjold had suggested for the meeting, that very day the British ultimatum, the Anglo-French ultimatum came. I think it was the 29th, if I am not wrong. And so, this poor man, our Ambassador in Egypt had just come away for a little

11. Ali Yavar Jung.
12. In fact, Nehru stayed in Beirut on 21 and 22 July 1956 after attending Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and visiting other European cities and Cairo.
13. See *post*, p. 419.

rest, on casual leave, when on the second or third day of his arrival, these things happened. He telephoned to me from Hyderabad and said, 'I must go immediately'. I said, 'Yes; go back'. How was he to go back? All the Airlines to Cairo had stopped. Then he said, 'I will go to Damascus'. The Damascus line was stopped. He said, 'I will go to Istanbul and work my way through'. He said, 'From here I go to Rome and go there'. He came back from Rome. From there he went to Libya and from Libya to Cairo. The roads were being blocked there and nobody could go there. He came back to Rome and then went to Khartoum and from Khartoum by road and river he found his way to Cairo. This was the process of his going back.

Then, about the High Commissioner in London.[14] Because of some quietening of the situation some leave was asked on grounds of health and she came here. Immediately these things came. The next day she telephoned to me here and said, 'I am ready to go back'.

Shri Kamath: She did not come to Delhi?

JN: She was in Allahabad. She telephoned to Delhi. She said, 'I am ready to go back immediately.' I asked her to come here first and then she went two or three days later. She could have gone two or three days earlier but there was trouble about her health and she went as early as she could.

One word about our representative in Hungary, about our Ambassador in Hungary. He is Shri K.P.S. Menon who is also our Ambassador in Moscow. He normally lives in Moscow but pays his visit there. That applies to several countries like Poland because we have not got men to put up embassies everywhere. Because of this ferment in Hungary going on for some time, we had decided to send a more junior official to be stationed there[15] to report to the Ambassador or his First Secretary. This young man arrived there, I think, about two weeks before this outbreak in Hungary. He has been there throughout. He has done good work. He is a very young man who has just arrived in a new country. But he has done good work. We have asked our Ambassador, Shri K.P.S. Menon, who is also our Ambassador in Hungary to move there immediately and report.

A good deal has been said, either directly or indirectly, hinting at the fact that there has been some difference of opinion between the Government of India here and our Delegation to the United Nations. I should like to make it perfectly clear that there is complete unison of thinking and action in the Government of India and our representatives. First of all, before they go, we have long talks and

14. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.
15. M.A. Rahman.

we discuss the matter. Secondly, we are, so far as one can be, in constant communication. One cannot do so always, naturally, because emergency sessions are held there constantly. Suddenly at midnight, resolutions are put forward and suddenly passed because of the emergency. Even today, when we were sitting listening to the speeches here, I was summoned by telephone from New York telling me what was happening today. I may tell the House what is happening today. It is just as it was happening previously. Here is a resolution which is being proposed by some countries with regard to Hungary, in regard to the report about deportations from Hungary. I have not got the wording of the resolution here. Maybe it has appeared in the Press. Anyhow, reports have appeared about these deportations saying that the United Nations must immediately send people and take action etc. We did not approve of this resolution. We said that reports had appeared about these deportations. This has been denied by the Hungarian representative and the Soviet representative. It is, therefore, desirable to find out what the facts are as quickly as possible, because, naturally, the whole conception of deportation is not only distasteful but instinctly bad. We must find out what the facts are and ask the Hungarian Government to allow representatives sent by the UN or the Secretary General to go and enquire into this matter. I have not the correct wording here. It is the sense of it. We thought that it is wrong for a responsible organization like the United Nations to pronounce a judgment without enquiry. Enquiry before judgment will not make any slight difference; but it is far better to enquire. In fact, judgment without enquiry is a bad thing. We said, 'You enquire into it'. I do not know what is going to happen in the General Assembly today. If our resolution is taken up and it is passed, well and good. If the other resolution is given precedence and ours does not come up and if the other one is passed, we will not vote, we will abstain.[16] You cannot say the first paragraph is this and the second paragraph is that and there is nothing wrong in it. You cannot take these things like that. We have to take the whole thing as it is and the background of it and what is meant by it.

Take this resolution that has been so much talked about, the resolution of November 4th against which we ultimately voted, the resolution by Pakistan, Cuba and two or three other countries.

Shri Kamath: On the 9th.

JN: Take that resolution, the whole context of it. It is no good saying that the

16. The resolution submitted by India, Sri Lanka and Indonesia was adopted on 21 November in the UN General Assembly. See *post*, p. 475.

preamble said something about the United Nations and we are not against it. One has to see the context of it. One has to see the objective of it, what is meant by it, because, unfortunately, these are the difficulties that have arisen.

Things in Egypt and Hungary have both led to the intensification of the cold war. That is bad. The Soviet Union forgets about Hungary, puts a cover on it and talks about Egypt and Anglo-French aggression only. The other countries forget about Egypt and talk about Hungary only.

J.B. Kripalani: Let us talk about both.

JN: The Socialist Party is also forgetting about Egypt and is talking about Hungary only. I would just ask you to find how much time has been given in the speeches to Hungary and how much time to Egypt. You can just calculate it from the records of speeches here in this House. What is more, it is not merely the time, but the stress of it, the whole emphasis of it.

H.V. Kamath: Let us sit down and do it.

JN: Unfortunately, with all respect to my elders and others, this has gone into wrong hands. There is interference in such matters, especially Hungary, by such associations like the Association for Cultural Freedom, Democratic Research Service[17] and so on.

H.V. Kamath: Are you thinking of Bulganin?

JN: I am not referring to Bulganin; I am referring to the Democratic Research Service. I am referring to some organization going by the rather pompous name of the Society for Cultural Freedom. I do not know what democracy and culture is there about the organization. They are merely political organizations; just like they have political organizations for this and for that, they have for culture but mainly and only for the promotion of communism. So, in spite of high-sounding names, these rival organizations have sprung up, normally with their headquarters in Bombay, closely associated with the Praja Socialist Party, doing propaganda for democracy and freedom in this peculiar way. So, that is the difficulty.

Here are two very vital issues affecting the world, and instead of those issues being considered on their merits, each one of them is considered more from two points of view. One is the point of view of the Cultural Freedom Society; the

17. Bombay based organization run by Minoo Masani.

other is just to run down our Government as a convenient handle to do so. It is unfortunate. Because of this, the resolutions that are brought in the United Nations, not all of them but some of them, are brought largely with a political intent, that is, to down some parties, may be to down the people who are agitating in Hungary, to down the people in Egypt. Speeches are delivered from that point of view, so as to divert public attention from one matter to another.

In the first week of November, world attention was concentrated on Egypt, and as the House knows, there was a tremendous reaction all over the world against the Anglo-French and Israeli aggression in Egypt. Just then the Hungarian question came to the front. That it had been there and it deserved close attention undoubtedly and caused great concern I agree, but the way it was taken up again was that it was viewed almost with the relief that it happened in Hungary so that attention might be diverted from Egypt to Hungary, and in this picture the poor people of Hungary played little part. I am not speaking of those people; I am talking of those who look at it from this angle about the future of those people. They are thinking of the Hungarian question as a pawn in the chessboard of international politics, just as others who are thinking of the Egyptian question as a pawn in the chessboard of international politics. It becomes very easy to be swept away, especially in the passion and excitement of the moment. It is the business of a delegation not to be swept away by this. It is the business of a delegation to check these things. So, it is not a question of phraseology of a paragraph or a sub-paragraph, but the whole context of it, how it is produced. One honourable Member, I forget who he was, mentioned something about the timing of it and the country who produced it. With all respect, none of the important countries put forward this resolution. They may vote for it afterwards, but they did not sponsor it. Why did they not sponsor it? They did not think it was a responsible resolution at the moment. Naturally, when it came to voting, they thought they had better vote for it. It all comes in this way. All this tremendous propaganda against India is raised in other countries and to some extent in India. India voted this, India voted that etc. It is obvious that the whole thing had a political motive and objective behind it, to run down India, because India had taken a strong line in the United Nations about various matters. That is the clear objective. Most people, of course, did not know all the facts, and one cannot blame them for the reaction they have. But I say that the objective of all this was to try to put the Indian Delegation and the Government of India in the wrong in this matter, and maybe many people in India were affected by that barrage of propaganda.

I do beg of the House to consider this with regard to all the accounts or what is said. That is why I took the unusual step of circulating the two speeches which Shri Krishna Menon delivered on the Hungarian question because the

speech clarifies our attitude fully, and I want the House to read them and judge thereby. Therefore, I wish to repeat, to remove any misapprehension, that in this particular matter of the resolution, in regard to the speeches—naturally the speeches were not vetted by me before, but reading it subsequently—it does represent our viewpoint and that vote was a perfectly correct vote. If a similar situation arises, we shall again vote in the same way—I wish to make it perfectly clear—because our attitude to Hungary or Egypt will be judged. But we are not going to be dragged into a wrong formulation of the policy by a resolution which, according to us, is not properly phrased. It may be that a particular bit of it by itself may be right. If I may refer to honourable Member, Shri Kamath's amendment to this particular resolution which I have moved, part of that amendment may seem to be innocuous—I am not going to accept any part of it, that is certain because, as Shri Kamath has frankly said, it comes with a different objective. He is opposed to our policy and he is perfectly justified in putting forward that. But, of course, I am perfectly justified in resisting that, even though a bit of it here and there may, by itself, sound good. I cannot take a bit here and a bit there.

May I refer to one matter which several Members have brought up—the question of Israel—and demanded from us the policy we followed in regard to Israel? We have made no secret of our policy or the reasons for that policy in the past. We recognized Israel some little time after it had entered the United Nations and had been recognized by a large number of countries. We recognize it because it was our policy to recognize any country that was an independent functioning country, represented in the United Nations. We recognized it. We recognized a country which we had not long recognized for other reasons, like Spain, entirely for other reasons, but we came to that conclusion, whether we had disagreed in the past or at present with Spanish policy, and we are glad that we have recognized it and we have now representation from Spain here. Having done so, it is true that a logical consequence of that was to exchange diplomatic mission, subject, of course, to our having the personnel. But we were trying at that time throughout—I am talking about the last two or three years—mainly to help in some way or other in lessening the gap between the Arab countries and Israel; not that we wanted to push ourselves in, but we thought perhaps we might be able to help. We tried that and we came to the conclusion that in view of the existing passions, if we exchanged diplomatic personnel with Israel, our task would become difficult. There is no logic in it. It is a question of seeing the existing situation and deciding how best you can serve your objective in view. I told the Egyptian people and others about this, but I must say that progressively I have been surprised at the aggressive tendencies of Israel. There has been plenty of aggression on the other side and wild speeches made also. But if

honourable Members will look at the record kept by the UN Observers who have been sitting on the Armistice Line there, they will find that the number of aggressions from the side of Israel—there have been aggressions on both sides—have exceeded those from Egypt's.

Finally, this last action of Israel has amazed me. It is the most foolish gamble that any country can play, quite apart from the morals of it, which are wrong. I am completely at sea at the present moment. Even some months ago, I had some hopes that some kind of a settlement might emerge. But, at the present moment, my mind is completely blank in regard to a settlement between Egypt and other Arab countries and Israel. Such tremendous passions have been raised that a very great deal of time should elapse before the people could forget what had happened.

Harindranath Chattopadhyaya: Could we know the reasons why, at this juncture, in spite of all that has happened to take us away from the Commonwealth, we still continue to be in the Commonwealth? The Prime Minister has not spoken about it.

JN: Thank you for reminding me.

The honourable Member reminded me of the Commonwealth connection. This question has come up in a different context on many occasions and I have warmly defended that connection for a variety of reasons. It is perfectly true that, because of this Anglo-French attack on Egypt, this question had to be thought about afresh. It was a new and important factor and as some honourable Members have said, a veteran statesman of ours had been writing and speaking on this subject. So also others. Well, we have given thought to it and I spoke about it the other day in Calcutta.

First of all, it is up to us to decide, when we so choose, when there is adequate reason for us to do so, as to whether we should leave the Commonwealth. I do not think, considering everything, that it is desirable for us, because of this particular happening, to leave the Commonwealth. I want a dissociated—not that it need necessarily be dissociated—consideration; I do not think it is right for us to act in such a way. Why do we take any action? To achieve certain results. The only possible result I see here is to exhibit our strong feelings in this matter. That is the result and is something which may be worthwhile just to show. I do not think that we have been lacking in the expression of views about recent events in Egypt. We expressed them very strongly and nobody doubts them anyway. Therefore, to do that, merely to express again our views about it, is not worthwhile.

Again, we have to consider it from both the points of view of the immediate

problems and from a longer viewpoint. The immediate problem is, again, how we can prevent the situation from deteriorating towards war— mean the world situation. We feel that any such action would not tend to help in improving the situation but would rather make it worse. That is one important consideration.

In another context too, we feel that, subject, of course, to there being no war and presuming that the world somewhat settles down, we think that it is desirable that, should continue—this Commonwealth connection. We think it is helpful; it can help peace; it has helped peace. That does not mean that a Member should remind me: how do you keep the peace immediately? We do not, of course, know but I say that you could not have done it otherwise either. We have to weigh so many problems that have come up and, more especially, in this growing complex world situation, we do think that it would be wrong for us, merely to show our irritation and anger at certain things that have happened, to cut off this Commonwealth connection. We feel that it is good for us and, if I may say so with all respect, good for England too to have this connection. I know at least some of the other Commonwealth countries, whose opinion and whose friendship we value, would also very much like us to continue there. But of course, we live in a fluid state of affairs and I do not know how the international situation will develop; it depends upon that too.

There were many things said and I am sorry if I missed any points, made in the debate. But, I would refer to one thing. Acharya Kripalani said something about the statement issued by some Members of our UNO delegation.[18] As far as I remember, all the Members who issued it, are Members of Parliament, very well known to honourable Members here. It is not for me to give them a testimonial. But, I will say this that, some days ago, they informed me—I did not know that they were bringing out a statement—that they were surprised at all this outcry going on about India's vote. They said: "We have done it in this spirit. We have heard the speeches and that was their opinion and they informed was the only line we can take". Then, ultimately, they decided to issue this statement which they have every right to do. Naturally, one does not expect the official members of the delegation to issue statements in favour of Government's action. But, I would like—I hope the House will not think that I am doing this merely for the sake of formality—to express my high appreciation of the work of our delegation, more especially, of the Leader of the delegation.[19] We have reached nearly a stage where there is this inner and deeper crisis which we have

18. J.B. Kripalani said that he was sorry to read the statement of seven out of twenty Indian representatives in the UN, defending India's vote.
19. V.K. Krishna Menon.

to resolve not because we are in any way better than any other countries, but simply because we are friendly to other countries and we have been put in a position where we can help a little.

In the course of the next few weeks, I am going to the United States, chiefly to meet President Eisenhower.[20] I am greatly looking forward to this visit not only because the United States is a great and powerful country but because also President Eisenhower is a great man who has exercised his influence and has undoubtedly been, I believe, instrumental in the maintenance of world peace on every critical occasion. I am sure that meeting him will be a profit to me.

Here again, in about ten days or less than ten days, the Prime Minister of China, Mr Chou En-lai, the leader of a great nation, our neighbour, a very important person and a very able person, is coming here.[21] This itself rather lights up the way we function in the international sphere. We meet in a frankly and friendly way, the great leader of the United States. We meet frankly and in a friendly way, a very prominent leader of the new China. And in a sense, may be to a slight extent, we do become a link between people who have parted and who do not otherwise meet. That is a service we can perform, not because of our being better than anybody else but simply because circumstances and our policy have placed us in that position.

The House knows how we have regretted greatly during the last many years the exclusion of China and worked for its inclusion in the United Nations. We have done so not only because we thought it the right thing to do but because not doing so seemed to us very harmful to the world, more harmful to the world than to China herself and, progressively, the longer China is kept out, the harm to the rest of the world is greater than to China herself. The other day we put this matter forward again in the United Nations and some other resolution was passed, I believe, although some kind of a controversy has arisen over it whether it was regularly passed or not by sufficient number of votes. But, we may do that in the United Nations regularly and people may think that we are just doing it formally, as a matter of course. But it is something infinitely more than that. We consider this matter to be of the utmost significance for world peace. We consider it utterly and absolutely wrong to go on keeping China outside the United Nations. We consider it injurious to the United Nations and to the other countries. For my part I am convinced that if China had been there, many of the troubles of the Far East might not have taken place. And if China is not there, may be, other conflicts may continue to rise up. I do wish to lay stress on this. . . .

20. Nehru visited the United States of America from 16 to 21 December 1956.
21. Chou En-lai was in India from 28 November to 10 December and again from 30 December 1956 to 1 January 1957.

II. SUEZ CRISIS

1. Message to Dwight D. Eisenhower[1]

Dear Mr President,
I am grateful to you for your letter of the 25th August, 1956. I delayed my reply to you till now, pending the return of our delegation from London[2] and the visit of the Menzies Mission to Cairo.[3]

Our view has been, and is, that a peaceful approach must be made to this problem in which we all have our concerns, and that we should strive for a negotiated settlement. This was the view we took at the London Conference.[4] We were anxious that the basis for negotiations proposed to Egypt should be such as would bring her into talks. Those would then be on concrete and practical problems which, I agree with you in thinking, hold out good hopes of settlement.

1. New Delhi, 7 September 1956. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Washington, G.L. Mehta.
2. Attended by 22 countries, the first London conference was convened from 16 to 23 August 1956 by the British Government to consider the establishment of an international agency to ensure free and secure transit of shipping of all countries through the Suez Canal. The decision to hold the conference was announced on 2 August after the tripartite talks were held between the UK, France and the USA to consider the situation arising after the nationalization of the Suez Canal by the Egyptian President Nasser on 26 July 1956. Two plans—18-Power Proposals, and the Indian Plan (described in footnotes 4 & 5 below)—were considered for the Canal's future at the Conference.
3. At the end of the London conference, 18 countries, supporting the majority plan, i.e., a US plan as amended by Pakistan, Ethiopia, Persia and Turkey for international control of the Canal, appointed a five-nation Committee under the Chairmanship of Robert Menzies, the Prime Minister of Australia, to present and explain the 18-Power Proposals to Nasser and the Egyptian Government. The other four members of the Committee were Ethiopia, Persia, Sweden and the USA. Menzies Mission held talks in Cairo from 3 to 9 September 1956.
4. The Indian Plan, presented at the London conference by Krishna Menon, favoured operation of the Canal by Egypt with the assistance of "a consultative body of user interests formed on the basis of geographical representation and interests, and charged with advisory, consultative and liaison functions." This plan was supported by the Soviet Union, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka.

If the Menzies Mission succeeds in establishing such a basis, or brings Egypt into negotiations in some other way, we would all be very happy and gratified.

If, however, the endeavours that are made by the Menzies Mission in the context of the 18-Power Proposals,[5] as well as the views at present held by Egypt,[6] do not bring about this result, then it seems to us we should explore other ways for a peaceful settlement, and not permit a setback and a drift towards conflict.

I must confess that the continuing military preparations, movements and references to use of force do not make a peaceful approach or assist in bridging differences.

As you are aware, our objective has been a peaceful settlement, and I am happy to echo your sentiment that there is a harmony of purpose between our two countries. We would always be willing to exert what influence we may possess with any of the parties concerned to this end, and equally not to encourage or endorse approaches or actions of the opposite kind.

Our anxieties in this matter continue to be grave. I therefore take the liberty of reiterating what I said to you, Mr President, in my last letter that I earnestly hope that the great influence of the United States will be continuously exerted in all endeavours towards a peaceful approach and settlement, and to discourage and deter talk and ways of solutions by force.

For the present, we await the results of the Menzies Mission in Cairo.[7] I may address you again in the light of these results.

With the assurances of my highest esteem,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The proposals suggested that: (i) the operation and development of the Suez Canal should be the responsibility of an international Suez Canal Board which would be granted by Egypt "all rights and facilities appropriate to its functioning", (ii) due regard to the sovereign rights of Egypt was to be assured; (iii) a fair and equitable return to Egypt for the use of Suez Canal and fair compensation to the Universal Suez Canal Company should be ensured; (iv) an arbitral commission to settle disputes regarding point (iii) should be established; and (v) appropriate association with the UN should be provided for.
6. Egypt's stand at this time was that (i) she would not agree to international control for the Suez Canal as envisaged in the 18-Power resolution; (ii) she would not relinquish sovereignty over the Canal; and (iii) she was ready to guarantee complete freedom of navigation for all shipping provided the first two points were accepted.
7. The talks between the Menzies Mission and Nasser ended in a deadlock.

2. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung[1]

Received your telegrams 237,[2] 239[3] and 240[4] of September 6th.

2. I have spoken on telephone to Krishna Menon who is in Bombay, returning here Sunday.

3. We agree entirely with proposal to issue memorandum immediately Menzies Mission leaves Cairo. Presumably, you will send this memorandum to us. We shall immediately support proposals for negotiation. We agree with you that memorandum should not indicate precise counter proposals but should express desire to negotiate. Any indication of counter proposals would make it difficult

1. New Delhi, 7 September 1956. JN Collection. Jung was India's Ambassador in Cairo.
2. Ali Yavar Jung had informed that after the departure of the Five-Power Menzies Mission, the Egyptian Government contemplated two simultaneous actions: (i) appeal to the Security Council against military preparations and economic sanctions by Britain and France, for which documents had already been sent to the Egyptian permanent representative at New York; (ii) issuing a memorandum to UN Secretary General, all Governments and the Press, indicating their readiness to negotiate a peaceful settlement regarding the revision of the Convention of 1888, freedom of navigation, non-discrimination, efficient operation, development, and tolls to satisfy legitimate concern of user interests accommodating different shades of opinion in a negotiating body whose composition was to be discussed.
3. This contained Nasser's message for Nehru saying that Egypt could not accept the Five-Power Proposals. But he deliberately showed his willingness to negotiate in a proper body for satisfying the legitimate concerns with regard to freedom of navigation, tolls, technical efficiency, future development, drawing line at Egyptian sovereignty, ownership and control. Nasser wrote that he had to be prepared for military intervention as incidents might be provoked by the defection of pilots. Nasser sought Nehru's urgent advice regarding Egypt's appeal to the Security Council. He hoped that immediately after their issuing the memorandum for negotiations, Nehru would take the initiative with the great powers to urge immediate discussion on the formation of the negotiating body and suggest its composition. "I depend on your friendly and timely initiative," he wrote. He also hoped that Krishna Menon would be sent to London, Washington and Cairo for discussions. He concluded: "In truth there is everything to show that they (Britain and France) are more after control than efficiency."
4. Ali Yavar Jung had informed that Nasser was relying entirely on Nehru's initiative, after issuing the memorandum stating his willingness to negotiate and suggesting discussions on the composition of the negotiating body. Nasser was afraid that if Eden was not contacted before the British Parliament's meeting on 12 September, he would be committed irrevocably to his line in Parliament.

to negotiate later. Memorandum should be in moderate language and should mention clearly various matters referred to in para one of Nasser's message to me.

4. Krishna Menon is very doubtful about desirability of Egypt approaching Security Council at this stage. Our own experience of Security Council has not been happy. There is possibility of Egypt getting tied up in many ways if such approach made now. Also, there has been no overt act yet which can be complained against although of course mention can be made of military movements elsewhere.[5] On the whole, we feel that reference to Security Council might be delayed and further consideration given to it during next few days.

5. It is important however that memorandum should be released as soon as Menzies leaves. We shall take action immediately in various countries. Composition of negotiating body can only be discussed when principle of such negotiation is accepted. Memorandum might suggest that negotiating body should consist of user nations of different shades of opinion.

6. I shall send personal message to Eden as soon as Menzies Mission ends. It is unlikely that after issue of memorandum and full offer to negotiate British or French Government will take immediate military action.

7. You can assure Nasser that we shall take all appropriate steps to encourage proposal of negotiation. I am prepared to ask Krishna Menon to go to Cairo if needed. But in view of his position here as Cabinet Minister it would be desirable for invitation from Egyptian Government to come for him. But his going to Cairo as also later to London or Washington should await developments. We do not wish it to appear that we are pushing ourselves in or driving Egyptian Government in particular direction.

8. Summing up, we generally agree to various steps suggested by Nasser except that we are very doubtful about immediate appeal to Security Council.

9. Please convey substance of this message to Nasser immediately. I shall be communicating with you further later.

5. The British granted the French permission to station French troops in Cyprus. The first French contingent disembarked on 7 September.

3. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung[1]

Your telegram 243[2] and 244[3] of 8th September.

2. Please convey to Nasser my acknowledgement of his message. I hope to reply to him after receipt of memorandum and other developments.

3. The situation, so far as we can see it, is not at all clear. Presumably it will not clear up till Menzies' visit is concluded and he has reported to his Principals. Our own steps can only be decided upon after we have seen some of these subsequent developments. Any earlier steps might not be appropriate.

4. On receipt of Egyptian memorandum[4] we shall take such steps as appear to us necessary, including communication to Eden.

5. As regards Krishna Menon's visit to Cairo, while we are anxious to be helpful, we do not wish to rush in or mistime our efforts. If Krishna Menon goes to Cairo before other developments have taken place, this might be premature. He can hardly stay on there awaiting developments.

6. I would like to know your own views[5] and that of Nasser as to the timing of Krishna Menon going to Cairo and also what ideas and expectations the Egyptians

1. New Delhi, 9 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. This contained Nasser's message to Nehru stating that he agreed with Nehru's views that Egypt should not rush to the Security Council and wait for the the British Parliament's meeting. Nasser also informed him that a copy of a "moderately-worded" memorandum with "no counter-proposals" would be cabled to him on 9 September and released the next day after Menzies Mission's departure from Cairo. Nasser requested that Krishna Menon visit Cairo at the earliest to discuss the composition of the negotiating body and other matters.
3. Ali Yavar Jung reported that there were reasons to believe that differences of approaches had arisen within the Menzies Mission. According to him, Nasser was "greatly relieved" at Nehru's agreement to take initiative immediately after the departure of Menzies Mission and Nehru's decision to send message to Eden before the British Parliament's meeting.
4. The Egyptian note, released on 10 September, proposed immediate discussions between all States using the Suez Canal, for the creation of a "negotiating body" to consider the question of the freedom of navigation, Canal development, toll charges on the Canal, and possibly review of the Convention of 1888. The note recalled Nasser's proposal of 12 August for a conference of signatories of the 1888 Convention for review. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 34, p. 367.
5. Jung replied on 10 September that Krishna Menon's visit to Cairo or London might create suspicions.

have in regard to what can be done in respect of the future as a result of his visit.[6]

7. I shall await your reply before sending an answer to Nasser.

6. Jung wrote on 11 September that Nasser was anxious to discuss with Krishna Menon the prospect of accepting the idea of negotiation, composition of negotiating body, the line he should take if Western Powers referred the question to the UN, and other possible peaceful solutions. However, Nasser agreed that for discussing these, at least preliminary developments in London in the context of ongoing consultations with Menzies, the Americans, the French and of Parliamentary debate must be awaited. Nasser thought that India was ideally placed to convince the Western Powers of the idea of negotiation and secure a representative and fair-minded body for negotiations.

4. Message to Anthony Eden[1]

I hasten to send you this personal message on the Suez Canal question which we both view with great anxiety. I earnestly hope that what I have to say will evoke your favourable response.

2. While the situation that has emerged after the visit of the Menzies Delegation cannot be satisfactory to you, the Egyptian note does offer ways which can lead to negotiations, which should be explored. I believe that they can lead to ways of settlement in which the essentials in your position and what is necessary in the interests of the international community can find their place adequately.

3. I do not wish in this brief and urgent message to go into the details of the Egyptian reply, nor do I ask you to accept what is set out in the Egyptian statement as it stands at present. I wish, however, to convey to you my considered views that it offers prospects for a negotiated settlement fully consistent with the interests of the United Kingdom and others and with the position and the prestige of the United Kingdom. As you know these are of concern to us also. I believe also that a general improvement in Anglo-Egyptian relations and your relationship

1. New Delhi, 11 September 1956. JN Collection. This message was sent through India's High Commissioner in London, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

with the Middle East generally is possible, even as it is very desirable. We are anxious that they should come about.

4. President Nasser requested me a few days ago to accept an invitation for Krishna Menon to go to Cairo. I delayed an answer awaiting some statement of the Egyptian position after the Menzies visit which I could feel satisfied contained hopeful possibilities of purposeful negotiations.

5. The position of the two sides and the points of difference as between them, though they appear to be wide apart and seemingly difficult to reconcile, do not appear to me to be so in fact. I believe we could discover and establish some common ground from which a settlement on the points of difference can emerge.

6. I need hardly assure you that our efforts would be to find a reasonable way out of present difficulties. We are well aware of your misgivings and concerns in relation to this matter.

7. I venture to make an earnest appeal to you to take into account the views I have expressed and the assessment of the problems which I have mentioned and to lend your great and, to an extent, determining influence to enable the development of negotiations.

8. I believe that patient, but not necessarily protracted, efforts will lead to a solution of our present difficulties.

9. In view of Nasser's invitation for Krishna Menon and my own wish that he should see you and Selwyn Lloyd in London, I am thinking of asking him to go to Cairo and London. I need hardly assure you of my goodwill and my awareness of your feelings and difficulties.

5. Message to Dwight D. Eisenhower[1]

In my reply of the 7th September[2] to your letter to me dated 25th August, on the Suez question, I had mentioned that I may address you again in the light of the results of the Menzies Mission. I had also said that, while we would all be gratified if the Menzies Mission succeeded in establishing a basis for negotiation,

1. New Delhi, 11 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 389-390.

we should explore other ways for peaceful settlement and not permit a setback or a drift to conflict even if the Menzies Mission did not succeed in their efforts.

2. While the situation, which has emerged after the visit of the Menzies Delegation, cannot be satisfactory to you, the Egyptian note communicated to Governments does offer ways which should be explored.[3] In view of the Egyptian Government's statement, Egypt can be expected to join in such exploration and to assist in a peaceful settlement which the Egyptian Government has declared to be its hope and objective. I venture and believe that in the situation that has emerged there is both the hope and the prospect of finding ways and means wherein points of view can be reconciled and an improvement in relations also brought about.

3. I am aware of your deep concern in this matter and your anxiety in regard to undesirable developments, which I fully share. I earnestly hope that the great influence of the United States can be exerted to pursue paths of negotiations and avoid resort to other methods.

4. I recognize that the Egyptian statement, as it stands, is not by itself a programme of settlement, but the way it has opened and the assurances that it embodies may well assist in the search of a common ground and of reconciliation of conflicting points of view and positions now held. While these points of view and positions appear difficult of reconciliation and seem wide apart, I believe that in fact that is not the case and that some common ground can be established and a settlement on points of difference sought.

5. President Nasser requested me a few days ago to accept an invitation for Krishna Menon to go to Cairo. I delayed an answer awaiting some statement of the Egyptian position after the Menzies visit which, I could feel satisfied, contained hopeful possibilities for purposeful negotiations. I am thinking of sending Krishna Menon to Cairo and also to London to see Sir Anthony Eden and Mr Selwyn Lloyd[4] and assist as best as we can in overcoming the present difficulties. I hope they will respond to the request I have made to them to enable the development of negotiations.

3. The US viewpoint on the Egyptian note was conveyed to Nehru on 12 September by G.L. Mehta after he met Dulles, the US Secretary of State. Dulles did not see much merit in the Egyptian proposals and said that he could not understand them. He told Mehta that Britain and France were determined to take action by 15 September, and the US Government, in order to avoid war, had proposed the setting up of a temporary Users' Association on practical rather treaty basis, which would be acceptable to Britain and France and achieve immediate objectives. Dulles described this scheme as "far from an ideal solution" but "only available alternative to war.".
4. The British Foreign Secretary.

6. I shall be grateful for your views and reactions to what I have said.[5]

5. In his reply on 15 September, Eisenhower expressed disappointment with Nasser's rejection of 18-Power Proposals, and doubted the effieaey of the Egyptian memorandum. He opined that the London Conferenee drew together all surviving parties of the 1888 Convention, representing over ninety per eent of the traffie through the Suez Canal and reaehed a large measure of agreement in regard to eonditions necessary to assure operation of the Canal, in aeeordanee with the prineiples of the 1888 Convention. He regretted that Egypt ehose to remain absent and later rejeeted their proposals. He informed Nehru that another eonference was planned in London beginning 19 September to discuss Menzies report, the response to Egyptian memorandum, and the proposed Assoeiation of Canal Users.

6. Message to Prime Ministers of Sri Lanka and Indonesia[1]

We have received today, as you would have, a copy of the statement from the Government of Egypt of their position and their views as to the further steps they suggest in regard to the Suez Canal question.

2. The statement of the Egyptian Government[2] offers ways for negotiations which can well lead to a settlement. We have expressed this as our view to the United Kingdom and the United States informally. We do not at present desire to give any publicity to these communications and I mention this to you for your information.

3. You were good enough to support the Indian proposals at the London Conference. President Nasser has stated in his statement that those proposals have been explained to him and that your delegation had supported them. It is not our intention at this stage, and in view of President Nasser's suggestion, to press the consideration of these proposals as made in London but to urge negotiations which was the purpose of these proposals.

4. I have no doubt that you will be urging the Governments of the United

1. New Delhi, 11 September 1956. JN Collcetion. This message was sent through India's High Commissioner in Colombo, B.N. Chakravarty and Ambassador in Jakarta, Badruddin Tyabji.
2. See *ante*, p. 393 fn 4.

Kingdom and the United States to continue to explore all avenues of negotiation and peaceful settlement.

5. We shall seek opportunities for discussions in Cairo and London, if opportunity arises, and keep you or your representatives informed.

7. Cable to Rajeshwar Dayal[1]

Your telegram 94 of September 8.[2]
Suez question.[3] We have been in constant touch with Egyptian Government and pressing them to moderate their general attitude and language. Recent memorandum issued by them is in moderate language and we feel that it offers ways which should be explored. Though respective points of view appear difficult of reconciliation and seem wide apart, in reality there is some common ground and possibility of settlement on points of difference. I have today sent personal messages to Eden and Eisenhower requesting them to exercise their influence in pursuing paths of negotiation.

2. We are in touch with Burmese Government about Sino-Burmese border question.[4] I hope to address personal message to Chou En-lai on this subject.

3. We shall always welcome visit to India of Marshal Tito and Madame Broz. I might mention, however, that months of November-December are terribly full.

1. New Delhi, 11 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. Rajeshwar Dayal, India's Ambassador in Belgrade, had reported about his talks with Tito on various international issues.
3. Tito felt that Nasser was in a very difficult and dangerous position and must be cautious. If he failed, future of Egypt and of Arab countries would be dark. Nasser had angered the West by his outspoken statement on Suez. Though Tito was confident of a peaceful solution, but was doubtful of Anglo-French intentions, and believed that the Indian proposals, presented at the London Conference, could provide compromise.
4. Tito had received a letter from U Ba Swe, the Prime Minister of Myanmar, complaining of Chinese incursions across Myanmar border. Tito said that China should leave her small neighbours alone or discuss any border questions with them. Tito said that he would tell Mao Tse-tung this personally and hoped Nehru would exercise his influence with the Chinese in this regard.

There is our last session of present Parliament, meeting of UNESCO and Buddha Jayanti which will bring large number of eminent visitors to India. Also visits of Emperor of Ethiopia,[5] Presidents of Syria[6] and Lebanon,[7] Prime Ministers of Poland,[8] Nepal[9] and possibly Chou En-lai.[10] Early next year we have our general elections.

5. Haile Selassie was in India from 25 to 27 October 1956.
6. Sayed Shukri Quwalty visited India from 17 to 21 January 1957.
7. The visit of the President of Lebanon, Camille Chamoun, did not take place.
8. Josef Cyrankiewiez visited India from 24 March to 3 April 1957.
9. Tanka Prasad Acharya was in India from 3 to 18 Deeember 1956.
10. Chou En-lai visited India from 28 November to 10 Deeember 1956.

8. Message to Gamal Abdel Nasser[1]

We have just seen Press reports of Eden's statement.[2] We have not seen report of full debate in British Parliament yet.[3] These Press reports appear to warrant your immediate consideration of invoking Security Council. On receipt of fuller reports, we shall communicate further.

1. New Delhi, 13 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. Eden announced on 12 September that his Government, in agreement with the French and US Governments, had decided to set up a provisional Canal Users' Association to act as a voluntary organization for the exercise of Canal users' rights, in which other countries would be invited to join. He also said that if efforts to secure rights of users by negotiations fail, his "Government must be free to take whatever steps are open to them..."
3. Both Houses of Parliament were recalled on 12 September 1956 for a two-day debate on the Suez crisis.

9. On Anthony Eden's Statement on Suez[1]

Speaker: I have received a notice of an adjournment motion from Shri A.K. Gopalan,[2] Shri Hiren Mukerjee[3] and Shrimati Renu Chakravarty,[4] regarding "the grave situation arising out of the statement of the Prime Minister of Britain on September 12th in the House of Commons on the Suez issue—statement which is a clear provocation for war and the necessity for the Government of India to declare itself wholeheartedly in favour of Egyptian sovereignty and defence of world peace".

Jawaharlal Nehru: As a matter of fact, apart from the motion for adjournment, I am going to seek your permission to make a brief statement, if I may do so now.

I should like to say a few words in regard to the latest developments relating to the Suez Canal issue. I would have preferred making a statement a day or so later when fuller information was at our disposal. At present, we have only seen Press reports of the speech of the United Kingdom Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, in the British House of Commons yesterday.[5] As, however, Parliament is adjourning this evening, I may not have an opportunity to make any statement for some time, and, therefore, I am saying these few words now.

The House knows our earnest efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement in regard to the Suez Canal. It has been clear to us that any other approach to this problem or any attempt to impose a decision would not only not bring about the results aimed at but might lead to much graver consequences, the extent of which, it is not possible to foresee. At the conference held in London, we pleaded with all the force at our command for steps to be taken to bring about negotiations, and certain broad proposals were set out by us. We were supported in these proposals by Ceylon, Indonesia and the Soviet Union. The majority of those present at the Conference, however, adopted, as is known, a different line.[6]

From the Press reports of Sir Anthony Eden's speech yesterday, it is not possible to assess fully the meaning and import of the action said to be contemplated by

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 13 September 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII, Part II, cols. 6963-6968. Extracts.
2. Member, Lok Sabha, Communist Party of India from Cannanore, Madras.
3. Member, Lok Sabha, Communist Party of India from Calcutta North East, West Bengal.
4. Member, Lok Sabha, Communist Party of India from Basirhat, West Bengal.
5. See the preceding item, fn 2.
6. See *ante*, pp. 389-390.

the Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the United States, until we have full reports through official sources.

The action proposed to be taken by the three Governments, which purports to be in the interests of the users of the Canal and to maintain the freedom of use of the Canal seems, to say the least, surprising, and the consequences that may flow from it may well be very grave. One thing is clear and that is, that the action proposed is not the result of agreement, cooperation or consent, but is to be taken unilaterally, and thus is in the nature of an imposed decision.

The Government of India deeply regret this development, which is very unusual and which will render peaceful settlement more difficult of realization. It is not calculated to secure to the users, peaceful and secured use of the Canal which should be and is what is required by the users and the international community.

The Menzies Mission, which recently visited Cairo, asked the Egyptian Government to accept international control of operation and administration and the establishment of an international corporation displacing the Egyptian National Corporation. Egypt has declined to accept them as being contrary to her sovereign rights and not related to the purposes of the Convention of 1888[7] and the interests of users, which are freedom of navigation, toll, maintenance of Canal, etc., which the Egyptian Government alone can guarantee.

The reply of the Egyptian Government has opened a way to negotiations.[8] In the view of the Government of India, such negotiations could have led to a settlement which would have met all requirements of the users and the international community without prejudice or derogation to the sovereignty of Egypt and her national rights in respect of the Canal, which is admittedly an integral part of Egypt.

I have in the last few days communicated to the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and the President of the United States.[9] Our view is that the situation that emerged after the Menzies Mission and the statement made by the Egyptian Government accepting all international obligations and inviting negotiations opened a way to settlement.

7. Under the Convention of 1888 (Treaty of Constantinople), nations were guaranteed freedom of navigation on the 103-mile long Suez Canal without discrimination. This right was specifically recognized by the Egyptian Government in the Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954, under which Britain agreed to relinquish the Suez base, leaving Egypt with full responsibility for the defence of the Canal.
8. This refers to the Egyptian memorandum of 10 September. See *ante*, p. 393.
9. See *ante*, pp. 394-397.

We appeal to both the United Kingdom and United States to consider all this and enable the development of negotiations which will lead to a settlement. We hope that despite all that has happened and the tensions that have been engendered, the path of peace will be followed. There is here no question of appeasement of one side or another as what is to be sought and can, in our view, be obtained is a settlement satisfactory and honourable to all concerned.

The Government of India earnestly hope that the appeal we have made will not be in vain. Government have right through the course of this development used their influence with all parties for restraint, negotiations and a peaceful settlement. To seek to impose a settlement by force or by threats of force is to disregard the rights of nations even as the failure to observe international treaties and obligations would be. Government also regret to learn from Press reports that pilots of British, French, Italian and other nationalities are being withdrawn.[10] This is an action not calculated to promote the use of the Canal and is not in the interest of user nations. Government of India are desirous that no statement of theirs should come in the way of the efforts to lower tension and to open the way for negotiations. But, they cannot fail to point out that the steps announced to assume the operation of the Canal without the consent and cooperation of the Egyptian Government are calculated to render a peaceful approach extremely difficult and also carry with them the grave risk of conflict. I should like to say that I have read the report of Sir Anthony Eden's speech with surprise and regret as it appears to close the door to further negotiations. The action envisaged in it is full of dangerous potentialities and far reaching consequences. I earnestly trust that, even now, it is not too late to refrain from any such action and to think more in terms of a peaceful negotiated settlement which only can achieve the results aimed at in regard to the proper functioning of the Suez Canal for the good of all countries concerned as well as for the maintenance of friendly relations in the middle-eastern region and the whole of Asia.

As I have pointed out previously, the proper functioning of the Suez Canal is of vital importance to India. We are convinced, however, that this can only be achieved through peaceful negotiated settlement ensuring the rights not only of Egypt but of all the user countries.

10. The Egyptian Government Information Administration announced on 12 September quoting Paul Reymond, French Chief of the Suez Canal Company's navigation section, that British, French, Dutch, Norwegian, and Italian pilots and employees had desired to quit on the night of 14 September.

...Harindranath Chattopadhyaya: May I know if, in view of the deepening international crisis and the tone of the statement of the British Prime Minister, our Prime Minister will consider the desirability of leading the Indian delegation himself to any international conference that might be held in order to protect and save world peace? May I also submit humbly that an *ad hoc* committee be constituted by the Prime Minister—a committee of leading Members of both Houses of Parliament including leaders of opposition parties—to keep ourselves fully informed of the changing situation from time to time?

JN: The first suggestion of the honourable Member is rather premature. There is, at present, no convention or conference in view. If and when it takes place, we shall have to consider how best our Government can be represented. Normally speaking, the Prime Ministers do not attend such conferences. Even in the recent London Conference, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom did not go to it, except for, I think, two minutes, just for formal opening—or less than two minutes. So, Prime Ministers normally do not attend them. However, as the situation develops, one will have to see what will be the best course for us to adopt.

As regards the second point mentioned by the honourable Member, I can assure him that, if a situation so arises, we shall naturally wish to consult leaders of all groups and parties and take them into our confidence because that situation will be a national situation with which we shall have to meet as a united nation.

10. Message to Selwyn Lloyd[1]

Your Prime Minister has no doubt mentioned to you of my recent telegrams to him on the Suez Canal question.[2]

2. As you know, and I believe you recognize, that we have striven patiently to bring about negotiations. It is my belief that a settlement that is satisfactory and honourable is possible and can be arrived at. I would also ask you to consider

1. New Delhi, 14 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *ante,* pp. 394-395.

that it is essential that there should be a peaceful settlement. Many other issues are closely related to it, not least the relations of the West, particularly of the United Kingdom with Asia, and the future of the peace and development of our areas as well as, may I say, Europe also.

3. I am aware of the firm views that you and your Government hold on several aspects of this question, and I do not expect you to abandon them. I however believe that if a settlement is reached, the anxieties that we have been through will not have been in vain, because it will not only help to resolve the present difficulties but establish with it the basis of better Anglo-Egyptian relations and assist to allay some of the grave misapprehensions that you have.

4. The situation that emerged after the Menzies Mission, although disappointing to you, had hopeful features also. The atmosphere in which it was conducted by both sides was helpful. The statement of the Egyptian Government opened the way for negotiations, though I do not ask you to accept it as it stands or consider the procedures suggested as the best or the only ones.

5. I am aware of your views about the impact of negotiated settlements on the position of the West in the Middle East and your view that it would be represented as a victory for Egypt. I do not share these apprehensions. Any settlement would mean compromises and must be honourable and satisfactory. There can be no question of victory or appeasement.

6. The most recent development of the Users' Organization, even though it might have been conceived as provisional and to enable settlements, has not that effect. I would ask you to consider the effect of an announcement to assume operational functions which require Egypt's cooperation, without her agreement. You have recognized that such cooperation is necessary, but it is expected to be forthcoming for fear of consequences. If the plan is only concerned with immediate practical issues and not of internationalization to be imposed, there would be a case for discussing it as such with a view to obtain cooperation.

7. The effect of the present development is to render the situation graver than ever before and I conceal my apprehensions in this regard.

8. I hope that the United Kingdom will see its way to avert conflict and war and see in a negotiated settlement a victory that is no less gainful or important than what may be sought by other means.

9. The repercussions on Asia as a whole of the use of force, or steps that appear or are in effect supersession of Egyptian authority without consent are very grave. I feel sure that you appreciate this.

10. My colleagues and I feel that the gravity of the situation is such that we should renew our efforts to find a way of negotiations and a more peaceful approach. I am asking Krishna Menon to go to Cairo and should you so wish it, he can proceed to London from there.

11. You will appreciate that we have a responsibility, in view of the gravity of the problem and the close relations between us to make every effort with you, despite your firm views on this subject. We cannot fail to do this, and I earnestly hope that you will appreciate what I have said and enable development of negotiations. This is essential for Asia and Europe. The United Kingdom and this country, by virtue of their unique relations and of the effect on their economy and their future, have very special concern in this matter.

12. I hope that the situation will not further deteriorate and that restraint will be exercised on all sides.

11. Message to John Foster Dulles[1]

Our Ambassador has telegraphed to me the gist of your last talk with him.[2] You would also have seen my recent letter to President Eisenhower.[3]

2. I appreciate the purposes and motives of yourself and the United States in suggesting a Users' Association plan as an expedient to avoid the use of force which, I understand you apprehended, was contemplated by Britain and France.

3. I would, however, point out that the purpose and method of execution of the plan as set out by you in your Press Conference[4] and as announced by Eden in the British House of Commons[5] and as regarded by the French Government, are very wide apart. The latter is what takes precedence and becomes the explosive factor in the present situation.

1. New Delhi, 14 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 396 fn 3.
3. See *ante*, pp. 395-397.
4. On 13 September, Dulles said in Washington that because Egypt had refused to negotiate on the basis of the 18-nation Proposals, it had to be considered "what further steps could be taken towards a just peaceful settlement." Referring to the concept of Canal Users' Association floated by Eden, he said that voluntary cooperation among users of the Canal should continue and "practical cooperation with Egypt can be effectively achieved only if the users are organized so that they can deal jointly with Egypt and Egypt can deal jointly with them." He also said that as this plan was not a permanent solution he would make efforts to secure a peaceful and just solution that would recognize everybody's rights.
5. See *ante*, p. 399 fn 2.

4. Apart from the practical aspects of it, the attempt to put an operational plan by some users in disregard or supersession of the arrangements established by Egypt and disregarding her right to tolls and her responsibility for the security of the Canal and its operation would be, as indeed it has been, regarded in Egypt, as an attempt at imposition of internationalization of the operation of the Canal by instalments. If it is a plan, having for its purpose only practical considerations such as pilots, etc., agreement with Egypt would have been sought, but what has been announced is "other steps" if Egypt refuses to cooperate. Thus it would appear that the plan would, in effect, become a provocation and be regarded by Egypt as a violation of her rights and as an attempt to seize the Canal operation system in part.

5. I am very apprehensive of the consequence of the steps as announced. We have, as you are aware, striven for negotiations and we feel convinced that once there are negotiations, and if they are pursued, a solution can be found. The differences appear very wide but they are in fact not so.

6. The Egyptian note of September 10 has opened the way to negotiations. I do not suggest that it should be accepted as it stands, nor that any procedures suggested in it are necessarily the best or the only ones.

7. It is our belief, however, that a settlement which will adequately provide for all the rights and obligations under the Convention, secure the use of the Canal in reasonable conditions and without loss of prestige to the Western countries, can be found.

8. It is necessary however that the approach has to be one which seeks such a settlement and is not directed against the regime in Egypt or other considerations which Britain and France may have with regard to their influence or positions in the Middle East or elsewhere. We believe however that a settlement would improve such relations while conflict or war would obtain neither oil nor profit to anyone.

9. My colleagues and I consider that the situation is very grave and may lead to conflict which, once it is initiated, will flare up and engulf large areas and import other factors into the situation. We feel also that the situation is one of great urgency. I have asked Sir Anthony Eden to enable development of negotiations despite all that has happened. We have today decided to send Krishna Menon to Cairo and suggested that he might proceed to London to see Sir Anthony Eden and Selwyn Lloyd.

10. The repercussions all over Asia, of any use of force or conflict in Egypt, will be very serious. This, you will agree, has to be avoided. The United States, it is needless for me to say, has the effective role in this in view of her position in the world and more particularly, in regard to Britain and France. I earnestly

request you to use your great influence for the sake of peace and the well-being of Asia and Europe.

11. I recognize that appeasement, to which frequent references are made, is not the way out and we do not think in such terms. I believe, however, that a settlement which is honourable and does not affront the dignity or prestige of the United Kingdom and France as possible, even as it is necessary.

12. I earnestly request you to consider this and use your best efforts, as you have done hitherto, in this difficult matter.[6]

6. In his reply on 16 September, Dulles assured Nehru that Eisenhower and he had exerted their best efforts to a greater degree for a peaceful solution of the problem than was generally realized. He felt that the possibilities of a peaceful solution had increased and that the suggested Users' Association Plan was not a basis for apprehension. He feared that Egypt could covertly discriminate and violate the 1888 Treaty if she alone controlled all the delicate operating mechanisms. According to Dulles, the Users' Association was designed "to provide possibilities in working out practical dispositions at the operating level which might be easier than to negotiate in terms of a treaty which would involve to a greater extent national prestige." Dulles also wrote that Egypt's conduct throughout had not been "such as to inspire confidence" and urged Nehru to influence Egypt.

12. Developing Crisis in Suez[1]

The Prime Minister gave an account of the latest developments regarding the Suez crisis and said that the situation had become very serious after Wednesday's speech of the British Prime Minister in the House of Commons in London. The Anglo-French decision to set up a Cooperative Association of Users of the Canal for virtually taking over its operational control, was nothing but an encroachment on Egyptian sovereignty. It appeared that the United States had also given their support to this decision. The Prime Minister thought that these developments could easily provoke a war, resulting in blocking of the Canal and the destruction of oil pipelines in the Middle Eastern countries. UK and France, presumably,

1. Minutes of a Cabinet meeting, New Delhi, 14 September 1956. JN Collection.

hoped to bring about the fall of President Nasser and a change of government in Egypt by precipitating a conflict, but President Nasser was at the height of his popularity and the Anglo-French hope was not likely to be fulfilled.

2. Seeing the developing crisis, the Prime Minister had sent personal messages to the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister, making a fervent appeal for solving the problem on peaceful lines. He had so far received no replies to these messages. President Nasser had written to him, some time ago, inviting our Minister Without Portfolio[2] to visit Cairo for consultations, but the time was not considered opportune for such a visit. The Prime Minister thought this visit might take place in the near future and it might be combined with a visit to London.

3. The latest message from our Ambassador in Cairo indicated that Egypt was likely to take the dispute to the United Nations' Security Council. The Prime Minister intended to send further messages to the Heads of the United States and the British Government, indicating our basic position and urging that a destructive war could and should be avoided even at this late stage.

4. India might be invited to join the Association of Users of the Canal and it was not possible to say at present what answer should be given to such an invitation. In any case, the Prime Minister said that we would keep closely in touch with Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon in respect of our policy in this crisis. Pakistan's diplomatic representative would also be called in for consultations, although Pakistan's policy in this respect was known to be different.

5. During the brief discussion that followed the Prime Minister's statement, the Minister Without Portfolio explained that it was difficult for the Security Council to pass a resolution against Egypt owing to Russia's power of veto. The steps taken by UK and France amounted to a threat of invasion and Egypt's case before the Security Council was fairly strong.

6. Winding up the discussion, the Prime Minister said that we had to be prepared from now on for the various steps to be taken in the event of hostilities breaking out in the Suez area. The Minister of Commerce & Consumer Industries[3] had indicated that the cost of our imports would increase by Rs 20 to 30 crores per annum if ships were diverted around the Cape of Good Hope. The Prime Minister suggested and the Cabinet agreed that the economic and other consequences that would follow the stoppage of traffic through the Suez Canal should be considered by the Economic Committee of Secretaries and

2. V.K. Krishna Menon.
3. Swaran Singh was Minister of Works, Housing & Supply, and Commerce & Consumer Industries.

recommendations made to the Cabinet with regard to a plan of action to be put through at the appropriate time.

13. Message to Anthony Eden[1]

Since my message to you of the eleventh September I have read the reports of your statement in the House of Commons.

2. I have read your proposal contained in it with regret and surprise. I cannot believe that this can be a step towards the solution of the problems which have arisen in respect of the Suez Canal, or secure to the users or the International community their rights in respect of the Canal. As you have yourself indicated the steps you have outlined contemplate other steps in assertion of rights. This you will agree is a grave prospect.

3. I am deeply concerned and apprehensive about the trend of these developments and of the policy that they seek to implement. Can they lead to negotiations and a peaceful settlement, and what you have stated as your purpose "to go on working for a peaceful settlement so long as there is prospect of achieving one"?

4. I am concerned that these "prospects" to which you refer should not be jeopardized, much less destroyed, by steps taken by one side or another. We have strenuously striven to this end and will continue to do so.

5. I sent my message to you prior to your meeting the House of Commons, with the earnest hope that the appeal I had made for enabling peaceful developments would engage your thoughts. Although I am distressed by your recent announcement, I have considered it right, in view of the grave issues and consequences involved and the relationship of our two countries and of ourselves to continue to ask you to consider courses of action that can lead to peaceful settlement and would avert the possibilities of conflict and war.

6. I believe that a peaceful solution which will adequately secure all that the Convention of 1888 provides for and the legitimate interests and rights of users and the international community require can be worked for and attained.

1. New Delhi, 15 September 1956. JN Collection.

7. In my mind and in my approach to you I do not contemplate or advocate appeasement, to which references are frequently made, but a settlement that is satisfactory and honourable. This should be fully consistent with the interests and the position and prestige of the United Kingdom which you know are our concern as well.

8. You have yourself mentioned in your speech that Egyptian cooperation is necessary even for the working out of the plan you have outlined. Without going into the merits of those steps, how can any cooperation be obtained, except by negotiation and agreement?

9. You cannot but be aware of the feelings in Asia and the repercussions of any decision to use force as a means to settle any aspect of this dispute. In Asia, the reaction to what would appear as provocation to Egypt which leaves her no option but to resist, would be great and grievous.

10. We in this country have sought to foster relations between the West and Asia and to prevent animosities. We would like you to consider the effects of any attempt to put the clock back in respect of the national independence and status of the nations that have become free in the East and attach great value to that independence. Our two countries have cooperated in this enlargement of the areas of freedom.

11. Despite all that has happened in relation to the Suez issue and your strongly held views on many aspects of this question, I request and hope that you will not turn your back on negotiations and peaceful settlements, nor disregard the appeal that we in this country make to you. Our position in this as in other matters has never been one that disregarded your point of view.

12. Considering that the situation has become graver than ever before and that events may occur at any time which will release forces and circumstances which will be grievous to all, we feel we should make yet another and urgent effort to enable negotiations and to assist in ways of settlement.

13. My colleagues and I feel that the gravity of the situation places on us the responsibility to strive to our utmost to make all efforts for negotiations for a peaceful settlement, especially having regard to our relations in the Commonwealth. I am asking Krishna Menon to go to Cairo and, should you so wish it, he can proceed from there to London.[2]

14. It is also felt here that if there is no amelioration in the situation in the coming days we would have to consider requesting you to call an emergency

2. Krishna Menon went to Cairo on 17 September for discussions with Nasser and his advisers and then reached London on 24 September for talks with Selwyn Lloyd and other UK Ministers.

meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers before steps that lead to conflict or war are taken. You would agree that this would be a legitimate and desirable course, if it became necessary.

14. Circular Telegram to Indian Missions Abroad[1]

Prime Minister met the representatives of Ceylon, Burma, Indonesia and Pakistan today. He explained to them latest developments concerning the Suez Canal dispute and his assessment of the situation. He stressed that peaceful negotiations must be pursued and that any trouble or conflict over the use of the Canal would not help transit of goods and movement of oil through the Canal, apart from leading to other undesirable consequences. He stated that it was still possible to bridge the gap between Egypt and the Western countries without humiliating any country. Reference to the UN would have the advantage of at least delaying a crisis.

2. He pointed out that the Egyptian note inviting the setting up of a Negotiating Body for discussion of details has become a little out of date. There would not be much scope for negotiations in the present temper of some countries who are important users of the Canal.

3. He stressed the importance of the Colombo countries keeping in touch with one another. He did not think that meeting of the Colombo Prime Ministers is necessary at this stage. There would be no point in the Prime Ministers meeting merely for the purpose of jointly stating, what they have been saying separately, about the recent developments, in particular, the UK, US and French idea of a "Users' Association". If subsequent developments indicate that such a meeting would be useful, this could be arranged.

1. Telegram issued by S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary, to the Indian Missions abroad, New Delhi, 15 September 1956. *Suez Crisis, 1st September 1956-31st October 1956*, Vol. II, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.

15. Message to Ali Sastroamidjojo[1]

Thank you for your message which I have received from your Charge d'Affaires.[2]

2. I am in entire agreement with you in our broad approach to the Suez Canal problem. It is clear, however, that there can be no negotiation unless both parties agree. The proposal by UK and France to have a Users' Conference of their choosing next Wednesday in London, is obviously a one-sided affair which cannot lead to negotiation.

3. So also any conference or body chosen by Egypt without the agreement of the other party. The proposal by Egypt to have a conference representing different views, was good, but it is not feasible because the other party does not agree.

4. The only hope lies in some preliminary work being done informally on both sides, which might create some basis for future negotiation. It is in this hope that I accepted President Nasser's invitation to send Krishna Menon to Cairo.

5. We are inclined to think that if no other way leading to negotiation is found soon, it might be desirable for Security Council to consider this matter. We realize that this might create other difficulties but, at any rate, it will prevent crisis from developing and give time for thought.

1. New Delhi, 16 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. The Prime Minister of Indonesia had written that his Government would support the Egyptian efforts to set up a negotiating body representing different views of the Suez Canal users, though further clarifications from Egypt as to the number and choice of the representatives in that body were required. Since Eden's proposal for taking over management of Suez Canal by the proposed association of users could only be implemented by force which might be "the beginning of the third world conflagration", he thought establishment of a direct contact on a high level between Egypt, the UK, France and the USA was most important.

16. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Soviet Ambassador[2] has just seen me urgently to inform me that his Government have come to decision that in order to stop further deterioration of Suez situation, this matter should be referred to Security Council by Egypt. They have informed Egypt accordingly.

2. They think that Security Council should appoint small Committee consisting of Egypt, India, UK, France, USSR and USA to explore avenues of negotiation.

3. I told him that we had ourselves come to conclusion that it was desirable for matter to be referred to Security Council and had advised Egyptian Government accordingly.

4. Ambassador then asked me about possibility of Bandung Conference meeting for this purpose. Apparently Soviet Government thought this would be helpful. I told him that while we did not rule out any such conference in future, it seemed to me that at present stage it would not be helpful.

5. He then referred to some kind of major international conference to be held later to consider Suez question. I said that it was difficult to lay down now what course would have to be taken later. For the present Security Council was indicated. Other developments could be considered later.

1. New Delhi, 17 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. Mikhail Menshikov.

17. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

I have received reply from Eden[2] to my two messages.[3] In this he repeats his old arguments and says that they are seeking peaceful solution and only question is how negotiated settlement and a peaceful solution are to be brought about. Eighteen-Power Proposals were offered as basis of negotiation to achieve peaceful solution but these were rejected out of hand by President Nasser. On day Menzies left Cairo, Nasser published his proposals which had not even been mentioned to Menzies Committee.

2. Nasser's proposals are not regarded as acceptable basis for negotiation. Hence it is not UK but Egypt who are seeking to impose a decision unilaterally.

3. Eden refers to position of pilots having become intolerable.[4]

4. In these circumstances next step had to be carefully considered. Maritime powers have undoubted rights under 1888 Convention and Suez Canal Company's concessions which together constitute a balanced scheme. Egypt has destroyed balance of the scheme and removed one of the guarantees to user interests, namely that Canal would continue to be operated by Company. Egypt not entitled to substitute herself for Company as operating authority, because this is contrary to scheme assumed by Convention. Thus when Egypt rejected 18-Power proposals for international authority which would have restored balance destroyed by Egyptian action, it remained open to user powers to set up their own organization to maintain passage through Canal. These rights can best be exercised by cooperation between users and Egypt.

5. They have every intention of seeking President Nasser's cooperation in connection with the scheme. They have met force with reason.

6. Eden goes on to say "at this crucial stage the visit of Krishna Menon to Cairo will be valuable if he can persuade President Nasser to reconsider his attitude towards them (18-Power Proposals). We should of course be glad to see him and to hear from him."

1. New Delhi, 17 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. Eden wrote on 16 September that he sought peaceful solution of the Suez problem and had met "force with reason".
3. See *ante*, pp. 394-395 & 409-411.
4. Eden stated that the pilots were twice persuaded to stay on but could not be "made to work against their will in a police state with all that that implies."

7. Eden says he is always willing to consider meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers if others considered this necessary, but this appears difficult in the immediate future.

18. Supply of Arms to Egypt[1]

I have given a great deal of thought to this matter. I think we should judge this question of supply to the Egyptian Government at this stage from the point of view of the present crisis regarding the Suez Canal. We are trying our best to help in finding some way out which would lead to negotiation between the parties. We should not do anything which might come in our way in pursuing this course of action.

2. Broadly speaking, it is known that we are sympathizing with and supporting the Egyptian attitude in this matter. We do not agree with everything that Egypt has done or is doing and we cannot say that we shall support every action of Egypt in the future. But it is true that in this crisis our weight has been cast in favour of Egypt. For us to supply arms to the Egyptian Government at this stage would naturally be greatly resented by the UK and other Western governments and make them feel that we are supporting Egypt hundred per cent in peace and war. Our capacity for playing a mediatory role would disappear.

3. This is not a question of the UK Government in any sense limiting our freedom to dispose of what we produce. It is rather a psychological question of not creating an impression which might be harmful to the steps we are taking for the preservation of peace.

4. Having regard to our general policy of peace, I would be reluctant to supply arms to a country which is actually at war. That applies to some extent to a country on the verge of war. I know it is difficult to draw a line and we have to consider each question separately on its merits.

5. What we are asked to supply to Egypt is, in the balance, not very much and not likely to make any great difference. But the fact of supply at this stage might well make a difference.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 17 September 1956. JN Collection.

6. In the list given, there are three kinds of articles :

1) Some spare parts to be supplied for which we have a commitment and have accepted part payment.
2) Bren guns and spare barrels. No definite commitment. We appear to have already supplied enough Bren guns as previously stipulated for about four months, that is, in the ordinary course till the end of this year.
3) Fresh requests for certain stores. Of these it is pointed out that they are very minor items except fuses for 3″ mortar bombs.

7. I think that we should carry out our undertaking to supply the spare parts for which there is a definite commitment and part payment has been received. (This is item 2 in the Joint Secretary's list).

8. So far as Bren guns and spare barrels are concerned (Item 3 in the list), these should not be supplied for the present. There is no commitment for the future and in fact we have supplied more than we had promised during the past few months. We should await developments before we undertake to supply any more.

9. Fresh requests (Item 4 in the list). There appears to be no objection to supply the minor items but the fuses for 3″ mortar bombs should not be supplied.

10. Thus, I agree generally with the recommendation of Joint Secretary and FS.

11. The reason which we may give about the slowing down of manufacture and, therefore, of delivery is a very valid reason. As a matter of fact, we are threatened with a general strike among workers of Ordnance Factories. Even if the strike does not take place, we have difficulties in producing these items quickly.

12. Action, therefore, might be taken as indicated above. We need not, at this stage, explain the reasons to the Egyptian Government or their representative about the delay in sending some material. It is enough to say that we are having difficulties in the manufacture and it delays matters.

13. Even the sending of some of the articles for which we have made commitments and which are relatively minor, should be done quietly without any fuss.

14. FS will please explain this to the Defence Ministry.

19. Message to John Foster Dulles[1]

As you know, we have been anxious to help, in so far as is possible for us, to find some solution of the Suez Canal problem, honourable and satisfactory to parties concerned. We have been happy to find that the great influence and weight of the United States have been thrown on the side of peace and a negotiated settlement.

2. In furtherance of our efforts, we sent Krishna Menon to Cairo and subsequently to London. On his return, he reported to us the result of his talks. We feel that the gap between the respective positions of Egypt on the one side and the United Kingdom and France on the other is not so great as is imagined and that it is capable of being bridged. It was suggested in London that Krishna Menon might go to Egypt again and subsequently to London to explore further and more definitely possible points of agreement. It is felt that these informal approaches might yield better results than merely public assertion of rigid viewpoints in the Security Council.[2]

3. I have, therefore, asked Krishna Menon to go today to Cairo. From there he will proceed to London.[3] If necessity arises and we feel that this will be helpful, he might proceed to New York later. Krishna Menon has seen your Charge d' Affaires[4] here and discussed matter with him.

4. I earnestly hope that the efforts which the United States is making in this matter will lead to a peaceful settlement which is not only necessary in regard to the Suez Canal but is also desirable from the point of view of future relations between European and Asian countries.

1. New Delhi, 4 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. The British and the French Governments sent a joint letter on 23 September to the President of the Security Council asking him to convene the Council to consider the "situation created by the unilateral action of the Egyptian Government in bringing to an end the system of international operation of Suez Canal which was confirmed and completed by the Suez Canal Convention of 1888." The Egyptian Government also sent a note on 24 September to the Security Council to consider "actions against Egypt by certain Powers, particularly France and the United Kingdom, which constitute a danger to international peace and security and are serious violations of the UN Charter."
3. Krishna Menon went to Cairo on 4 October and then to London on 7 October.
4. Frederic P. Bartlett.

20. Message to Anthony Eden[1]

I have received from Krishna Menon reports of his talks in Cairo and London. As a result of his talks with Selwyn Lloyd, it was our intention that Krishna Menon should go to Cairo again on Tuesday last and see you in London before the end of the week.

2. The message which Malcolm MacDonald gave me on Monday morning created doubts in my mind about the usefulness of our efforts and whether you find them an embarrassment rather than of any help.[2] We therefore sought clarifications in regard to your views on the ideas and proposals which Krishna Menon had discussed with you, and more fully with Selwyn Lloyd, and to ascertain for ourselves whether we should draw the inference from your message that your position was rigid in regard to the terms and contents of the Eighteen-Power Proposals.

3. If your position of a settlement in terms of the Eighteen-Power proposals was final, and no other basis and ways of attainment of a peaceful settlement, which reconciles the two positions, was acceptable to you, it would not serve any useful purpose if we continued our efforts.

4. The explanations that Malcolm MacDonald gave us yesterday, after he had communicated with you, have somewhat corrected the impression to which I have referred. I have therefore asked Krishna Menon to go to Cairo today and then to London, where I hope it will be possible for him to see you. If, as a result of his talks in Cairo and with you in London, it appears that his going to New York will assist in our common purpose of a peaceful settlement by the bridging of the gap between the respective positions, he may do so. We consider that this gap has, in fact, been narrowed down and may be amenable to being bridged.

1. New Delhi, 4 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. Malcolm MacDonald, the High Commissioner of UK in India, told Nehru on 1 October that Krishna Menon had put to Eden some hypothetical questions and wanted answers. The UK Government was not able to commit themselves by answering any hypothetical questions.

5. You know that we do not believe it possible to obtain a peaceful settlement in the terms of the Eighteen-Power Proposals and our reasons for thinking so.[3] We fear the insistence on these terms can only continue the deadlock, while a negotiated settlement can both be honourable and meet the realities of the position.[4] The ideas and proposals put to you, and more fully to Selwyn Lloyd, by Krishna Menon are considered by us as affording a basis for such honourable and satisfactory settlement acceptable to you as well as to Egypt. Malcolm MacDonald has conveyed to us your views on these and we shall bear them in mind.

6. I hope and trust that you and the United Kingdom Government will find in the proposals that we may place before you the basis of a settlement and that you will find it possible to avail yourself of them to resolve the deadlock.

3. Eden replied on 9 October summarizing the UK Government's attitude towards various proposals. 18-Power Proposals were so far the only basis for negotiations acceptable to the UK and a number of other Governments. Any other alternative must be clearly defined, must not leave Egypt in a position of unfettered control, and must contain means of enforcement of agreement. Eden thought that Krishna Menon's proposals did not meet these essential requirements. According to Eden, as Nasser rejected 18-Power Proposals, he should put forward an alternative, which he could now do in Security Council. "Otherwise we are likely to be involved in a negotiation about a negotiation and further confusion would result," he wrote.
4. The Foreign Ministers of UK, France and Egypt agreed on 13 October 1956 in Security Council that any settlement of the Suez question should meet following requirements: (1) free and open transit through the Canal covering both political and technical aspects; (2) respect for Egypt's sovereignty; (3) insulation of operation of Canal from politics of any country; (4) agreement between Egypt and the users on the manner of fixing tolls and charges; (5) allotment of a fair share of dues to the development of Canal; (6) settlement by arbitration of any disputes or unresolved affairs between the Suez Canal Company and the Egyptian Government.

21. Message to John Foster Dulles[1]

I am grateful to you for your message of the 18th October which was conveyed to me by your Charge d'Affaires on the 25th October.[2]

2. I share with you the belief that a satisfactory settlement of this problem is possible. The suggestions we have made, which Krishna Menon discussed with you at New York and a copy of which he handed over to you, form in our view a reasonable and practical basis for negotiations and a peaceful settlement.[3] They accord with the requirements of Egyptian sovereignty and rights on the one hand and the legitimate concerns and interests of the users and the international community on the other. They would provide the basis of a reasonable and honourable solution which all parties concerned can accept without a sense of defeat or loss of prestige. We have used our best endeavours to carry the conviction to the main parties concerned that these suggestions are a reasonable basis for settlement.

3. I must confess that proposals for a settlement on the basis of international control will not be accepted by Egypt. At the same time we believe that the measures for cooperation by her and the safeguarding of the legitimate interests of users which our suggestions provide for, could be accepted by Egypt. The checks for which they provide while they are restraints and safeguards do not infringe Egyptian sovereignty. I believe the Government of Egypt will feel able to accept them if negotiations either direct as between the three parties engaged in such talks in New York or by any other agreed method were seriously pursued.

1. New Delhi, 29 October 1956. JN Collection. Also available in *Suez Crisis, 1st September 1956-31st October 1956,* Vol. II, Historical Division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.
2. Dulles favoured continuation of talks between UK, France and Egypt and expected Egypt to translate the principles, agreed upon on 13 October into detailed principles. He emphasized his commitment to settlement in conformity with the principles of justice and international law and criticized the Soviet representative at the UN, in failing to influence Egypt in developing a realistic attitude toward settlement.
3. On 24 October, the Government of India released the text of proposals for peaceful settlement of the Suez question suggesting that the day-to-day running of the Canal should be vested in the Egyptian Suez Canal Authority and there should be joint meetings of the Authority with the representatives of the Canal Users' Association to discuss tolls, the condition of the Canal and other matters and recourse to the International Court of Justice or to arbitration in case of disagreement.

I understand that the Egyptian Government has been willing to continue talks at Geneva. I have no definite information with regard to the attitude of the other two parties.

4. We also share your belief that the continuation of a situation of deadlock is fraught with danger and unsettlement, especially in view of the disturbed conditions in that part of the world. We therefore hope that negotiations will continue in such ways as are appropriate and agreeable to the parties and we would always do everything that is possible to facilitate a peaceful solution to which you have referred.

22. Message to Dwight D. Eisenhower[1]

Dear Mr President,

I am venturing to address you on a matter of the gravest concern. This concerns the new developments in the Middle East, the Israeli invasion of Egypt[2] and, more especially, the action taken by the United Kingdom and French Governments in the Suez Canal region.[3]

2. The invasion of Egypt by Israel appeared to us to be naked aggression which should not be tolerated. We were, however, shocked even more by the ultimatum issued by the United Kingdom and France to Egypt. We have appreciated greatly the attitude of the United States Government in this matter

1. New Delhi, 31 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 29 October, the Israeli Army launched an attack on Egyptian positions in the Sinai Peninsula for eliminating the fedayeen bases from which frequent attacks had reportedly been made into Israeli territory. This was in violation of the Armistice Agreement between Israel and Egypt of 1948.
3. On 30 October, the British and the French Governments gave 12-hour ultimatum to both Israel and Egypt which (i) called upon them to cease all hostilities, and withdraw their military forces to a distance of ten miles from the Suez Canal; and (ii) requested the Egyptian Government to allow Anglo-French forces to be stationed temporarily at three points on the Canal—Port Said, Ismailia and Suez—for ensuring safety of shipping using the Canal. Egypt refused the temporary stationing of Anglo-French forces on her territory. As a result, the British and French air forces based in Cyprus, began attacking Egyptian airfields on 31 October.

and the lead given by them in the Security Council, and we were distressed that this resolution which was based on justice and the principles of the UN Charter should have been vetoed by the United Kingdom and France.[4]

3. We see no justification whatever for the action being taken by the United Kingdom and France. This is not only clear aggression and an affront to the United Nations and all it stands for, but also something which may well lead to widespread war. It is a reversal of the processes of history which have led in recent years to the freedom of many countries in Asia and Africa. Memories of colonialism still linger in these countries and any attempt to go back to the old colonial methods is deeply resented and is bound to be resisted wherever it occurs. Our sympathies, in these circumstances, must necessarily be with Egypt.

4. I earnestly trust that even at this late hour it may be possible to halt this fatal course of action which is likely to lead to disastrous results. Foreign troops must on no account be placed in Egypt. Their very presence there will be a symbol not only to Egypt but to other countries in Asia and Africa of a returning colonialism. If this aggression and invasion are not halted, there will be little respect left for the United Nations whose function it has been to promote peace and prevent war.

5. I earnestly plead with you, Mr President, to exercise your great influence and the influence of your country to stop this aggression and to prevent this drift to war.[5]

With high regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The US resolution, introduced in the Security Council meeting called at the request of US Representative on direct instructions of US President on 30 October, called upon Israel immediately to withdraw its armed forces behind the established Armistice Lines; called upon all members to refrain from use of force, to refrain from giving any military, economic or financial aid to Israel; and requested the Secretary General to keep the Security Council informed on compliance with this resolution and make appropriate recommendations for maintenance of international peace and security in the area. However, the resolution was lost as the UK and France vetoed it.
5. Eisenhower replied on 2 November that he was shocked and distressed by these developments. He expressed apprehension that this situation might lead to "a widening of the conflict and destroy the very foundation of the United Nations whose function has been to promote peace and prevent war." He assured Nehru of the US Government's full efforts for finding a solution to this crisis based on justice and principles of the United Nations.

23. Message to John Foster Dulles[1]

On the 29th October I sent you a message through our Ambassador,[2] expressing the hope that negotiations would continue betweeu the principal parties to the Suez Canal dispute with a view to reach a peaceful solution. Those hopes have now been shattered and the very development that we feared has taken place. While Israel has eommitted clear and open aggression on Egypt, we have been deeply shocked to learn of the ultimatum issued by the United Kingdom and Franee to Egypt and the subsequent aetion taken.

2. We welcomed the proposal of the United States in the Seeurity Council, but unhappily this was vetoed by the United Kingdom and France. We are now facing not only Israeli aggression but two Great Powers bearing down upon Egypt with their armed forees to eompel it to submit to their wishes. I eannot imagine a worse case of aggression. If this aggression continues and sueeeeds, all faith in international commitments and the United Nations will fade away and the old spectre of colonialism will haunt us again. Every country which has recently achieved freedom must view this prospect with intense dislike and resentment. We stand again on the edge of widespread war.

3. The whole future of the relations between Europe and Asia hangs in the balance. There can be no peace howsoever it might be imposed, if it means conquest by force of arms.

4. I earnestly trust that the United States will use their great influence to put an end to this rapid drift to utmost disaster and insure that no foreign troops occupy Egyptian territory.

1. New Delhi, 31 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 420-421.

24. Message to Gamal Abdel Nasser[1]

I need not tell you how deeply shocked we have been at recent developments. The Israeli aggression was bad enough and to be condemned, but much worse has been the ultimatum to Egypt by the United Kingdom and France and the subsequent action they are taking. All our sympathies are with you and I am sure that the countries of Asia and Africa and many of the countries even of Europe and America will realize that naked aggression is taking place against Egypt and that the freedom of countries which have recently been liberated from colonialism is in peril. This is a reversal of history which none of us can tolerate.

2. The future of the United Nations itself is at stake. The countries that were associated at Bandung have a special responsibility in this matter.

3. I have conveyed my views in clear and firm language to Anthony Eden.[2] Also to President Eisenhower[3] and President Tito[4] and asked them to use their influence. I am also communicating with Moscow, Rangoon, Jakarta, Colombo and Karachi.

4. In the grave crisis and responsibilities that you are facing, we send you all our good wishes.

1. New Delhi, 31 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *post*, pp. 427-428.
3. See *ante*, pp. 421-422.
4. See *post*, p. 426.

25. Message to Dag Hammarskjold[1]

We have been profoundly shocked by recent developments in Middle East and more particularly Anglo-French invasion of Egypt after their rejection of Security Council resolution moved by United States. It is clear and admitted that Israel has committed large-scale aggression against Egypt. Instead of trying to stop this aggression, UK and France are themselves invading Egyptian territory. This is not only an affront to the Security Council and a violation of the UN Charter but also likely to lead to gravest possible consequences all over the world.

Egypt which has suffered from Israeli aggression has in addition to suffer grievously by Anglo-French invasion of her territory. The argument that this invasion is meant to protect Canal and to ensure free traffic has no force as first result of this invasion is for this traffic to cease.

In view of disastrous consequences of this invasion of Egyptian territory, I earnestly trust that the United Nations will take strong steps in this matter to prevent the world plunging into war and demand immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt. The procedure of UN must be swifter than those of invasion and aggression.

In sending you this message, I am not only reflecting the unanimous views of my Government and people but also I am sure of large numbers of other peoples.[2]

1. New Delhi, 31 October 1956, V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Arthur S. Lall, India's Permanent Representative at the UN, had telegraphed the Foreign Secretary on 30 October that Hammarskjold told him that "he is convinced this is UK-France-Israeli conspiracy." Hammarskjold had also informed UK that they were "completely flouting UN Charter."

26. Message to Josip Broz Tito[1]

Recent developments in the Middle East region, the Israeli aggression on Egypt and, more especially, the Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt and subsequent action, have come to us as a great shock. I am sure that you must be equally concerned about them. All the efforts we have made in recent months to help in a peaceful solution of the Suez Canal dispute, have been shattered and naked aggression has taken place with unpredictable and disastrous consequences.

2. The policy that is being pursued by the United Kingdom and France is a reversal of history and a going back to the old colonial era. No country in Asia or Africa, which has recently achieved freedom, can possibly tolerate this reversal. Our sympathies are naturally with Egypt in this matter. I have given frank expression of my views and feelings in messages to President Eisenhower, Sir Anthony Eden and other Governments. I feel that there can be no peace and there will be a continuous drift to widespread war if foreign troops are stationed on Egyptian territory. The attitude taken up by the United Kingdom and France in the Security Council means flouting the United Nations as well as international commitments.

3. I think that we should all express our views clearly on this issue and instruct our representatives in the United Nations as well as in different capitals to cooperate together in pressing forward our viewpoints. I am sure that a firm expression of opinion by you will have considerable effect.

1. New Delhi, 31 October 1956. JN Collection.

27. Message to Anthony Eden[1]

Thank you for your message about the contemplated action on the Suez Canal region which was delivered to me this morning.[2] I have also read your statement made in Parliament yesterday.[3]

2. My colleagues and I have viewed these latest developments with the gravest and most profound concern. The fact of the admitted Israeli aggression of Egyptian territory was disturbing and serious enough. The subsequent ultimatum issued by the United Kingdom and French Governments to Egypt has come to us a great shock.

3. As you know, we have endeavoured to the best of our ability to help in finding a peaceful solution to the problem of the Suez Canal and had hoped that the danger of military action had passed and that a negotiated settlement would soon be reached. All these efforts of various countries and of the Security Council to find a peaceful settlement of this dispute have now been frustrated and the very development that we feared and tried to avoid has taken place. Unpredictable and disastrous results may well follow and the world has again come to the edge of widespread war.

4. The attempt of the United States and the Security Council to stop military operations has been rejected by the United Kingdom and France and action is apparently being taken by the United Kingdom and France to occupy Egyptian territory by force of arms. It seems to us that this is clear aggression and a violation of the United Nations Charter. For us in India and I believe in many

1. New Delhi, 1 November 1956. JN Collection. The message was handed over to Malcolm MacDonald, the UK High Commissioner in New Delhi, for immediate transmission.
2. Eden had written that they had conveyed to Israel through diplomatic channels earlier that they would stand by their treaty with Jordan in the event of Israeli aggression on Jordan but they were under no such obligation to defend Egypt and that they could not allow a war between Israel and Egypt to block the Canal. If war broke out, Britain and France would require both countries to cease hostilities and to withdraw from the Canal and in the event of refusal "we would reserve the right to take such military action as may be necessary to compel each party to conform."
3. Eden said in the House of Commons on 31 October that much of the crisis had happened because of the policies pursued by Egypt, who had, for quite some time, kept up violent campaign against Israel and the West and intended to destroy Israel. But US Resolution in the Security Council branded Israel as aggressor and asked to withdraw within her frontiers and not Egypt. Hence Britain and France vetoed it.

other countries of Asia and elsewhere, this is a reversion to a previous and unfortunate period of history when decisions were imposed by force of arms by Western Powers on Asian countries. We had thought that these methods were out of date and could not possibly be used in the modern age. The whole purpose of the United Nations is undermined and the freedom of nations imperilled, if armed might is to decide issues between nations.

5. This action is justified on the ground of protecting the shipping in the Canal and to maintain a free right of passage through the Canal. Even that objective cannot be gained if there are military operations near the Canal, and in fact ships are being asked to avoid the Canal. There was no apprehension of interference in the Canal unless this took place because of Israeli aggression. Instead of condemning and checking that aggression, we find that it is Egypt that is made to suffer and threats of invasion and military action held out to her. The ultimatum issued by the United Kingdom and France to Egypt was clearly an intervention to the advantage of Israel and to the grave prejudice of Egypt. Even more so would be the occupation of the Canal zone by the United Kingdom and France.

6. It is a matter of the deepest regret to me that the United Kingdom, with her record of liberal policies, should be associated now with aggression and invasion and, in the minds of many countries where memories of colonialism still linger, should become a symbol of something that they have fought against in the past and dislike intensely in the present. Our sympathies must necessarily be with Egypt in these circumstances.

7. Even at this late hour, I would earnestly request you to halt this invasion of Egypt and avoid the placing of foreign troops on Egyptian territory. We are all anxious that the Suez Canal should function effectively and we are sure that this can be done, as it has so far been done, without aggression and invasion. In any event, nothing can justify aggression and the attack on the freedom of a country.

8. I have set down my feelings freely and frankly for I think it is due to a friend that I should do so. Unless these wrong courses are halted, the future appears to me to be dark indeed.

28. Message to M.O. Mathai[1]

I have read your message.

2. I think that it will be desirable to protest to the UK against the bombing of Egyptian territory.[2] This protest can be made to the UK High Commissioner in Delhi.

3. Mrs Pandit might be informed that it would be desirable for her to come to Delhi. She might come tomorrow, 2nd November, or 3rd, as convenient to her.

4. All India Radio might state that I had sent a message to President Nasser but as telegrams are not being sent to Cairo, presumably, this did not get through. The message need not be repeated on the radio except to say that it was a message of sympathy and expressing our strong feeling against the aggression on Egypt.

5. After informing the UK High Commissioner of our protest against the bombing of Cairo etc., information of this protest should be given to the Press and to the All India Radio.

1. New Delhi, 1 November 1956. JN Collection. This message was read out at 4.05 p.m over the telephone by R.K. Goel, Nehru's Assistant Private Secretary, from Hyderabad where Nehru had gone to launch the new Andhra State.
2. The Allied planes attacked four Egyptian airfields on 31 October. On 1 November, five other airfields, in the Canal Zone and the Nile Delta including Inchass, which was 20 miles from Cairo, were bombed and strafed in dawn to dusk low-level attacks by the British and the French planes.

29. Message to N.A. Bulganin[1]

Dear Mr Chairman,

I am grateful to you for your message which was handed to me by your Ambassador this afternoon.

2. We entirely agree with you that the use of force by Great Britain, France and Israel against Egypt is an act of aggression and a violation of the United Nations Charter as well as of the principles laid down by the Bandung Conference. We have been shocked by these developments and have expressed our opinion in regard to them in firm and unequivocal language. We realize that this attack on Egypt has far-reaching consequences on the freedom of countries of Asia and Africa and imperils peace and security throughout the world. Because of this, we have been in constant touch with many of the Bandung countries as well as other countries and have invited them to give expression to their condemnation of this aggression so that world opinion may bring pressure to bear on those committing the aggression. We welcome the resolution passed by the special session of the United Nations General Assembly last night as a first step.[2]

3. We have given earnest thought to the idea of holding an urgent meeting of the members of the Bandung Conference. Such a meeting might well be desirable in order to bring additional pressure to bear on this issue and to help in restoring peace. We feel, however, that a full and representative meeting of the Bandung

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1956. JN Collection. Bulganin was the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR.
2. At the special emergency session of the UN General Assembly on 1 November, the US resolution was adopted after a nine-hour debate by 64 votes including India to five with six abstentions and one delegation absent. The resolution noted the disregard to the Israel-Arab Armistice Agreement of 1948, French and British military operations against Egyptian territory, and interruption of traffic through the Suez Canal. The resolution (i) urged all parties to agree to an immediate ceasefire, withdraw behind the Armistice Lines and observe scrupulously the provisions of the Armistice Agreement; (ii) recommended that all members refrain from any acts which would delay or prevent implementation of this resolution; (iii) urged that steps be taken to reopen the Suez Canal after ceasefire, and restore freedom of navigation; (iv) requested the Secretary General to observe the situation and promptly report on the compliance with this resolution; (v) decided that the Assembly remained in emergency session pending its compliance.

Conference might not be feasible in the near future, as many of the countries concerned have to deal with the urgent day-to-day developments and their Prime Ministers would find it difficult to leave their headquarters. Some are attending UN General Assembly. This will specially apply to the Arab countries. A conference which is not attended by Prime Ministers or other Ministers and is not adequately representative of these areas might not have the same effect that we would like it to have. Most of the representatives of the Bandung Countries are at present cooperating in the Asian-African group in the United Nations and are in constant touch with developments. Attention is at present naturally concentrated on effective action being taken by the special session of the General Assembly. I am immediately sending my colleague, Krishna Menon, to New York tomorrow to help in the consultations there.

4. Events are marching so rapidly that urgent action is required and the convening of the session of the Bandung Conference will necessarily take some time. Such a Conference might be called somewhat later. Meanwhile we are meeting representatives of the Bandung Conference countries in Delhi to discuss such joint action as we can take. I am also in communication with the Colombo Powers on this subject.

5. We are deeply concerned with recent developments which imperil the freedom of many countries and which bring the spectre of war before all of us. We shall take all peaceful steps, in cooperation with other countries, to meet this menace and to overcome it. I think that the immediate purpose before us should be to strengthen the action of the United Nations General Assembly and to make it effective in putting an end to this aggression.

6. Some other important members of the Bandung Conference have also expressed their opinion on the lines indicated above. I need not repeat that we attach the greatest importance to stopping this aggression and propose to do everything in our power to that end.

I send you my sincere regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

30. Message to Ali Sastroamidjojo[1]

I have received a message from Mr Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Soviet Union. I understand that a similar message has been sent by President Voroshilov[2] to President Soekarno.[3]

2. In this message the suggestion is made for an urgent meeting of the Bandung countries to consider the aggression against Egypt. We have given much thought to this matter and, as you know, we are greatly concerned with and shocked at the aggression of the United Kingdom, France and Israel against Egypt. We have expressed our views strongly on this subject. In view, however, of the resolution passed by the special session of the General Assembly last night and the special session continuing, I feel that the immediate summoning of the Bandung Conference might not be desirable. It will also be difficult to have a representative gathering in the present circumstances at short notice. We feel, therefore, that we should wait for developments in the special session. Meanwhile, to further help united action and as a demonstration of solidarity, we might meet representatives of the Bandung countries in our respective capitals. I shall do so in Delhi and I hope you will do so in Jakarta.

3. It may become desirable to convene a session of the Bandung Conference somewhat later, subject to developments.

4. I am sending you separately a copy of my reply to Mr Bulganin. I shall be grateful if you could show it to President Soekarno also.

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. K.Y. Voroshilov, President of the Soviet Presidium.
3. Ahmed Soekarno, President of Indonesia.

31. Message to Ali Sastroamidjojo[1]

Thank you for your message suggesting meeting of representatives of Colombo countries.[2] I would welcome such a meeting in Delhi if it is convenient to other Prime Ministers. I am sorry I cannot leave Delhi because of UNESCO Conference which is meeting here and visit of Emperor of Ethiopia within a few days. Also international situation makes it difficult for me to go abroad. I propose therefore to remain in Delhi continuously for practically the whole of November except for three days, namely, 9th, 10th and 11th, when I have to go to Calcutta for important meeting of All India Congress Committee.

2. Prime Minister of Burma is at present in Bombay presiding over Asian Socialist Conference.[3] He intends coming to Delhi on 12th November. I do not know if any earlier date will suit him.

3. Prime Minister of Ceylon is, I believe, soon leaving to attend United Nations General Assembly. I do not know whether it will be convenient to him to come here before he leaves and if so, whether his date will suit other Prime Ministers.

4. I am communicating with Prime Ministers of Burma, Pakistan and Ceylon and sending them copy of this message.

5. Although I am heavily occupied in Delhi, any date for our meeting will suit me here except 9, 10, 11th November. I entirely agree with you that we should maintain closest contact during present grave crisis and a joint meeting would certainly be helpful.

1. New Delhi, 3 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 2 November, Sastroamidjojo had written that the invasion could be interpreted as an attack against a member of the Asian-African Conference. He suggested convening a third Colombo Powers Conference to discuss the situation and come to a joint decision for taking practical and efficient steps in order to stop fighting so as to avoid expansion of this armed conflict which could lead to graver international implications endangering world peace.
3. U Ba Swe, the Prime Minister of Myanmar, presided over the ten-day session of the Second Congress of the Asian Socialist Conference, which began in Bombay on 1 November 1956.

32. Cable to R.K. Nehru[1]

Your telegram 569 November 3rd.[2]

2. Situation in Egypt undoubtedly very grave. Important factors at present are (1) possible steps which special session UN Assembly might take in furtherance of their resolution, (2) how long Egypt can continue resistance even though defeated in a military sense, (3) strength of opposition in England and (4) what Soviet Union might do.

3. Unfortunately, situation in Hungary and reports of fresh Soviet troops and armour being sent there and fighting,[3] has created very bad effect in many countries and lessened influence of Soviet Union in Egyptian situation.

4. We should undoubtedly try to enccurage solidarity among Asian-African countries against aggression. On the whole reaction of these countries has been strong, though some countries like Iraq probably playing double game. I do not think any help of military supplies to Egypt is possible or desirable. Certainly India will not act in that way. We can exercise our influence, such as it is, much more otherwise, and we are doing our best.

5. We have considered Bulganin's suggestion for Bandung Conference meeting. Both we and some other Bandung Prime Minister do not consider this feasible or worthwhile at this stage. African and Arab countries will not be able to attend. Some other Prime Ministers are going to UN Assembly. Such a meeting unless representative might actually prove damp squib and weaken our case.

6. I have agreed to Indonesian Prime Minister's suggestion for Colombo Powers meeting if it is convenient to Prime Ministers concerned to meet in Delhi as soon as possible.[4] I am not sure if all of them will be able to come.

1. New Delhi, 3 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. R.K. Nehru, India's Ambassador in Beijing, reported that Chou En-lai wanted to know Nehru's views on Egypt. He supported the suggestion for meeting of Bandung Powers and also of Colombo Powers. He said that overthrow of Nasser, and presenting world with a fait accompli would be "an adventurous action" which was bound to precipitate a crisis. It was essential, therefore, that African Asian opinion should be mobilized quickly which would help Arab unity also. He also said that the aggression against Egypt should not be tolerated by African Asian Countries but the question was whether apart from making statements condemning aggression they could give some support to Egypt.
3. See *post*, p. 452 fn 3.
4. The Prime Ministers of Myanmar, Sri Lanka, Indonesia and India met in New Delhi from 12 to 14 November. The Prime Minister of Pakistan did not attend this meeting as he had gone for the Baghdad Pact meeting at the same time.

7. It is possible that United States, Canada and some other countries may tone down in their opposition to Anglo-French action and ask now for some international police force being sent to Canal. We shall strongly oppose this and I imagine most countries in UN General Assembly will not agree.

8. If Egyptian resistance does not collapse soon, probability is that Eden Government will be overthrown in England. I think Egyptian resistance will continue even though it might be on guerilla scale, though flat plains of Egypt are not suitable for those tactics.

9. I have sent Krishna Menon today to New York.

10. You can convey these views to Chou En-lai.

33. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung[1]

Arthur Lall telegraphs from New York that in furtherance of Asian African and other resolutions it is proposed to organize immediately international force under UN Command to be sent apparently to go ultimately to Armistice Line. It has been suggested that India should also send small contingent to be preceded by some officers immediately. Egyptian representative Loutfi[2] has said that Egypt would very much welcome this.[3]

I am by no means clear about all this business and am enquiring further from Krishna Menon. Please let me know immediately what views of Egyptian Government are on this proposal and more especially our sending an armed contingent there.

It is suggested that airlift facilities will be provided by United States.

1. New Delhi, 5 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Omar Loutfi.
3. The UN General Assembly, at the request of Egyptian Government, met on 3 November in an emergency session to consider four draft resolutions on the Suez crisis submitted by the USA, Canada and the Afro-Asian group. Ultimately on 4 November, it adopted a resolution submitted jointly by Canada, Colombia and Norway incorporating Hammarskjold's proposals for the setting up of an Emergency International United Force to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities. The resolution forbade drawing personnel from the five permanent member countries of the Security Council for the UN Force. Lall informed on 4 November that he had been asked to ascertain the availability of a small Indian contingent and of a few officers for the UN Force.

34. Message to N.A. Bulganin[1]

Dear Mr Chairman,

I am grateful to you for your message which was handed to me by your Ambassador this afternoon.[2] I had a talk with your Ambassador later and explained to him our attitude and approach to the subject of your letter.

2. You are aware that we have been deeply distressed at the Israeli invasion of Egypt and the aggression of the United Kingdom and France against Egypt. We have expressed in the United Nations and elsewhere our views about this aggression in clear and unequivocal language. We have further deplored that the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly have been ignored. All our sympathy has been with Egypt in her hour of deep crisis when her independence is endangered and an attempt is made to impose political and other decisions upon her by superior might. This aggression involved dangers not only to Egypt but to other countries which may not be strong enough to resist it. For us in Asia this turn of events has come as a great shock. If countries which are militarily weak are to be threatened by more powerful countries, then we revert to the rule of brutal might and the law of the jungle. All our declarations of peaceful coexistence and respect for integrity and independence of nations, non-aggression, non-intervention and mutual respect, which we have repeated so often, have no meaning left and the world reverts to international barbarism.

3. The one relieving feature of this deplorable situation is that the United Nations General Assembly and world opinion generally have condemned aggression and have earnestly sought a way to put an end to it. Some progress has been made to that end and it may well be that recent resolutions of the General Assembly may lead not only to ceasefire but also to withdrawal of the forces that have committed aggression on Egyptian territory. If that end is achieved, it will be easier to deal with the problem so that the independence of Egypt may be assured and the issues that have been raised solved peacefully. I

1. New Delhi, 6 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 5 November, Bulganin wrote about his Government's decision to raise in the UN the question on measures for ending the Anglo-French aggression. He stated that his Government had warned Britain and France about the dangerous consequences of their aggression. He also said that Nehru's personal prestige and "voice of India against the aggression could play an outstanding part."

have just been informed that the United Kingdom Government are demanding immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Egyptian territory, apart from any general settlement in the Middle Eastern region.

4. As you know, Mr Chairman, we in India are resolutely opposed to war and we do not think that war solves any problems. Even if it appears to do so for the moment, it creates far more difficult problems. War today is too terrible to contemplate and humanity has rebelled against such a prospect. Your own country has taken a lead in the campaign for peace.

5. While, therefore, we entirely agree with you that aggression of all kinds must be put an end to, we feel strongly that any step that might lead to world war would be a crime against humanity and must be avoided. It is indeed partly for this reason also that we have condemned the aggression on Egypt.

6. We feel that it is possible, even at this late stage, to rescue peace from the fog of war that threatens to suffocate it. In this task, your great country can play a great part. To the extent that we in India can help, we shall certainly do so with all our will and strength.

7. I agree with you fully that the situation is serious and delay may well lead to disaster. Urgent and effective measures have to be taken. But I earnestly hope that they will be measures to bring back and ensure peace rather than to enlarge the circle of war and disaster.

8. I thank you for telling me that you will be good enough to send me information about Hungary. As you know, developments there have caused us much concern.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Your telegram 381 November 5th.[2] Subsequent Soviet letters to Security Council, Eden, Mollet[3] and Israel appear to have created entirely new and dangerous situation.[4]

2. However we agree in principle to participate in International Force but this is subject to various reservations mentioned by you in para 4 of your telegram.[5] You may inform Hammarskjold accordingly.

3. It will probably take us 10 days to equip a battalion and about 6 days for group of Officers. We may be able to send one or two Officers earlier, if necessary.

4. We are always reluctant to send Indian troops abroad but in view of grave situation and Egypt's wishes we are agreeing provided other conditions mentioned by you are fulfilled.

1. New Delhi, 6 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon had written about setting up of the International Force. He suggested that the Government of India should agree and support the proposal, subject to certain reservations and conditions.
3. Guy Mollet, Prime Minister of France.
4. Bulganin wrote to Eden, Mollet and Ben-Gurion, the Israeli Prime Minister, repeating his proposal to Eisenhower of a joint USSR-US action by the naval and air forces, together with other UN members to stop war in Egypt and curb aggression. He accused Israel of acting as a "tool" of Britain and France and announced the recall of the Soviet Ambassador from Tel Aviv.
5. Menon suggested that India should agree to participate in the UNEF to lend moral support and character and "indeed to make it possible." This agreement in principle should be on the following basis: (1) if plan was reasonable India would participate; (2) the Force was to be set up in the context of the withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces and that of Israel behind the Armistice Lines; (3) the Force was not a successor of the invading Anglo-French forces; (4) the Force must have Egyptian consent as it had to function on Egyptian soil; (5) the Force was temporary for an emergency to separate the combatants and Israel's withdrawal; (6) the Force must be balanced in composition.

36. Message to Dwight D. Eisenhower[1]

My dear Mr President,
Late last night I received your message of November 5th[2] and this afternoon I have received your letter of November 6th. I am grateful to you for them. I hasten to send a brief reply.

2. But first of all, I should like to convey to you my happiness at your re-election to the high office of the Presidency of the United States.[3]

3. I received from Premier Bulganin a letter yesterday and also copy of the messages which he had sent to you, Eden, M. Mollet and the President of the Security Council.[4] I sent him a reply immediately.[5] I was in agreement with him about putting an end to the fighting and the aggression in Egypt. But I pointed out that any step which might expand the sphere of military operations and lead to world war would be a crime against humanity and must be avoided. I added that it was indeed partly for this reason also that we had condemned the Anglo-French aggression on Egypt.

4. We are very glad to find that the situation in Egypt is somewhat eased by the acceptance of the ceasefire plan and the statement on behalf of the British and French Governments that Israeli forces must retire to the original Armistice Line.[6] I take it that this means that all foreign forces will withdraw from Egypt soon. The presence of any foreign forces will be a continuous irritant and will

1. New Delhi, 7 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. This message was sent through Krishna Menon.
2. Eisenhower referred to Bulganin's message to him, dated 5 November, proposing a joint US-USSR military action to check Anglo-French "aggression", and emphasized the "need to exert the greatest possible restraint lest this situation radically deteriorate." He hoped that Nehru would add his "powerful voice to those counselling restraint with regard to this proposal for expanded military action." He wrote that the only purpose the US had was to support the UN in removing the threat to peace, and to restore peace and justice in the area.
3. Eisenhower was re-elected as the US President on 6 November 1956.
4. The Soviet proposal of joint armed intervention to aid the victims of aggression in conformity with Article 42 of the UN Charter was rejected for inclusion in the Security Council agenda on 5 November.
5. See *ante*, pp. 436-437.
6. Military operations in Egypt were halted from the midnight on 6-7 November after both Egypt and Israel accepted an unconditional ceasefire.

lead to trouble. It is clear that political or other decisions can no longer be imposed on a country by force of arm, without imperilling world peace.

5. I have informed the Secretary General of the United Nations that we agree in principle to participate in the UN force. This will be subject however to the full plan being considered by us and to its acceptance by Egypt.

6. You have referred in your letter to what I said about the situation in Hungary.[7] I have indeed been greatly troubled by what has happened there and I drew the attention of Mr Bulganin to it. He has briefly replied and has promised to send a fuller reply later. Meanwhile, we have been told by the Russian Government that they had previously decided to withdraw their troops from Hungary and had declared their general policy on the 30th October. Subsequent events compelled them to intervene temporarily to protect the lives of their own people, as Governmental authority appeared to have vanished and in fact killing was taking place. I entirely agree with you that armed intervention of any country in another is highly objectionable and that people in every country must be free to choose their own governments without interference of others.

7. Recent events have come as a great shock to all of us and have been a warning of the dangers of one country intervening in another and trying to impose its will and even flouting the United Nations. Fortunately, world opinion has stood by the United Nations. I am convinced that there can be no peace on the basis of aggression. What has happened in Egypt has powerfully moved all the countries of Asia and Africa, and fears of a reviving colonialism and an attempt to coerce a weaker nation have created an atmosphere of fear and ill will which it may take a long time to remove.

8. I am sure that your great influence, Mr President, will be a powerful factor in removing these fears and in applying the healing touch to the deep wounds that have been caused.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. Referring to Nehru's comments at the UNESCO Conference about Hungary (see *post*, pp. 537-541), Eisenhower wrote that the facts regarding the deplorable situation in Hungary should be brought before the world and it should be made clear that "the leaders of free and democratic countries cannot remain silent in the face of such terrifying pressures upon our fellow beings."

37. Message to Gamal Abdel Nasser[1]

Recent developments indicate definitely that the tide has turned in favour of Egypt. I am sure that this process will continue and not only bring relief to Egypt but ultimate removal of all aggression wherever it may come from. I should like to congratulate you on this turn of events and to assure you that we shall stand by the independence of Egypt. World opinion has been largely with you and has undoubtedly helped greatly, but it is essentially your leadership and the determination of the Egyptian people to preserve their freedom that has made the difference.[2] I trust that Egypt will long have your leadership and prosper under it.

1. New Delhi, 7 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. When this message was delivered to Nasser in Cairo, he said that he suspected some political trick in this move and also that he would not be able to open the Suez Canal as a waterway, as long as the British and the French occupation of Port Said continued. He stated that it was too early to say what form the political moves in the UN would take; and that he would not accept anything limiting his sovereignty. This conversation was reported by R.G. Rajwade of the Indian Embassy in Cairo to Foreign Secretary on 8 November.

38. West Asian Situation[1]

The Prime Minister made a brief reference to the complications caused by Israel's refusal to withdraw her troops from the Sinai Peninsula and Britain's postulation of certain conditions to be fulfilled before the withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces.[2] Tracing the recent history of Israel, he pointed out the deep-rooted nature of the enmity between that country and the neighbouring Arab States and the difficulties in the way of a solution of the problem. Egypt's acquisition of arms from Czechoslovakia and other communist states had provoked commando raids and border incidents and the Suez crisis had provided an excellent opportunity for a large-scale invasion of Egyptian territory by Israeli forces, followed soon after by the Anglo-French aggression on Egypt.

2. India had not originally recognized Israel out of consideration for Arab sentiment, but had extended recognition later as there were no valid arguments against it. The present position is that although India has recognized Israel, there is no diplomatic exchange between the two countries.

3. The Prime Minister also informed the Cabinet that, (1) he had just received a reply from the British Prime Minister to the communication sent by him at the time of the Anglo-French ultimatum to Egypt, but it did not contain anything of importance; (2) the Chinese Government had agreed to Dalai Lama coming to India to attend the Buddha Jayanti celebrations; and (3) Marshal Bulganin had agreed to the publication of their recent personal correspondence.

1. Minutes of a Cabinet Meeting, 8 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Ben-Gurion stated on 7 November that Israel would hold the territory in her possession till there was no peace settlement and would not agree to the stationing of foreign troops. However, on 9 November, he announced in a broadcast that Israel would withdraw her forces from the Sinai Peninsula after the entry of the UN Force into the Suez Canal area and would cooperate with them. Eden also said that as soon as the Force was in a position to effectively discharge its task, Anglo-French forces would hand it over the responsibilities.

39. Economic Cooperation Among the Colombo Countries[1]

In the joint statement issued by the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon, Indonesia and India on the 14th November, 1956,[2] reference was made to the desirability of the Colombo countries cooperating in the economic sphere, more especially in view of the difficulties that had arisen because of the international crisis and the Suez Canal having been blocked for some time at least.

2. The four Prime Ministers met informally on the 14th November afternoon and discussed what should be done to give effect to this proposal. The Prime Minister of Ceylon suggested that, to begin with, the Heads of Missions in Ceylon of the other Colombo countries should be asked to discuss these matters among themselves and with the representative of the Ceylon Government. A small central office might be established in Colombo to serve as a clearing house for information. Each Government should prepare a note on the supplies position and indicate in what measure there could be cooperation between these five countries.

3. It was agreed that the Heads of Missions in Colombo should be instructed accordingly by each Government, and that each Government should prepare a note as suggested above and circulate it to the other Governments. Any further steps to be taken for the purpose of cooperation and coordination can be considered later.

4. The four Prime Ministers also considered the question of holding the second session of the Asian-African Conference. It was generally agreed that it was desirable to have such a meeting, but that it might not be feasible to have it for some months. Owing to the international crisis, such a meeting in the near future will be difficult to organize and to be a representative meeting. Also, such a meeting would require a good deal of preparation.

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary, and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, on talks held with the Prime Ministers of Myanmar, Sri Lanka, and Indonesia. New Delhi, 14 November 1956. JN Collection. An extra copy of this note was sent to the Prime Minister of Pakistan also who could not attend the Colombo Powers Conference held in New Delhi from 12 to 14 November 1956 on account of the Baghdad Pact meeting.
2. Prior to this talk, a joint statement was issued by the four Prime Ministers—U Ba Swe, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, Ali Sastroamidjojo, and Jawaharlal Nehru urging that the United Nations General Assembly resolutions should be "implemented in their entirety forthwith and all foreign forces should be withdrawn from Egyptian territory." See also *ante*, p. 334 fn 3.

5. Provisionally, it was agreed that the second session of the Asian-African Conference might be held some time in the second half of 1957.

6. Owing to the international crisis, the situation was changing from day to day, and any immediate steps even for consultation should be delayed till the situation was somewhat clearer. When there was some improvement in the international situation, the Bandung countries should be consulted about their views as to the holding of such an Asian-African Conference and its venue and date. It was agreed that the Prime Minister of Indonesia should at that time prepare a circular letter and send the draft of it to the four other Colombo countries. When this draft letter was finalized it should be issued by the Prime Minister of Indonesia, on behalf of the five Colombo countries, to the remaining Bandung countries to elicit their views.

40. Indian Contingent for Egypt[1]

India's soldiers have in recent years been entrusted with many tasks of an unusual and difficult nature. They have been to Korea and to Indo-China, carrying a message of peace and goodwill. Now they are called upon to go to Egypt and to perform an even more difficult and delicate task. I am sure that they will do so with credit to India and her gallant Army.

They must remember that they go as ambassadors of peace and friendship, carrying our goodwill with them. They must remember also that the people of Egypt are our friends and they go to serve them as well as the cause of peace. They will be our ambassadors and they must show by their exemplary conduct how good ambassadors should function.

My good wishes to all of them, officers and men, who have been chosen for this task.

1. Message for the Indian Contingent leaving for Egypt, New Delhi, 15 November 1956. JN Collection.

41. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung[1]

Canadian High Commissioner has just conveyed to me an urgent message from Lester Pearson[2] about Egyptian objections to Canada's association[3] in the Emergency United Nations' Force.[4] It is evident that Canadian Government is greatly distressed and upset by Egyptian objection and consequently their non-inclusion in the International Force. In course of message from Canada, following paragraph occurs:

> You will understand, of course, that if it became public, and so far we have avoided this, that Canadians were not considered appropriate for inclusion in this International Force, the effect on Canadian public opinion re the UN might be far-reaching and disastrous, to say nothing of the anger it would arouse against Egypt.

2. It was pointed out to me that ever since inception of UN, Canada has been strongest advocate of International Force and was naturally looked upon as a country to be associated with any such force.

3. I know that ever since Suez Canal crisis arose, Canada has taken up a very critical role against Britain and France. When it was decided by England and France to send forces to Egypt, Canada reacted strongly against this. It must be remembered that both England and France are in a sense mother countries of Canada. In spite of this, Canada took up strong role.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Foreign Minister of Canada.
3. Canada's Commonwealth association raised doubts in Egyptian minds regarding its participation in the United Nations Emergency Force. Lester Pearson wrote in his memoirs *The International Years* (1973): "He (Nasser) appreciated what we had done in New York, but the Canadian contingent would lead to misunderstanding and, perhaps, to incidents because it would be very difficult for his people to distinguish between The Queen's Own from West Surrey and The Queen's Own from Calgary."
4. Egypt had laid down three conditions for stationing of the United Nations Emergency Force in Egypt: (i) that the Egyptian Government's consent would be necessary for the participation of any country's troops in UNEF; (ii) that the UN should agree to withdraw the Force when the Egyptian Government demanded; and (iii) that UNEF would not remain in Egypt after the evacuation of Anglo-French forces from Port Said, but would move eastward to the Egyptian-Israeli Armistice Lines.

4. Further that General Burns,[5] Commander United Nations Force, is a Canadian and his impartiality has been accepted.[6]

5. You know our own opinions on this subject which have been conveyed to you in strong language by Krishna Menon. I entirely agree with him and consider that it would be harmful to Egypt's interests to insist on exclusion of Canadian contingent. At the same time, we can hardly go on trying to impose our opinion on Egyptian Government. I hope that you will make clear the position and possible consequences to Colonel Nasser. It is then for his Government to decide.

5. Lt. Gen. Eedson Louis Millard Burns (1897-1985); served European War, 1916-18 and War of 1939-45; Director-General of Rehabilitation, Department of Veteran Affairs, 1945-46; Assistant Deputy Minister, 1946-50 and Deputy Minister, 1950-54; Chief of Staff, UN Truce Supervision Organization, Palestine, 1954-56; Commander, UN Emergency Force, 1956-59; Adviser to Government of Canada on Disarmament, 1960-69; Leader of Canadian Delegation to 18-Nation Disarmament Conference, Geneva, 1962-68; Professor of Strategic Studies, 1971-73; Publications: *Manpower in the Canadian Army, 1939-45*, *Between Arab and Israeli*, *Megamurder*, *General Mud*, *A Seat at a Table*, *Defence in the Nuclear Age*.

6. Finally, the UNEF troops in Egypt were recruited from eight countries out of 23 which had offered to send troops—Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Colombia, Canada, India, and Yugoslavia.

42. Aid to Egypt and Hungary[1]

I mentioned the question of helping in relief measures in Egypt and Hungary in the Cabinet today. It was of opinion that we should give considerable help to both. In fact, large sums of money were mentioned going up to Rs 25 lakhs and above. It was decided, however, that for the present, we might think in terms of Rs 10 lakhs for both.

2. We should give a larger quantum of help to Egypt than to Hungary.

1. Note to Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, MEA, New Delhi, 15 November 1956. JN Collection.

3. We should take early steps to send military supplies to Egypt by air.[2] There is no point in sending any military supplies to Hungary because they can draw upon Europe. Our help to Hungary should preferably take the form of tea, coffee, cloth, blankets, etc. We might also perhaps send some money, though it is not quite clear to me where we send it.

4. It was mentioned that we might be able to buy medicines and perhaps some other necessary articles in Aden, for Egypt. This will save time, more especially in regard to medicines, etc. This might be investigated.

5. It is desirable to take early action.

2. See *ante*, pp. 415-416.

43. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung[1]

In view of reports about conditions in Port Said,[2] Krishna Menon suggests asking for immediate session of Assembly on Egypt. I think this should be done, but obviously it is for Egypt to ask for such session. India will support. You might suggest this immediately to Egyptian Government.

Egyptian Government can also ask for team of UN Observers to go to Port Said immediately to report.[3] If there is any truth in allegation of British French

1. New Delhi, 16 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Port Said, the northern entrance to the Suez Canal, was captured by the Anglo-French troops on 5 November and the ceasefire came into force on the midnight of 6/7 November. Ali Yavar Jung replied on 17 November that it was difficult to secure authentic information as admission to and movement in Port Said was severely controlled and restricted. The only versions available were from foreign journalists who risked their lives in entering Port Said or from the refugees. He informed that only the leader of the Egyptian Red Cross was allowed to enter Port Said, while two delegates of International Red Cross were directing relief activities there.
3. Jung replied that according to Egyptian information, there were two UN Observers in Port Said but they were not being shown much and they had said nothing till then.

troops being in Israel, this is also a matter which Egyptian Government can raise.[4]

Is it possible for you to get some fairly reliable information about conditions in Port Said?[5]

4. Jung replied that Nasser had no information regarding British and French landings in Israel but he thought that the possibility existed.
5. Jung replied that he was sounding Yugoslavs, Indonesians, Australians, Ethiopians and Burmese if they would agree to join him in requesting for permission to visit Port Said.

44. Clearing of Suez Canal[1]

I understand that the Egyptian Government have agreed to the clearing of the Canal being done under UN auspices, but they have made it clear that the UK or France should not be associated with it.[2]

2. If the Egyptian authorities deliberately blocked the Canal, the responsibility for this partly must be on the Anglo-French action of bombing Cairo etc.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 19 November 1956. *Suez Crisis 1956, November 19, 1956-July 3, 1957*, Volume IV, Historical division, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India.
2. During discussions with Hammarskjold in Cairo, the Egyptian Government had requested for the UN assistance in clearing the Suez Canal of obstructions and he had asssured them of such assistance. On 24 November, the General Assembly adopted a resolution on this. Immediately after, Hammarskjold announced the appointment of a three-man team to supervise the task of Canal clearance, headed by Lt.-Gen. Raymond A. Wheeler, formerly Chief of US Army Engineer Corps. The other two members were John J. McCloy and Colonel A.G. Katzin.

45. Message to N.A. Bulganin[1]

Thank you for your personal message which I received from our Ambassador a few days ago.[2] I entirely agree with you that no effort should be spared to reach an agreement which would prevent war and ensure peace in the world. We are glad that you have made a fresh approach to the difficult problem of disarmament and we feel this deserves careful consideration.[3] We are studying these proposals on disarmament with the care and attention which they deserve.

The question of disarmament chiefly concerns the Great Powers who have at their command large armed forces and armaments of all kinds and effective action can only be taken by them. So far as we are concerned we shall gladly help in every way possible for us. The present international tension makes it more than ever important that discussions should start early among these powers in order to reach an agreement. If India's participation in these discussions is desired by other participants we would be glad to assist.

1. New Delhi, 27 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. In his message of 17 November, Bulganin referred to the serious aggravation of international situation due to the armed attack on Egypt and emphasized the need to unite all countries' efforts to take urgent measures towards the prevention of war, stoppage of armaments race, and the solution of disputed questions through negotiations. He also enclosed a note containing the Soviet Government's proposals for disarmament and reduction of international tension for Nehru to examine.
3. The Soviet Government's statement of 17 November 1956 on disarmament contained the following points: (i) reduction of men and armament in two stages; (ii) prohibition of nuclear weapons, complete destruction of stockpiles, and immediate discontinuation of tests of nuclear weapons; (iii) one-third reduction in the armed forces of the US, the USSR, the UK and France stationed in Germany, during 1957; (iv) considerable reduction in armed forces of the USA, the UK and France stationed in the NATO countries, and of the Soviet forces in the Warsaw Pact countries during 1957; (v) liquidation within two years of all military bases in the territory of other States; (vi) reduction in military expenditures of States, and banning of nuclear weapons; (vii) strict and effective international control over fulfilment of the disarmament obligations including the use of aerial photography; (viii) conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact States.

III. HUNGARY

1. Attempt at Coercion Injurious[1]

In the letter from Mr Nagy[2] to me, he has referred to what I am supposed to have told him when he saw me in December 1954.[3] The quotation seems rather odd to me, and I doubt very much if I said anything very like it. I might, of course, have said that I did not like oppression and exploitation. Obviously, I cannot remember precisely what I said on that occasion.

2. I do not agree with the statement in Mr Nagy's letter that "the chief obstacle to the liquidation of colonialism lies in the forcing of the area of Eastern-Europe into the communist orbit, and the colonialist Soviet policies carried on the rein".

3. I am glad, however, that he recognizes that the method of force is not the right one to remedy any ills.

4. I do not think it will be desirable for me to send an answer directly to Mr Nagy. Our Ambassador in Washington should be asked to inform him, preferably

1. Note to N. R. Pillai, Secretary General, and Foreign Secretary, MEA, 12 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. Ferenc Nagy (1903-79); Hungarian politician; Secretary General, Smallholders' Party, 1930; Member of Parliament, 1939; President, National Assembly, 1945; Minister of Reconstruction, Prime Minister, 1946-47; indicted for crime against the State after the Communists gained control of the Government, but before the start of trial escaped to the USA, 1947; Member, Central Eastern European Committee, 1947; Chairman, Assembly Captive European Nations, 1961-62, publications include: *How the Russians Grabbed My Country* (1947), *Struggle Behind the Iron Curtain* (1948), *Around the Iron Curtain* (1949).
3. In a letter on 27 September 1956, Nagy referred to his meeting with Nehru on 5 December 1954 and quoted his observations regarding the position of East European peoples: "Whatever you call it, it is oppression and exploitation. I never have and I never will agree to this policy of the Soviet Union." (No record of this meeting is available with us.)

orally, that I have received his letter and read it.[4] I am convinced that any attempt at coercion or, indeed, any active campaign will be injurious. Certain changes are taking place which Mr Nagy has himself referred to, which will, I hope, gradually liberalize conditions in these countries.

4. Nagy emphasized the need for restoration of self-governance of the Eastern European nations where local dictators' cruelty had created a hostile anti-Soviet attitude among the people who were ruled by pro-Soviet governments. He referred to the changes in the Soviet Policies after the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. The best approach, according to him, would be if Nehru, who was striving to solve problems peacefully, expressed his approval of those Soviet policies which might lead to the liberalization and democratization of policies in Eastern Europe. This meant speeding up the extention of the right to freedom, ensuring social equality, regaining of national independence, and giving rights of self-determination and free elections.

2. Cable to K.P.S. Menon[1]

I have received and continue to receive large numbers of telegrams from various Hungarian organizations in Hungary and outside. Some messages from Hungary come through our Legation in Vienna. All these make earnest appeals to me to take some steps to induce Moscow to withdraw Soviet army immediately from

1. New Delhi, 2 November 1956. JN Collection.

the whole of Hungary and to leave Hungary to function independently without interference.[2]

2. Reports from and about Hungary[3] are confusing, but it appears quite clear that there has been powerful and widespread national uprising there against Soviet forces and interference. Also that there has been large-scale killing on both sides. We have seen reports that two thousand five hundred Russians were killed on one side and over ten thousand Hungarians on the other.

3. We were under impression that Soviet forces were being withdrawn and some kind of stable government in Hungary would gradually emerge and restore peace. Latest reports are that additional Soviet forces are going to Hungary and

2. Hungary, an East European communist country, was encouraged to rebel by the success of the Polish rebellion against the Soviet control in the summer of 1956. In July 1956 the Stalinist Government led by Matyas Rakosi was dismissed and his deputy Erno Gero occupied his position, who announced that there would be no concession in principle to the group of Imre Nagy, the dismissed prime minister of 1955, for planning the restoration of civil liberties and the improvement of economy. This sparked off an anti-Russian rebellion in the country when, on 22 October, university students expressed solidarity with the Polish rebellion, put together a list of 16 demands. On 23 October, more than a lakh students joined by workers rallied at Budapest's Bem Square and demanded a democratic government, the return of Nagy to power and the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The police fired into the crowds. The army joined the revolutionaries. On 24 October, Nagy was restored and Janos Kadar replaced Gero as head of the Hungarian Community Party. But the revolt went on spreading across the country. On 30 October, Soviet troops withdrew from Budapest and Nagy in a radio broadcast promised free elections and end of one party dictatorship in Hungary. On 1 November, Nagy announced Hungary's withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact of 1955 and asked the United Nations to recognize Hungary as a neutral State under the joint protection of the Great Powers. On 2 November, Nagy denounced the Warsaw Pact. On 4 November, the Soviet tanks entered Budapest. Nagy took refuge in the Yugoslav Embassy and Kadar formed a new "revolutionary peasant worker government" consisting entirely of communists. The Hungarian defiance was crushed by 16 Soviet Divisions that were supported by 2000 tanks.
3. M.A. Rahman, Charge d'Affaires, Budapest, had sent through the Indian Legation in Vienna, a letter received from a Hungarian youth organization addressed to Nehru, pointing to the atrocities committed by the Soviet troops in Hungary, pleading for his intervention for withdrawing Soviet troops and securing the Soviet assurance in the UNO of non-interference in the internal affairs of Hungary.

Premier Nagy[4] has even protested to United Nations.[5] All this is naturally creating much concern here, although attention is largely taken up by events in Middle East. It is difficult for us to intervene in any way but I should like you to let Soviet authorities know informally that this situation in Hungary is causing people in India much concern and naturally sympathy goes to those who represent the national desire for freedom.

4. I hope you will also keep us informed.

4. Imre Nagy (1896-1958); Hungarian Political leader, Minister of Agriculture, December 1944-15 November 1945; Minister of the Interior, November 1945-1946; Prime Minister, 1953-1955 and 23 October-4 November 1956; led resistance to Russians in 1956 uprising and executed after Soviet military occupation.
5. The UN Secretary General, Dag Hammarskjold, received two messages from Imre Nagy on 1 and 2 November drawing his attention to the continued entry of Soviet troops despite his urgent demand for their withdrawal, and asking the Security Council to instruct the Soviet and Hungarian Governments to immediately begin discussion on the withdrawal of Soviet forces.

3. Cable to K.P.S. Menon[1]

We have read declaration of USSR Government dated October 30th, 1956, in regard to their relations with other socialist states[2] and more particularly

1. New Delhi, 3 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. The declaration announced that the "Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union...decided that the Soviet Union would base its relations with the other socialist countries on the strict Leninist principles of equal rights for the peoples. The Congress proclaimed the need for taking into account the history and the individual peculiarities of each country on its way towards building a new life." The declaration also referred to the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary and Romania under the Warsaw Pact, and in Poland under the terms of the Potsdam Agreement as well as Warsaw Pact and stated that their governments would take up the question of their withdrawal.

Hungary.[3] While this statement indicates broad lines of Soviet policy, it does not throw much light on immediate issues. It has been stated in newspapers that present Government of Hungary has made a reference to United Nations declaring their withdrawal from Warsaw Pact and affirming their neutrality and seeking protection of United Nations from attack from abroad, presumably Soviet forces. This matter may well come up directly or indirectly before United Nations General Assembly or Security Council. Most of the information we are getting is from other sources, usually hostile to the Soviet Union. We should be grateful if you will enquire from Soviet Government on our behalf what the true position and facts are, so that we can brief our representative in the United Nations accordingly. Any further conflict between Russians and Hungarians would be most unfortunate and will be utilized to divert attention from Middle East situation.[4]

2. Please therefore ask Soviet Government on our behalf and let us have their answer.

3. The declaration maintained that the workers had raised the questions of the inadequacies of the economic system, the material well-being of the people, and the bureaucratic excesses in the state apparatus, but the forces of reaction and of counter-revolution joined "this just and progressive movement of workers, with the aim of using the discontents of the workers to undermine the foundations of the people's democratic system in Hungary and to restore the power to the landlords and the capitalists." It pointed out that the Soviet Government had instructed its military commanders "to withdraw their troops from the city of Budapest as soon as the Hungarian Government feels that they can be dispensed with" and was prepared to negotiate troops' withdrawal from other places in Hungary.
4. Menon replied on 4 November that an article published by *Pravda* entitled "Black Path of Reaction in Hungary" showed the "Russian Government's hand" in the situation. The article said that since the order of withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary on 30 October, "counter-revolutionaries have established regime of 'bloody terror' with the connivance of Nagy" who had proved himself incapable of fighting "black forces of reaction" or restoring order out of chaos.

4. Cable to K.P.S. Menon[1]

Latest developments in Hungary[2] are depressing and causing us much concern, not only because they appear to be violation of *Panchsheel* which so many countries have loudly proclaimed but also because they have adverse effect on Egyptian situation. We are awaiting further information from you in answer to my last telegram. Meanwhile we have informed Arthur Lall that our view in regard to Hungary is that fighting should stop and people of Hungary should be given freedom to decide for themselves without external intervention or pressure. We have told him to avoid condemnation of Soviet as we lack full information.[3]

Both Egyptian and Hungarian situations appear to me to bring chances of large-scale war nearer. I should like your appraisal.

1. New Delhi, 4 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 4 November, when Soviet troops attacked Budapest, Imre Nagy took asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy. See *ante*, p. 452 fn 2.
3. A special emergency session of the General Assembly met on 4 November and adopted a US resolution which condemned the use of Soviet military forces in Hungary, requested the Secretary General to investigate, and observe the situation through his representatives.

5. Cable to G.L. Mehta[1]

Your telegram 659 of November 3rd.[2] I agree that there was a nationalist uprising in Hungary against Soviet domination. It appeared at first that issue may be settled as in Poland[3] and Soviet Government declared that they would withdraw their troops. Something else happened then which is not quite clear, which made Soviet Government change their opinion and send armed forces to compel obedience.

2. To begin with, it seemed to us unwise to interfere when a settlement like Poland appeared likely. Later we expressed our concern to Soviet Government. But events moved swiftly. Today I referred to Hungary in my speech before UNESCO Conference.[4] You will see what I have said.

1. New Delhi, 5 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Mehta, Indian Ambassador in Washington, wrote that the following points emerged on the Hungarian situation: (i) revolt in Hungary was a spontaneous mass movement against Soviet domination of Hungary and resentment against exploitation of her economy; (ii) calling Soviet troops by Gero was not justified under Warsaw Pact; (iii) events in Hungary and Poland were evidence of Soviet colonialism; (iv) ruthless shooting of unarmed crowds including workers and students; (v) Nagy announced withdrawal from Warsaw Pact, demanded withdrawal of Soviet Army from Hungary, declared her national independence, and requested UN protection. Mehta added that there was considerable feeling in the US about India's silence on this issue in contrast with her denunciation of western imperialism; that the Soviet action in Hungary was violation of *Panchsheel*; and that the fundamental issue in Egyptian and Hungarian crises were the same.
3. On 28 June 1956, Polish workers at Poznan protested against the social and economic conditions under the communist regime and Soviet interference in Polish affairs. More than a hundred rioters were killed by the militia. On 5 August, the Government announced the release and rehabilitation of W. Gomulka, the former Secretary General of the Polish United Workers' Party, expelled from the Party in 1949 and imprisoned since 1951 on charges of "Titoism". On 19 October, when the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party met to elect a new politburo, Khrushchev, without any invitation, arrived in Warsaw with Soviet Divisions marching on the city. He returned to Moscow after Gomulka was able to convince him on the night of 19-20 October that the Politburo of the Polish Party wished to keep the PUWP within the Communist camp. On 21 October, the PUWP elected a new Politburo with Gomulka again as First Secretary, who proposed the abolition of compulsory collectivization of agriculture and the withdrawal of Press censorship. In November the Russian officers of the Polish army returned to Moscow.
4. See *post*, pp. 537-541.

3. I have no doubt that the action of Soviet Government is deplorable. But we do not yet have full information as to how and why these changes occurred.

4. The case of Egypt is absolutely clear and there is no doubt about it. Because of this and because of our own intimate contacts both with Egypt and with the Suez Canal issue, we had to express our opinion immediately and forcibly.

6. Cable to Mohan Sinha Mehta[1]

Your telegram No 22 of November 4th.[2] Prime Minister spoke feelingly of Hungary yesterday at UNESCO Conference.[3] He has also conveyed his grave concern to the Soviet Government through our Ambassador in Moscow. He cannot do anything more at this stage. He does not think, however, that the future of Hungary has been finally settled.

1. New Delhi, 5 November 1956. File No. 5(5)-Eur E/56, MEA. Drafted by Nehru, the cable was issued by Foreign Secretary
2. Mehta, the Indian envoy in Vienna, had written that a Hungarian-born American Michael Kannas had visited Western Hungary against heavy odds. His report was that Budapest was "apparently encircled by over 1000 Soviet tanks and phosphorous and incendiaries being used freely." Kannas had brought an appeal from students addressed to Nehru for sending "your representative to Hungary as soon as possible," and using his influence in Moscow for evacuating Soviet troops and saving the Hungarian lives.
3. On 5 November 1956 at Delhi.

7. To Rajendra Prasad[1]

New Delhi
6 November 1956

My dear Rajendra Babu,
Thank you for sending me the draft of your speech for the Banquet.[2] I am venturing to suggest some small correction on page 2. I think that the reference to "armed intervention by other powers" is obviously a criticism of recent measures by Soviet Government. Taken by itself, it would mean that we are criticizing them while we do not criticize the real aggressors. I suggest that this sentence might be left out.[3]

I am returning the draft.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. The banquet was hosted on 7 November at the Rashtrapati Bhavan in honour of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.
3. The sentence was not included.

8. Message to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

We should, if requested by Secretary General, participate in Investigation Group at New York. Arthur Lall should be our Representative in this Group. We do not think that Rajeshwar Dayal should be brought from Belgrade for this. It would not even be desirable for our Representative in Yugoslavia to be associated with investigation of this kind. We should not insist on previous Hungarian consent to the functioning of the Investigation Group.

1. Dictated by Nehru from Kolkata, where he was attending the AICC metting, for onward transmission from New Delhi, 11 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

2. As regards the Observation Group, we should not refuse to participate if requested to do so. Our participation will however depend on the Hungarian Government agreeing to admit an Observation Group into Hungary. Subject to this, we think that Samar Sen[2] who is now in Vientiane would be a good choice for this Mission. If Sen is not immediately available, we may think of some other person. UN Secretary General should himself make the approach to the Hungarian Government for their consent.

2. Chairman, International Commission for Supervision and Control, Laos at this time.

9. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

There is much feeling in All India Congress Committee circles that our attitude in regard to Hungary has not been as clear as it might have been. There is naturally great sympathy for Hungarian people and resentment at the use of Russian army in strength to suppress them. It is recognized that position in Hungary has been different from that in Egypt but nevertheless it is felt that we have not been quite clear in our declarations. From legal points of view and because of lack of full information our statements can be justified.[2] But the fact remains that large

1. Dictated from Kolkata, for onward transmission from New Delhi, 11 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. On 12 November at the Delhi airport, Nehru clarified India's stand on Hungary in the General Assembly Session, held on 8 and 9 November, where three resolutions were adopted. India voted against the Five-Power resolution, moved by Italy, the Irish Republic, Pakistan, Cuba and Peru advocating free elections in Hungary under the UN auspices. India abstained from voting on the US resolution which called upon the USSR to cease action against Hungarian people. The third resolution, moved by Austria, called upon member-states to undertake immediate aid to the greatest extent possible. Nehru explained that India had voted against the Five-Power resolution because she was opposed to its operative part, i.e., elections under UN auspices.

bodies of Soviet forces have suppressed nationalist uprising in Hungary involving terrible killing and misery for the people.

2. Events move fast and it is not possible to have consultations. Generally speaking, it appears better to abstain from voting on resolutions containing some objectionable features and moving amendments, rather than voting against it.

3. Meeting of Colombo Powers Prime Ministers being held tomorrow. Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon attending.[3] I am returning to Delhi tomorrow morning.

3. See *ante*, pp. 334 & 443-444.

10. Relief Work in Hungary[1]

In view of the proposal to help in the relief of distress in Hungary, I suggest that you send a telegram immediately to our representative in Vienna telling him that we should be glad to help in relief and asking him what form of relief he would recommend, more particularly in kind.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 13 November 1956. File No. 5(5)-Eur E/56, MEA.

11. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

I had message today from Lester Pearson about Canadian contingent going to Egypt. I have forwarded this to Cairo with my own strong recommendation supporting yours that Canada should not be left out.[2]

We should consistently oppose any proposal for elections in Hungary under UN supervision. As for Observers I think we should sustain.

You must have received telegrams from Cairo about the terrible conditions in Port Said. It is there that Observers are required.[3]

We are arranging to send immediately large quantity of medicines to Egypt by air for relief.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Egypt had reservations about Canada's participation in the United Nations Emergency Force. See also *ante*, pp. 445-446.
3. See *ante*, pp. 447-448.

12. Cable to G.L. Mehta and Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit[1]

Your telegram 696 November 13th.[2]/Your telegram 3252 November 14th.[3] We have clearly expressed our views about Hungary on several occasions here and yesterday in joint statement of Colombo Prime Ministers.[4] I shall be making statement in Parliament on international situation tomorrow.[5]

2. It seems to me that there is much misapprehension and to some extent deliberate distortion of what India did in Security Council.[6] India expressed clearly her distress at Russian troops coming in and asked for their withdrawal. Also said that people of Hungary should decide their own future without outside intervention. But we were and are entirely opposed to elections being held there under UN auspices. This was not only unconstitutional but dangerous precedent for other countries. Apart from this it could only have led to major war.

3. Hungary's case is important and deserves all help but it seems to me that every effort is being made by some Western countries, taking the name of Hungary, to push aside Egypt's case and to try to rehabilitate England and France and their aggression in Egypt. We have to resist this.

1. New Delhi, 15 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. G.L. Mehta wrote that Walter Reuther, American trade union leader and President, Industrial Union Department, regretted India's "belated reaction" to events in East Europe and Indian Delegation's abstention on UN General Assembly vote. He firmly believed that a timely forthright statement against the invasion of human rights by the Soviet Union in Hungary would have heightened without measure India's position and role as a spokesman for justice in international relations. Mehta wrote that Justice Felix Frankfurter of the Supreme Court of the USA expressed similar feelings and said that young men and women, who looked upon India and Nehru as a "moral authority", were deeply pained by India's attitude and vote in UN.
3. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's High Commissioner in London, wrote that there had been no statement on Hungary other than Nehru's reference at UNESCO meeting: "Friends and critics alike are bewildered and unhappy at our vote in UN" and "your continued silence". She suggested that Nehru made an early statement expressing India's sympathy with the people of Hungary and "our dislike of brute force to suppress human beings."
4. See *ante*, p. 334.
5. See *ante*, pp. 346-368.
6. The reference is, in fact, to the emergency sessions of the UN General Assembly held on 4 November, 8 and 9 November 1956. See also *ante*, p. 455 fn 3 & p. 459 fn 2.

13. Deportation of Hungarian Youth by Soviet Union[1]

I think we might send a telegram to our Ambassador in Moscow referring to the report that Hungarian youth are being deported to the Soviet Union and enquiring what his information is on this subject. We might also enquire from Vienna.[2]

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 16 November 1956. File No. 5(5)-Eur E/56, MEA.
2. Nehru had received a telegram from the President of Hungarian National Council, New York, which referred to the Associated Press report of Budapest official radio broadcast about deportation of Hungarian youth by the Soviet Union to compel Hungarian workers to break the general strike. The telegram urged Nehru to use his "high authority to stop (the) execution of this Soviet crime and save (the) Hungarian youth." This deportation was referred to as violation of the workers' right to strike and Genocide Convention.

14. India's Policy on Hungary[1]

Please acknowledge this letter[2] and reply as follows:

"Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of November 8 and he thanks you for it. He wishes me to tell you that India's policy in regard to events in Hungary has been repeatedly and clearly stated. This is that the Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Hungary and the people of Hungary should decide their own future Government.

The vote in the United Nations, you refer to, was in a resolution which asked for elections to be held there under the supervision of the United Nations. It was this that was objected to. I am enclosing a copy of a statement

1. Note to Private Secretary, New Delhi, 16 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Letter not traceable.

which the Prime Minister made in Parliament on the 16th November.[3] Also a copy of a speech he delivered at the UNESCO General Conference here.[4] These will explain to you India's attitude in regard to these matters."

Please enclose these two papers.

3. See *ante*, pp. 346-351.
4. See *post*, pp. 537-541.

15. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

You must have seen joint statement by four Prime Ministers. Also my statement in Lok Sabha today.

We have been receiving fairly full though belated reports from our representative in Budapest Rahman who has been there throughout recent occurrences. His latest report which is five days old indicates much public resentment in Hungary regarding India's attitude. I take it that our position will be clarified after recent statements.

Rahman also reports that while all fighting has stopped Hungarian people are adopting some kind of peaceful mass action. They are refusing to work till their demands are satisfied. These demands include return of Nagy to power and immediate withdrawal of Soviet troops. They have big peaceful demonstrations which Rahman says have been most impressive. This is for your information.

1. New Delhi, 16 November 1956. JN Collection. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.

16. To Reginald Sorensen[1]

New Delhi
16 November 1956

My dear Sorensen,[2]
Thank you for your letter of the 12th November. You have every right to write to me, and there is no need for an apology for it.

As for Hungary, there appears to have been a great deal of misunderstanding of the vote we gave in the United Nations. As a matter of fact, we have repeatedly declared that we want the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and that the Hungarian people should decide their future by themselves, without interference. We were, however, certainly of opinion that any attempt at intervention from the Western side in Hungary might well result in a major war. We also did not approve of the proposal that elections should be held under the auspices of the UN. This, according to us, was not only against the provisions of the UN Charter but also likely to come in the way of the very thing we desired, that is the withdrawal of Soviet troops. Hence, we voted against this particular provision in the UN.

Today, I made a statement in our Parliament, which might interest you. I enclose a copy. Also, a copy of my address to the UNESCO Conference.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Labour MP, British Parliament, active in India League.

17. India's Stand on UN Resolution on Hungary[1]

I enclose some reports received from our Delegation in New York. These contain speeches of Shri Krishna Menon on Egypt and Hungary. Separate copies of his speeches on the situation in Hungary on the 8th and 9th November[2] have been sent to me. I am keeping these.

In view of the controversy that has arisen about what was said on our behalf in the General Assembly, I am inclined to think that we might issue these reports of speeches on these two dates on Hungary to the Press. I could, alternatively or in addition, place them on the table of the House. (I do not wish to include in this his final remarks on the 9th November which he made after Cuba had spoken.) I feel that this publication will make clear the attitude taken up by our Delegation. Mere quotations from it do not help.

It is by no means clear to me how the voting took place on the Pakistan, Cuba, Italy, Peru, Ireland Resolution,[3] that is, in regard to paragraphs. Krishna Menon in his telegram 401 of November 12 says:

> "The resolution was voted para by para. In para 2 of the operative part the words about UN elections were put to vote separately. We voted against these words while we abstained on all the other parts seriatim. The UN election wording remaining a part of the Resolution was put as a whole and therefore we voted against the Resolution."

This is clear enough and it can only mean voting was by separate paragraphs, that we abstained in regard to other paragraphs and that when the paragraph containing the reference to the elections came up, we voted against it. Further when the entire resolution was put, we also voted against it.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 17 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. In the second emergency session of the UN General Assembly on Hungary, held on 8 and 9 November, Krishna Menon opposed the holding of elections in Hungary under the UN auspices, saying that "we cannot say that a sovereign member of this Assembly can be called upon to submit its elections to the United Nations without its agreement." Moreover, the Indian delegation could "not subscribe to any phraseology or proposals before the Assembly which disregard the sovereignty of States represented here." He also added that the Indian Government had been informed that the "Soviet troops are to be withdrawn from Budapest in agreement with the Hungarian Government as soon as order is restored."
3. For details of resolution see *ante*, p. 459 fn 2.

18. India for Speedy Withdrawal of Soviet Forces[1]

In Rahman's telegram just received,[2] there is reference to "apparently Soviets gathering youths from University and elsewhere and deporting them to unknown destinations. This may be rumoured but seems probable".

In the message from Krishna Menon dated November 17, it is stated that Shepilov told him that "the Kadar Government, in order to counteract propaganda, had authorized pickets of students and workers at exit points from Hungary to do their own vigilance."[3]

It is possible the sending of these students and workers to the border for this purpose was interpreted as deportation.

Rahman wants instructions from us and our reactions on developments in Hungary. He has already seen the joint statement of the four Prime Ministers. Possibly also he has seen what I said in the Lok Sabha. Tomorrow I shall be making some further reference.

Perhaps you might send a message to him through Vienna somewhat as follows:

> "We have received your telegrams upto the one dated 15th November. We welcome this detailed information which enables us to form clearer picture of events.
>
> "Our policy is to encourage speedy withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary but that this should be peacefully done. Any violence will not only bring fresh misery but delay such withdrawal. To some extent this depends also on Egyptian situation and international position. If this position worsens, then chances of withdrawal of Soviet troops will become much less. We hope

1. Note to Secretary General, and Foreign Secretary, MEA, 18 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. In addition to the deportation of Hungarian youths, Rahman reported on 15 November that fighting had ceased but Soviet forces were all over town; that Kadar Government could not enlist the people's support despite liberal announcements; that Revolutionary Councils in factories etc., were adamant to continue their strike until the Soviet troops' departure and the Kadar Government's fall. They supported Imre Nagy, who was in refuge with Yugoslav Embassy, as head of interim government till free elections were held. Rahman also reported that during entire revolution he had been "beset by public asking India to intervene and our Prime Minister to come out and bring peace."
3. On 16 November 1956.

therefore that Hungarians will maintain peace. We are pressing Soviet Government to permit UN Observers to go to Budapest."[4]

Rahman should maintain correct attitude and not intervene in any way in internal politics, though he can of course meet people if they wish to see him and report to us.

4. In a message to Secretary General, the Kadar Government refused to allow UN Observers to enter Hungary on the grounds that "the situation in Hungary falls exclusively within the internal legal competence of the Hungarian State"; and that the General Assembly resolutions "constitute an interference in Hungarian internal affairs." It agreed, however, to facilitate "receipt of food and medicine" for the Hungarian people and cooperate with the UN and International Red Cross in relief work. To Hammarskjold's wish to visit Budapest, the Kadar Government responded on 16 November by agreeing to meet him "in Rome to discuss the aid to Hungary proposed by you and to exchange views on the UN resolutions concerning Hungary."

19. Message to Arthur S. Lall[1]

Following is Prime Minister's instruction regarding new Cuban Resolution on Hungary:[2]

Our Representative should state that if in fact deportation has taken place it is a matter of most serious concern and deserves disapproval. However it would

1. New Delhi, 18 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. These instructions were conveyed by Foreign Secretary, S. Dutt.
2. In view of the continued refusal of the Soviet Government and the Kadar Government in Hungary to comply with the resolutions of 4 and 9 November adopted by the UN General Assembly regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and the admission of UN Observers and free Hungarian elections under UN supervision, Cuba tabled a resolution in the General Assembly on 19 November 1956 calling upon the Soviet Government and the Hungarian authorities to comply with those resolutions and to stop the deportation of Hungarian citizens. It was adopted on 21 November by 55 votes to 10.

not be right or proper for the UN to express opinion merely on the basis of press reports. The UN should obtain reports officially from the Hungarian Government referring to the general concern on this subject. It might be even suggested to the Hungarian Government that in view of this disturbing report which is being widely circulated they might consider facilitating enquiry by the UN Secretary General. The UN General Assembly should suspend judgment until the facts have been ascertained beyond doubts.

2. After making our position clear as above our Representative should abstain.

20. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

You will see the report of my speech in Lok Sabha today.[2] Full report being airmailed. I made it quite clear that there was complete accord between our Delegation in UN and Government of India.

2. We have asked K.P.S. Menon to proceed to Hungary. We have had information from many sources about recent events in Hungary. These sources include important persons recently in Hungary. I have no doubt in my mind that uprising in Hungary was popular and widespread and had the backing of vast majority of people there, including Hungarian army and even Communists. Firing by Secret Police on students began violence. This enraged students and workers who were later joined by Hungarian army which refused to fire on students and gave arms to them. First stage of fighting was between all these people and the Secret Police all over the city, involving killing on both sides. Gero,[3] thereupon called in Soviet army. Their firing infuriated people. Hungarian army and people fought both Secret Police and Soviet tanks. College and school students were practically all children of workers and peasants; as children of middle-class

1. New Delhi, 20 November 1956. Subimal Dutt Papers, NMML.
2. Nehru spoke on 19 and 20 November. See *ante*, pp. 351-388.
3. Erno Gero (1898-1980); member, Hungarian Communist Party, 1918-62; member, Central Committee of the Party, 1946-56; held several ministerial posts in Hungary after the Second World War, Deputy Prime Minister, 1955-1956; First Secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, 1956; escaped to the USSR, 1956, returned to Hungary in 1960; expelled from the Party, 1962.

families had difficulties in securing admission to educational institutions. Numbers of small boys attacked Soviet tanks and disabled them. Tremendous anti-Russian feeling resulting in large-scale burning of Russian books in streets.

3. There was thus a general mass uprising against Soviet domination, people resenting not only economic hardship but suppression of all kinds of freedom by Secret Police. Strong feeling that Hungary was drained of supplies for benefit of Russia and that valuable uranium ore was appropriated by Soviet Government. Casualties were very heavy.

4. Stories of deportation widely current in Budapest because large number of young men and women were taken out of Budapest in cattle vans. Many of these pushed out little pieces of paper which were subsequently picked up.

5. Kadar[4] has been respected as a patriot, but he is not at present trusted as he is supposed to be mouth-piece of Soviet authorities and not a free agent. Little chance of settling down if Soviet army remains in Hungary. People are bitter and talk about past conquerers whom they fought—Turks, Austrians, Germans—and say they will no longer submit to Russian domination. They say that they want democracy and socialism but not type of Communism which will make them subservient to Soviet Russia.

6. I think this is fairly correct estimate of situation in Budapest and possibly rest of Hungary also. I doubt if Marshal Tito's appraisal of necessity of second Soviet army's entry and large-scale attack is correct.[5] In any event, this was on

4. Janos Kadar (1912-1989); Hungarian politician; Assistant General Secretary, Communist Party, 1946-48; Member, National Assembly, 1945-51, 1958-89; Minister of Internal Affairs, 1948-51; Premiere, 1956-58, 1961-65; First Secretary, Central Committee, Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 1956-85, General Secretary, 1985-88; Member, Presidential Council, 1965-88; Publications include *Firm People's Power—Independent Hungary* (1958), *For a Socialist Hungary* (1972), *Internationalism, Solidarity, Socialist Patriotism* (1977).
5. On 11 November at Pula, Tito condemned the first Soviet intervention in Hungary on 24 October but justified the second on 4 November as a "lesser evil" on the ground that it had averted counter-revolution and a third world war. He criticized the policies of Rakosi and Gero but said that if Imre Nagy's Government had taken a strong stand against the chaos and had energetically opposed reaction, then perhaps things could have been straightened out and Soviet armed intervention averted. Instead, Nagy asked people to take up weapons against the Soviet army and sought help from Western countries. The intervention was exploited by the imperialists by choosing exactly the same moment to attack Egypt, hoping that the Soviet Union would be too busy to oppose the aggression.

tremendous scale and, from a purely military point of view, very badly organized, as tanks were rather helpless in narrow streets with crowds attacking them. The result has been very bad for Russian prestige in Hungary and it will take a very long time and very wise measures to get over terrible bitterness.

7. This is for your personal information.

21. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

K.P.S. Menon has been reporting to me of increasing strain in relations between Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Soviet paper (s) openly criticize Tito's policies to which Yugoslavia papers reply.[2] Molotov is now functioning as Director of Ideology. It is evident that there is internal crisis in top Soviet circles. Recent events in Poland and Hungary have apparently increased influence of those who are more pro-Stalin.

2. Although Tito has recognized Kadar Government in Hungary, Yugoslavian Embassy in Budapest is apparently giving shelter to Imre Nagy.[3]

1. New Delhi, 21 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. A *Pravda* article on 19 November rebuked Tito for suggesting that Yugoslavia's road to socialism was the only possible one; described his Pula speech as exhibiting "tendencies to interfere in the affairs of other communist parties", and compared his "attempt to divide Communist parties into Stalinists and non-Stalinists" with the "fabrications of reactionary propaganda". Tito was accused of trying to extend his influence beyond Yugoslavia and adopting a position "which radically contradicts the Marxist-Leninist tenet that each country can have its own methods, forms, and tempo of transition to Socialism." *Borba*, the official organ of the Yugoslav Communist Party, repudiated these allegations on 21 November, accusing *Pravda* of using phrases from Tito's speech out of their context.
3. When the Soviet troops attacked Budapest in the early hours of 4 November, Nagy and some other ministers gathered at the Parliament Building. But when he heard that Soviet tanks were approaching the Parliament, he sought asylum in the Yugoslav Embassy and stayed there till 23 November.

22. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Two telegrams[2] have been received here and forwarded to me. One is from Anna Kethly[3] and the other from Norman Thomas.[4] Both plead for repudiation of Kadar's Government in Hungary and recognition of old Nagy's Government of which Anna Kethly was a Minister. I see from Press reports that you have seen Anna Kethly.[5]

2. It is not for us to go out of our way to recognize or not recognize any government. We have to deal with functioning government. It is for people of

1. New Delhi, 21 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The telegrams were sent to Asoka Mehta from the USA on 12 and 13 November advising India not to recognize the Kadar regime, to vote for immediate UN action in Hungary, to demand cessation of repressive measures by the Russian army, and put a halt to deportation of the Hungarian people.
3. (1889-1976); Hungarian politician, joined Social Democrat Party, 1917; elected to Parliament, 1922-37, 1944-48, Vice-President, National Assembly, 1944-48; kept under house arrest, 1948-50; sentenced to life-imprisonment for spying against the State in January 1954 but pardoned due to international pressure; president of the revived Social Democrat Party, 31 October 1956; appointed by the coalition government as Hungary's delegate to the General Assembly and also Minister of State, Social Affairs while attending Socialist International Conference in Vienna, 2-3 November 1956; prevented from returning to Hungary due to Soviet intervention and flew to New York to attend UN General Assembly session; editor-in-chief, *Nepszava* (People's Voice), London, 1957-1963.
4. Norman Mattoon Thomas (1884-1968), American socialist leader; served as pastor of several Presbytarian churches in New York City until 1918 when he joined the Socialist Party of USA; assumed leadership of the Socialist Party in 1926 and was the Party's candidate for US President in 1928, 1932, 1936, 1940, 1944 and 1948; constant critic of American economic system and an advocate of evolutionary socialism; resigned his official posts in the Socialist Party, 1955, but remained its chief spokesman. Publications include: *The Conscientious Objector in America* (1923), *Human Exploitation* (1934), *Appeal to the Nations* (1947), *The Test of Freedom* (1954), *Socialism Reexamined* (1963),
5. Krishna Menon replied on 21 November that Kethly was against intervention and spoke of the Kadar Government as a quisling government. Attempts to seat Kethly in the UN had failed. He wrote that there was no "question of repudiation of the Kadar Government arising now. No significance attaches to my seeing Kethly. Unwise for us to get involved in anything of this kind."

Hungary to decide what government they should have and all we can do is to expedite the process by which they are given opportunity to have government of their choice.

3. I have little doubt that Kadar's Government has no great popular backing at present. But apart from question of popular backing of any government, it seems to me that any definite step taken to repudiate Kadar's Government and recognise previous government which is not functioning at present can only lead to headlong clash and possibly to major war.

4. K.P.S. Menon is trying to go to Budapest as soon as possible. There is no regular service now from Moscow. He has asked Soviet Government to arrange for his transport.

5. If Hungarian Government refuse our request supported by UN resolution for Observers to go there to investigate question of deportations, what then should be our next step?

23. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Summary of further report from Budapest dated 17th November.[2] Workers Union representative again called on Rahman and said that representation from all unions being addressed to Kadar Government. Letter on same lines being sent to me also and Kadar being informed of it. Publicity being given to people about this. Union in touch with Nagy in Yugoslav Embassy who, through intermediary, was in contact with Kadar. Union representatives hope to get Kadar to agree but if this fails they hope Prime Minister India would use his influence with Moscow. Workers had agreed to go back to work to save economy but with

1. New Delhi, 21 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Rahman reported that the main demands of the workers were withdrawal of Soviet troops and the holding of free multi party elections. These, as well as the demands for Central Hungarian Union, were not granted. Food scarcity, general distress and pressure methods might induce workers to go back to work, he wrote. Deportees were reported to be concentrating in Ungvar town across the border in Russia. Rahman wrote that apparently deportation slowed down but arrests and interrogations continued. India's UN resolution of 24 October was much appreciated by the people in Budapest.

their revolutionary councils intact and their demands unchanged.

This request influenced by issue of food being stopped except to those who returned to work. Also in the hope that deportation of youths will stop. Apparently widespread rumours and belief in Budapest about these deportations.

Further report that reorganized AVO (Secret Police) are returning to villages and supported by Soviet tanks terrorizing people. Feeling of despair and that West cannot help them now.

24. Message to N.A. Bulganin[1]

Dear Mr Chairman,

Sometime ago, you were good enough to send me, at my request, an account of events in Hungary.[2] I am grateful to you for this. Since then, however, other developments have taken place in Hungary which, as you know, have caused grave concern in many countries and in the United Nations. Several resolutions have been passed in the United Nations with which we did not agree. The situation, however, in Hungary continues to be one which produces disquiet in many minds everywhere and adds to the tensions of the world. I know that it is

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1956. JN Collection. This message was sent through India's Ambassador in Moscow, K.P.S. Menon.
2. The note, handed by the Soviet Ambassador to Nehru on 8 November, said that serious mistakes and distortions were made in political and economic policies under Rakosi and Gero (the Premiere and Deputy Premiere respectively of Hungary in 1955), provoking natural discontent among the population. This was widely and openly expressed. Because of this, the Hungarian government was reorganized on the night of 23/24 October, but reactionary and counter-revolutionary underground elements joined the protest and created mass disorder in Budapest. At the Hungarian government's request, the Soviet military units, stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Pact, came forward to help. Later the Russian Government withdrew them from Budapest to avoid the aggravation of the situation. Soon after "Horthy-fascist" elements obtained arms from the depots and went on killing democratic leaders and workers uncontrolled by the Nagy government. Democratic and honest patriots then formed a new government under Janos Kadar and asked the Russians for assistance in averting the fascist coup. The note challenged the legality of Imre Nagy government's reference of the Hungarian question to the UN and UN's competence to discuss it.

your desire to lessen these tensions and to help in settling the grave problems which have arisen both in Egypt and in Hungary peacefully and with justice.

3. As you know, allegations in regard to large-scale deportations of Hungarians have been repeatedly made in the United Nations and elsewhere. In view of these reports and the strong feeling they have aroused, India, in cooperation with Ceylon and Indonesia, sponsored a resolution in the United Nations which was passed by a very large majority last night.[3] I should like to draw your attention especially to the fact that this resolution fully reserves the position of Hungarian sovereignty, notes the Hungarian denial of the allegations and carries no condemnation. But we have felt strongly that in view of the grave allegations made which have powerfully influenced world opinion, it would be to the great advantage of the Hungarian Government to accept the proposal to allow observers nominated by the Secretary General of the United Nations to go to Hungary for this purpose. I am making an earnest request to the Hungarian Government to permit these observers to go there. Their favourable response to our request will immediately ease the situation and will direct people's minds into constructive channels.

4. I am also requesting the Hungarian Government to permit the Secretary General of the United Nations to visit Budapest to confer with them. The Secretary General would go there in his capacity as the Chief Officer of the United Nations and not in pursuance of the terms of any UN resolution. His going will in no way affect the sovereignty of Hungary.

5. A refusal to permit the UN Observers or the Secretary General to go to Hungary would naturally have strong reactions on public opinion all over the world and tragic developments might take place affecting not only the question of Hungary, but many other causes which the Soviet Union and we have at heart.

6. I had asked our Ambassador in Moscow, who is also accredited as our Minister to Hungary, to proceed immediately to Budapest. Unfortunately, he is ill and cannot do so soon. We are therefore requesting the Hungarian Government to permit our Minister in Prague, Mr Khosla,[4] to go to Budapest as my personal representative.

7. I am venturing to address you because of my anxious concern at the

3. On 21 November, the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution urging Hungary to permit the entry of UN Observers and to cooperate with and accede to the request made by the UN Secretary General.
4. Jagan Nath Khosla.

developments that are taking place[5] and my desire, which I am sure you will share, that we must do everything in our power to lessen the existing tensions and bring about a more peaceful atmosphere for the solution of the grave problems that confront the world.

5. Nehru informed K.P.S. Menon on 22 November 1956 that he had also asked the Soviet Ambassador in Delhi to convey "our grave concern and strong feelings over this matter" to his Government.

25. Message to Janos Kadar[1]

As Your Excellency is aware, we have followed with deep interest and grave concern recent developments in Hungary. We have felt the deepest sympathy with the Hungarian people in the trials that have faced them and the sufferings they have undergone. We had hoped that peace would be established there soon and normal life prevail and that Hungary's sovereignty and independence should not be challenged and should be based on the wishes of her own people.

2. Your Excellency will have seen the resolution moved by India in cooperation with Ceylon and Indonesia which was passed by the United Nations General Assembly last night. The General Assembly has passed some resolutions in regard to Hungary with which we were not in agreement. In view, however, of the widespread and persistent reports in regard to deportations of Hungarian nationals, which were exercising a powerful influence on the public mind everywhere, we thought it desirable to put forward our resolution. I should like to point out to you that this resolution notes the Hungarian denial of allegations made in regard to deportations, and fully reserves the position of Hungarian sovereignty. Also it carries no condemnation of the Hungarian Government. It is a resolution meant to facilitate an objective and peaceful approach to a problem which is agitating the public mind.

3. The Government of India has taken this action in a spirit of friendship for

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1956. JN Collection. This message was conveyed through India's Charge d'Affaires in Budapest, M.A. Rahman to Janos Kadar, Prime Minister, Hungary.

Hungary and I earnestly hope that your Government will cooperate with the Secretary General of the United Nations in the clarification of this situation and will permit him as well as UN Observers to visit Hungary to have personal discussions with your Government. To deny him this courtesy would create serious misgivings about the present situation in Hungary even in the minds of those who are friendly to them and would thereby give a handle for agitation to those whose attitude has not been friendly. Your agreeing to the visit of the Secretary General will immediately ease the public mind and create a better atmosphere for a return to normality and a peaceful consideration of the problems that have arisen.

4. We had instructed Mr K.P.S. Menon, our Minister accredited to Hungary, who is now in Moscow, to proceed immediately to Budapest. Unfortunately, he is at present ill and cannot travel. We are, therefore, asking our Minister in Prague, Mr Khosla, to proceed to Budapest as my personal representative. We trust that your Government will be good enough to consent to receive Mr Khosla.

26. Cable to J. N. Khosla[1]

We are telegraphing to you separately text of a telegram sent en clair to Rahman in Budapest. I would like you to proceed to Vienna immediately and be ready there to travel to Budapest as my personal representative as soon as you hear that Hungarian Government is ready to receive you.

2. We are asking you to go to Budapest via Vienna as K.P.S. Menon is ill and unable to travel.

3. You will see from our message to Premier Kadar of Hungary what our line of approach is. We have no intention of interfering in the domestic affairs of Hungary and have nothing but friendship for the Government and people of Hungary, but our efforts to help Hungary will be greatly impeded if the Hungarian Government refuse to receive the Secretary General or UN Observers in their capital. This would be a singular discourtesy to the Secretary General and would confirm reports about deportations and other recent happenings in Hungary. It will in fact lead to a tragic situation which might even result in war.

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1956. JN Collection.

27. Message to Josip Broz Tito[1]

I read your speech at Pula with great interest.[2] I share with you your great concern at the many mistakes made and the tragic development of events. Whatever our views may be about these past events, the present crisis confronts us in all its gravity and we have to do what we can to avert this danger.[3]

The situation in the Middle East continues to be grave but, on the whole, there is a tendency for it to relax. We have, however, to be alert and press for right steps to be taken.

In Hungary, however, although fighting has stopped, there are no indications of any peace or settlement. The situation continues to be very grave. As you know, news of deportations of large numbers of people from Hungary has created widespread dismay all over the world. This has been contradicted by Hungarian Government as well as Soviet Government but most people do not believe in this contradiction. In Hungary itself there appears to be widespread belief that deportations have taken place and some evidence is also produced to that effect.

As you know, resolution sponsored by India, Indonesia and Ceylon was passed by UN General Assembly last night.[4] Yugoslavia supported it. The question now is what next step we can take to further that resolution. It would be exceedingly unfortunate if Hungarian Government or Soviet Government refused to allow Secretary General of UN or UN Observers to go to Budapest now. Everyone

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. While describing the second Soviet intervention in Hungary as a "lesser civil" (see *ante*, p. 470 fn 6.) at Pula on 11 November 1956, Tito also said that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union had condemned Stalin's policy and laid the blame on the "cult of the individual." However, Tito questioned the system which made the cult of the individual possible—the bureaucratic apparatus, the method of leadership and so-called uniformity, and ignoring the role and aspirations of the working masses.
3. Tito replied on 28 November that the events in Hungary had "needlessly taken a negative turn." The most deplorable case of deportation was that of Imre Nagy and his group with their families to Romania on 24 November 1956 after Kadar's consent to their free return. Tito wrote that the straining of relations of the Soviet Union, with "various communist parties such as the French, the Czech, the Albanian and the Bulgarian ones, developed after my speech at Pula." He spoke "so energetically" because it became impossible to tolerate "the disguising of certain negative phenomena" persisting in the Soviet policy contributing greatly to the situation in Hungary.
4. See *ante*, p. 475 fn 2.

will think that they are in the wrong and belief in deportations will be confirmed.

I have, therefore, sent personal messages today to Premier Bulganin as well as Premier Kadar[5] of Hungary pointing out to them that our resolution passed by UN Assembly notes Hungarian denials and fully recognizes sovereignty of Hungary. It does not condemn anyone. But in view of serious allegations and doubts that have arisen in people's minds, it is highly desirable for UN Secretary General and UN Observers to be allowed to go to Budapest for talks with the Hungarian Government. I am afraid that if this permission is not given, consequences will be disastrous.

I would request you also to exercise your great influence to get the Hungarian Government to agree to the Secretary General or UN Observers going to Budapest.

I shall always welcome your appraisal of the situation in Hungary as you are in a position to have correct information. Our own information is that situation in Budapest and Hungary continues to be very tense and workers' unions and others refuse to put an end to their agitation and demonstrations till their demands are satisfied.[6]

5. See *ante*, pp. 474-477.
6. Tito replied that armed struggle in Hungary had ceased completely, a section of people had come back to work but a large section had not. This meant that even under such hard conditions of winter and hunger, the Hungarian workers expressed their dissatisfaction towards the policy which was being followed. He considered Kadar an honest man but realized his helplessness.

28. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Your telegram 447[2] and 448[3] November 21st. I shall await your suggestions for New York programme. Hope you are in touch with Ambassador.

As I have informed you I have sent strong messages to Bulganin and Kadar. Also to President Tito. We are speaking to Hungarian Minister here but he is quite out of touch with his Government. I do not know what else we can do.

My impression is that Soviet and Hungarian Governments are rather afraid of demonstrations if outsiders go to Budapest. Evidently Hungarian workers and others are in no way cowed down.

It would be undesirable precedent for Anna Kethly to address Assembly. But I suppose Assembly has every right to invite anyone to address. If question of her addressing Assembly comes up for voting it would certainly be embarrassing. I think however that you should then abstain from voting. Any other course would create great difficulties.

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In this telegram, Krishna Menon discussed various engagements during Nehru's forthcoming visit to the US.
3. Krishna Menon referred to an attempt to send Anna Kethly as Hungarian delegate in the UN. He pointed out that she had no credentials even from the Nagy Government and there was no provision in the UN procedure to give her a hearing. He added that it would be embarrassing if this question came up for voting as India could neither vote for it, nor abstain.

29. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Your telegram 451 November 22nd. There is no question of intervention.[2] But I have little doubt that it is really the Soviet Military Commander who governs in Budapest and Hungary and not the Kadar Government. It is a little absurd to talk about a free Government with a thousand foreign tanks in city and round about. I agree with you that our behaviour should be prudent and circumspect and we should maintain contact with Hungarian Government. Rahman's sympathies are obvious but we have told him to keep clear of internal politics. He has contacts with Kadar Government and Soviet Union. Some days ago his car broke down. He borrowed a car from Soviet Military Commander and presumably he is using this still.

I do not agree with appraisal that withdrawal of Soviet army will mean anarchy though there might be some trouble and attacks on Security Police which has been reformed. The discipline of Workers' Union in Budapest has been remarkable.

Our special aircraft carrying supplies to Budapest had been permitted by Hungarian Government to land there. At last moment when actually arrangements for reception were being made in Budapest permission withdrawn on grounds of technical difficulties. Aircraft was held up and has now proceeded to Vienna. Real reason apparently was fear of popular demonstrations when our aircraft lands there.

Official Yugoslav appreciation has been conveyed to us as follows:

(1) Spontaneous Hungarian revolt. A historical turning point with far reaching effects.

(2) Discredited Kadar's Government can survive only if it comes to compromise with Nagy. But latter not prepared to negotiate under pressure of Soviet arms. Alternative is prolonged repression and terror with its dire consequences.

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Referring to Nehru's earlier telegram dated 21 November (see *ante*, pp. 473-474), Krishna Menon hoped that Rahman, who was in Hungary, would avoid creating "embarrassment for India and lead to the functioning Government saying that he was on the side of the 'rebels'." He also wrote that India had to deal with the functioning Government unless "we intend to intervene politically or militarily."

(3) Reports about deportations from Hungary believed to be true although Yugoslavian position in UN is different.

(4) In Soviet Union's relations with other Eastern European countries reversal to Stalinist policy likely.

(5) There will be temporary recrudescence of Cold War. Global conflict unlikely but local wars may occur.

(6) Yugoslavia expects continuing vendetta with Soviet Union on ideological matters but hopes inter-state relation will not be greatly affected.

(7) Setbacks which Yugoslavia hopes are only temporary. Policy of co-existence is more than ever valid and justified.

Only alternatives appear to me to be phased withdrawal of Soviet troops and inclusion of Nagy in Government or alternatively present position continuing with danger of conflict spreading and even developing into world war.

30. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Your telegram 452, November 22nd.[2] We have already sent instructions to Khosla. We are adding to them on lines suggested by you. We are also communicating with K.P.S. Menon to continue his efforts.

2. None of us can control events. All we can do is to try our best and avoid any step which might aggravate situation. At the same time we do not improve a situation by saying or doing something which we cannot easily justify and we have to adhere to our broad principles. If war comes, it will come in spite of our trying

3. We have just received following message from our Ambassador in Belgrade.[3] Begins:

> Position of Kadar's Government which was already precarious is now regarded here as desperate in view of general strike and continued lack of popular

1. New Delhi, 23 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Krishna Menon hoped that as Nehru had designated J.N. Khosla as his Personal Representative he should be objective, and not "involve us in any way that would impair our usefulness in peaceful efforts".
3. Rajeshwar Dayal.

support. Prospects of negotiations with Nagy who remained confined in Yugoslavian Embassy with 16 colleagues of his former Government are rapidly fading. Only alternative now appears to be complete Soviet military occupation. In event of Kadar's fall subservient Government will be set up. Arrival of heavy Soviet Infantry reinforcement tends to confirm this Yugoslavian view. It is clear that Soviets will hold on to Hungary regardless of cost.

Meanwhile Yugoslav Foreign Office have information hitherto unconfirmed of arrival of Soviet forces in Bulgaria. Ends.

4. Have just heard that Nagy has been released from confinement. Perhaps this may be good sign.

5. At this moment of world crisis we are plunging into Buddha Jayanti celebrations. Thakin Nu arriving tonight. Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama on Sunday with large crowds of monks. Many other scholars are coming from all over the world. Chou En-lai arriving 28th November. Next 10 days here full of functions and feasting.

6. So we hover between war and peace, between the atom and the Buddha. I find some comfort in thinking of the maxim of the *Gita* that we should do our duty to the best of our ability and try to stick to the right path without worrying too much about the consequences.

31. To G.L. Mehta[1]

New Delhi
25 November 1956

My dear Gaganvihari,

I have received today a letter dated November 13th from the Student Senate of the University of Illinois.[2] I enclose a copy of this letter. This is signed by over

1. JN Collection.
2. Students of Illinois University requested Nehru to use his influence in the United Nations and with the USSR to provide for the safety and well-being of the brave Hungarian people. They wrote: "Since your record as a humanitarian leaves no room to question your integrity, we place our implicit trust in you".

a thousand persons and their signatures have been sent to me.

I should like you to acknowledge this on my behalf. You should say that I have received their letter and I am moved by what they have written. We in India have been and are greatly concerned with the conditions in Hungary and are anxious to do all we can to help the people of Hungary. We have, in fact, not only stated our position in public, but have endeavoured to move in this matter in other ways also. What has happened in Hungary is a historic development of great significance. Unfortunately, difficulties are created because of this vital issue being entangled with other issues and other controversies. However, I earnestly hope that the great movement in Hungary will lead to the realization for the Hungarian people of what they desire. I feel that this can only be done satisfactorily by peaceful methods as war makes matters infinitely worse.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. Message to J. N. Khosla[1]

The Hungarian issue is before the United Nations General Assembly. Unless the Hungarian Government decides to receive the Secretary General at least, there may be unfortunate developments in the General Assembly, possibly amounting to non-recognition of Hungarian representative there. If this happens, the issue will become far more complicated. Therefore, it is of great importance that, to begin with at least, Hungarian Government should agree to receive Secretary General Hammarskjold. We would like them to agree to receive UN Observers also, but this may be kept pending for the time being provided Hammarskjold is invited and their Foreign Minister at present in New York is asked to fix dates of

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1956. JN Collection

his visit. The Observer issue should not be turned down but kept in abeyance.[2]

2. We should like you to continue in your efforts in this direction. Please also tell the Hungarian Government that I would much appreciate replies to my message to them as well as to messages sent on our behalf through their Foreign Minister in New York.

2. Khosla replied on 3 December 1956 that the Hungarian Government on 3 December had expressed to Hammarskjold their "inability to alter position regarding Observers or to keep matter in abeyance." Regarding the Secretary General, they insisted that "their representative negotiate with him in Rome or New York without delay", and also added that they were ready to welcome him in Budapest at a "later date appropriate for both parties."

IV. SAUDI ARABIA

1. Management of Suez Canal[1]

Prince Feisal[2] raised the question of the Suez Canal and remarked that the United States did not agree with the UK and French attitude. The United States were apparently not inclined to submit the case to the United Nations.[3] The French were angry that the decisions taken at the First London Conference had since been changed towards moderation.[4]

1. Record of a talk between Nehru and Crown Prince Feisal, Riyadh, 25 September 1956. JN Collection. Nehru was on a goodwill visit to Saudi Arabia from 24 to 28 September 1956.
2. Feisal was the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Council of Ministers of Saudi Arabia.
3. For US attitude on the Suez issue, see *ante*, p. 396 fn 3 and p. 397 fn 5.
4. The reference is to the decision, announced on 12 September, about the setting up of a provisional Suez Canal Users' Association.

The Prime Minister said that France was most anxious to take some action. The US were looking at the problem primarily from the angle of the forthcoming Presidential election.

Prince Feisal thought that it was a mistake to build a policy on considerations of Presidential election. The US did not worry as to how their policy affected the whole world. Vanity spoils everything whether it relates to an individual or to a country.

The Prime Minister said that France and the UK had become weak particularly after the last War. They suffered from a complex of inferiority and fear and are afraid that they are being strangled. They were, therefore, reacting violently to any action which, in their view, was calculated to undermine their position still further.

Prince Feisal said that the problem was not merely one of the Suez Canal. There were other aims behind the French and the British action in this context.

Prime Minister agreed. He said that the Western Powers were anxious about their oil supplies.[5] Even more, the UK and other countries were afraid of losing their influence in this area.

Prince Feisal said that the British had created difficulties for themselves. They could have asked for negotiations with Egypt. Instead of that they indulged in threats. It was difficult for them now to withdraw from the position they had already taken. If however, they launched an attack that would be a world catastrophy.[6]

The Prime Minister expressed the opinion that there was not much danger of a war now. The danger now was more of economic pressure. However the chances of some kind of a settlement have grown recently.[7]

5. For example, the sea route from the Persian Gulf to the United Kingdom via Suez is about 6,500 miles as against 11,300 miles round the Cape of Good Hope, the other alternative route.
6. Operation "Musketeer" against Egypt started on the night of 31 October by the Anglo-French forces.
7. The British and the French Governments, and the Egyptian Government approached the Security Council to discuss the Suez issue on 23 and 24 September.

Prince Feisal agreed. He added that if they had followed the Prime Minister's advice they would not have reached the present position. This was surprising, said he, since the British were usually very wise and shrewd. The French were always excitable.

The Prime Minister observed that the issue was not really one of the Suez Canal. A succession of events preceding the present controversy had brought UK and France to a pitch of frustration. The Conservative Party had got angry at the Labour Government's weakness. The powerful Suez group in the House of Commons was putting pressure on Eden so that he would not yield. Eden wanted to show himself as a strongman although there were some Ministers in his Cabinet who did not feel happy at his attitude. The difference between the Egyptian proposals and the proposals of the other side was not as great as it appeared. There was agreement between the parties as regards the sovereignty of Egypt over the Canal, Egypt was prepared to accept an Advisory Council; the other party wanted a Controlling Council. Despite this difference in approach, in practice the Advisory Council's advice was bound to have weight. If this advice was not followed other consequences would follow. Unfortunately, there had been so much shouting about this matter that the question of prestige was also involved.

The Prime Minister and the Crown Prince agreed that both Saudi Arabia and India were vitally concerned in the proper management of the Canal.

"Suez was more vital to us in the East", Prince Feisal said, "than to those in the West". He criticized the selection of the 18 Powers for the London Conference. Only those were selected who, the sponsors thought, would side with them. India and one or two other countries were also invited to save face. "What justification was there," the Prince asked, "for inviting Ethiopia in preference to Saudi Arabia"?[8] The Prince added that if Saudi Arabia finds that Egypt was taking an unreasonable attitude, they would advise Egypt against doing so. Egypt was ready to give guarantees in regard to the improvement of the Canal, fares, and freedom of navigation. Why do they not have confidence in Egypt which has always been responsible for the safety of the Canal?

8. The reference is to the first London Conference, held from 16 to 23 August 1956, where the 18-Power Proposals were adopted.

The Prime Minister agreed and said that the way the Suez Canal Company had behaved through all this crisis had shown its real nature and purpose.[9]

9. Universal Suez Maritime Company had its head offices in Paris, but was registered in Egypt as a Joint Stock Company. It was formed in 1869 and was granted a 99-year concession, after which control would have reverted to the Egyptian Government. After the nationalization of the Canal on 26 July, the Director-General of the Company, Georges-Picot, said in Paris on 24 August that nearly all its non-Egyptian employees had remained loyal to the Company, had refused to work for the new Egyptian Authority, and had asked to be repatriated. The non-Egyptian employees included 148 of 187 pilots on the Canal and about 270 Europeans in administrative positions of special responsibility.

2. The Position of Egypt[1]

The discussion centred mostly on the Suez Canal. The King[2] observed that the United States were not agreeable to a reference to United Nations before the formation of the Users' Association. He thought, however, that the US advice was against extreme action.

The Prime Minister replied that the crisis was now entering a new phase that is likely to be a sort of cold war. Economic pressure could be brought to bear upon Egypt. As a result, however, both sides would suffer. The position of Egypt has grown much stronger during the last six months. Western opinion was shocked by the suddenness of the Egyptian action but the subsequent moderation of Egypt has had a good effect on world opinion. In the Prime Minister's view chances of a negotiated settlement seemed better than ever before. The real

1. Record of a talk between Nehru and King Saud of Saudi Arabia, Riyadh, 25 September 1956. JN Collection. Also present at the meeting were Crown Prince Feisal; Jamal Hussaini, Adviser to Foreign Office; Sheikh Yousuf Yasir, Deputy Foreign Minister on the Saudi Arabian side; and S. Dutt, India's Foreign Secretary.
2. King Saud Abdul Aziz (1902-1969); Viceroy of Nejd; nominated as heir by Ibn Saud, 1933; King of Saudi Arabia, 1953-1964; deposed by Crown Prince Feisal in 1964 and exiled to Greece.

difficulty arose from the fact that the question of prestige was involved. On merits, the Prime Minister said, India was supporting Egypt. India, however, avoided saying anything which might humiliate the UK and France. The Government of India was in touch with the UK and the US Governments. The Prime Minister had received friendly communications from Eisenhower, Eden and Dulles. Although no definite results had yet been achieved, all these steps would help.

The King said that there was no doubt about the legitimate rights of Egypt. Nationalization was not a new thing and the real issue was not, therefore, the future of the Suez Canal. The King had had a talk with Nasser the day before (24th). Nasser was in favour of a conciliatory settlement without emotion. The United Kingdom and the United States might not like Egyptians having dealings with the communist countries. This action was, however, forced on Egypt and was not of her choice. The King referred to the situation of Egypt with reference to Israel. Egypt had requested arms from the West but nothing happened. Arms had, therefore, to be obtained from the communists.[3] They as Muslims did not like communism. The choice to Nasser, however, was one of self-defence and maintenance of territorial integrity. The King thought that Egypt was justified in taking arms from the communist countries. Nasser would have liked to have them from the West.

Then came the question of the Aswan Dam. An understanding had been reached with UK and US about finance but they later declined to help.[4] The world market for the Egyptian cotton came down from 40 million bales to 8 million. Nasser was, therefore, at a loss to find customers for his cotton. He was obliged to sell cotton to Russia and in return obtain arms and ammunition. The King said that they were quite satisfied that Nasser did not want Russia to intervene in the internal Arab affairs. "We as Muslims", the King said, "are far from Communism". "No Muslim deals with a Communist country unless he is obliged to do so. That does not mean that we are enemies of Russia. There was something psychological involved in this. Nasser was ready

3. In September 1955, Egypt and Czechoslovakia signed a commercial agreement securing Czech arms in exchange for Egyptian products such as rice and cotton.
4. Going back on the offer to help Egypt in December 1955 for the construction of Aswan Dam, the US and the UK informed Egypt on 19 July 1956 that it was not feasible for them to finance the Dam. They feared that Egypt was not economically sound and did not have the necessary infrastructure to undertake such a vast project.

to come to an understanding on the basis of sovereignty and independence. He was also prepared to guarantee freedom of navigation. In the first conference of the Arab Heads of State in Cairo[5] and the second conference at Riyadh[6] (attended by King Saud, President Nasser and President Quwatly[7] of Syria), it was agreed that it was in the Arab interest to be friendly with the West with whom they have common interests in commerce and exploitation of oil. If the Arabs are treated equally and honourably, the friendship of the West will be more welcome to them than of other countries. Negotiations can, however, be direct or indirect but if negotiations could be started between the parties a settlement could be reached." King Saud added that he was continuing his efforts with the US Government. In his view, it was the United States which stopped use of force. This was a wise and farsighted thing. The British also kept their nerves. He and the Prime Minister by combined efforts could do something. Only if there was no agreement between the parties, a reference should be made to the Security Council.

The Prime Minister remarked that the Security Council could prevent a war. Otherwise it could not achieve any positive results. Only if direct negotiations took place some good might result. The King said that he was using his influence with the US towards that end. They should all think out a way which should ensure Egypt's interest without affecting the dignity of the Western Powers. The Prime Minister agreed but said that the question was how this could be achieved. The King's reply was that perhaps the Users' Federation could be used as a committee of contact with Egypt.

The King enquired whether the Prime Minister had any steps in mind. The Prime Minister said that before steps could be taken in public, the ground had to be prepared. That was why Krishna Menon had been sent to Cairo and England.[8] He would not say this in public but if there was a difference in the observance of the treaty between the UK and Egypt this might be referred to an international body like the World Court. The Prime Minister felt that if no progress was made by the time of the US Presidential election, a good check would be removed.

5. Held from 6 to 11 March 1956.
6. Held on 22 and 23 September 1956.
7. Sayed Shukri Quwatly, President of Syria from 6 September 1955 to 1 February 1958.
8. Krishna Menon went to Cairo on 17 September and to London on 24 September.

The King then referred to discussions between him and the Prime Minister about the treatment of Muslims during the King's last visit to India. He expressed a hope that the assurances which the Prime Minister had then given him were being implemented. He was apparently referring to the Muslim agitation in India and Pakistan over the publication of the book *Religious Leaders*.[9] He admitted that he had received a number of telegrams on the subject.

The Prime Minister said that he was glad that the King had referred to this matter. He gave the King facts about this case; how this book was published in the United States 15 years ago; and how this is one of several books which an Indian organization had published in India under contract with a US publisher. When the objectionable matter came to the notice of the Indian publishers they withdrew the book from circulation. The Government of India had also banned the circulation of the book. The Prime Minister added that the Indian law was being amended to prevent publication of scurrilous writing. The King did not pursue the point.

9. For details on this, *see ante*, pp. 253-271.

3. The Importance of Saudi Arabia[1]

Some nine months ago it was our high privilege to welcome His Majesty King Saud to India.[2] Earlier, the Crown Prince Feisal visited India. I have now come at the invitation of King Saud. I must express my deep gratitude for the overwhelming hospitality and friendship given to me and my colleague, Dr Mahmud.[3]

1. Speech at a reception given by Indian residents in Jeddah, 26 September 1956. From *National Herald* and *The Hindustan Times*, 28 September 1956.
2. King Saud visited India for a fortnight beginning 27 November 1955.
3. Syed Mahmud, Minister of State for External Affairs, Government of India.

The message of religion, culture and trade that went forth from this ancient land has great impact on the history of the world.

From here went the great message of peace and brotherhood which powerfully affected people in distant countries. So far as my country is concerned, for the last twelve or thirteen hundred years and even more, we had intimate contacts with Saudi Arabian people in many ways. The great religion, which emanated in this country and spread far and wide, came to India in the earliest days and a very considerable population of India today represents and believes in that religion which we are proud to consider in India, a great religion of India.

There are 40 million inhabitants in India owing allegiance to this great religion, Islam; and as my friend who read the address of welcome said,[4] while naturally they owe allegiance to this great religion, they are also on the political and national fields, sons and citizens of the Indian Republic.

When delicate negotiations are going on between various countries on the Suez Canal, it will not be proper for me to say much. But certain things are quite clear. Suez Canal is an integral part of Egypt.

The Canal is a great waterway through which ships of all nations, carrying passengers and cargo, pass through. It is a great lifeline for not only Asia and Europe but other parts of the world also. My country relies greatly on the Suez Canal, even more than Saudi Arabia. I am quite sure that this problem which has recently arisen, can be and should be, settled peacefully and in a friendly way.

Everyone should realize, whether he lives in Asia or Africa or Europe or America, that the time has come for a new understanding and a new appraisal of the relations of the countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and America to help solve peacefully the Suez crisis and other problems. I hope this new relationship will be friendly and cooperative one, but it will have to be somewhat different from the old relationship. We want the victory and triumph of the forces of peace and freedom, but a real victory and triumph is the one in which no one is defeated and all gain something.

India won her freedom in the friendly and cooperative way and if this difficult issue could be finally settled peacefully, I think other problems which appear difficult can also be settled peacefully and cooperatively and with freedom.

4. Maulavi Karam Ali, guardian of the Indian community in Jeddah.

4. Indo-Arab Relations[1]

Every student of history knows how close were the relations of India with the Arab countries for a thousand years or more. They influenced each other powerfully. Many of the languages of India have absorbed numerous words from Arabic. In medicine, arithmetic and algebra, in music and in so many other ways we influenced each other. The system of numerals which revolutionized arithmetic and which is used in every country in the world, is called by the name of Arabic numerals. And yet, I believe that in the Arab countries these numerals are called Indian numerals—*Hindsa*, from India.

This long association in the fields of trade and commerce, religion and philosophy, medicine and mathematics, music and many other cultural activities, was bound to leave a powerful impress on our peoples. The development of science and technology brought power and progress in various directions to Western countries. This resulted not only in the domination of Asian countries by the West but also in breaking off the relations of these Asian countries with one another. And so, for two hundred years or more, India became cut off from her neighbours in Asia.

The coming of independence to these countries has revived old memories and we pick up the old threads again.

Recently, I had the privilege to visit Saudi Arabia, the homeland of the Arab race, from which the Arabs spread to far countries in the East and the West with an energy and momentum seldom experienced in the long annals of history. That visit, as well as the previous visit of His Majesty the King of Saudi Arabia to India, have revived these old bonds again and made us intimately aware of our old heritage. I trust that these friendly relations and mutual understanding will grow and will form the strong foundations for cooperation to our mutual advantage in the future, as well as for the promotion of peace and goodwill in the world.

I am glad that a periodical is being issued by the Indo-Arab Society to further this cause of understanding and cooperation. I wish it success in its task.[2]

1. Message to the Indo-Arab Society, New Delhi, 4 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 17 November, Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay, inaugurated the periodical, *The Indo-Arab World.*

5. To Padmaja Naidu[1]

New Delhi
6 October 1956

Bebee dear,

The letter you had written to me reached me after my return from Saudi Arabia.

Saudi Arabia was, in a sense, an exciting place because of its very novelty in so many ways. I fear, however, that I would not welcome a lengthy stay there though I would love to travel about for a while. The exciting part of the country is a rapid change through which it is passing. The impact of billions of American dollars on the simple people of the desert is likely to be terrific. It is also to be remembered that the present regime there, the Wahabis, are supposed to be very puritanical. No music singing or dancing is permitted. Not even cinemas are allowed, so far as I know. The law of the Shariat prevails and a thief has to lose his right hand. The people, however, are likeable.

When the richer folk go to Beirut or elsewhere, they tend to break loose from all restraints. What will happen when money spreads out a little more, is anybody's guess. Schools are just beginning to be established. The present urge is to put up great buildings everywhere and there is a tremendous amount of construction going on and wide streets.[2] Huge palaces are put up with hundreds of chandeliers and tens of thousands of electric lights. I have never seen so many air conditioning plants and coolers. Every room had a few.

Inspite of all this, I liked my visit and I found the Arabs very attractive....

Yours,
Jawahar

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection. Extracts.
2. Ten palaces were built in the 1950s in Riyadh, Jeddah, Mecca, Medina, Asir, and on the Red Sea coast. The one in Nasiriya in Riyadh had a surrounding complex of satellite palaces, harem quarters, a mosque for the royal family, a school for its progeny, a hospital for its household, and a barracks for the bodyguards employed to protect it. Around this a fifteen feet high and seven mile long wall was built.

6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Your telegram No. 460 November 25th.[2] You are entirely mistaken in thinking that we were reluctant to undertake any representation on behalf of Saudi Arabia or Syria.

2. Syria asked us to represent them in the UK only. We agreed. Without any reference to us they asked Pakistan to represent them in France.

3. Saudi Arabia did not ask us at all or make any mention of this to us here or to our Minister in Jeddah. We were ourselves surprised to learn that they had entrusted their representation in both UK and France to Pakistan. There has been no question of our being reluctant to undertake this work or any like work. We are perfectly willing to undertake it and at no time have we given the slightest indication of reluctance.

1. New Delhi, 26 November 1956. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, NMML.
2. Krishna Menon wrote from New York about the Press reports that Saudi Arabia and Syria had entrusted their representation in England and France to Pakistan. He learnt later that this was due to India's reluctance to take on this work as "we had already heavy burdens." In Krishna Menon's view, this new tie up with Pakistan had great psychological and political consequences as their diplomatic ties would get closer. This had also brought in the question of a Baghdad Pact country being their representative. He also wrote that the Syrians there were unhappy about this decision and felt that their Foreign Office had merely looked at it administratively.

V. PAKISTAN

1. Cable to H.S. Suhrawardy[1]

We have given earnest consideration to the request made in your telegram No. 5169 dated 12th September.[2] We have all along been anxious to help the people in East Pakistan in their acute food shortage. Despite our extremely tight position, we made a gift of 5000 tons of rice and loaned another 15,000 tons.[3]

2. Our rice position continues to be most acute. We have made purchases from Burma and recently from China and USA. Our import programme from Burma has been considerably dislocated due to difficulties in loading and we are only getting a quarter of the programmed imports. The rice situation in India has become difficult, prices have been rising and we have had to open thousands of fair-price shops to check the rise in prices and our limited stocks are distributed all over the country to supply the fair-price shops.

3. We banned all exports of rice a long time ago. The delay in the arrival of imports from Burma has created an acute situation. Unfortunately, the developments in the Suez Canal situation may cause considerable delay in the arrival of purchases made abroad and the position may grow more acute. Ceylon approached us with an urgent request for a loan and we had to regret our inability to assist due to our own acute shortage. Our Minister for Food and Agriculture[4] has told us that he cannot take any risks and therefore no export of rice should be allowed to any country.

4. We are anxious to help but as you will observe we ourselves are facing serious difficulties. In spite of these difficulties, however, I have requested our Food Minister to endeavour to loan two thousand tons of rice immediately to relieve the shortage in East Pakistan. We regret we cannot do more at this stage. If we get the expected imports from China and the USA, we will review the position and consider giving some more rice on loan in November.

1. New Delhi, 15 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. H.S. Suhrawardy, Prime Minister of Pakistan, requested for a loan of 30,000 tons of rice in view of the worsening food situation in East Pakistan.
3. On 9 June 1956.
4. A.P. Jain.

2. Visa Policy for Pakistani Nationals[1]

I agree that our Missions in Pakistan should scrutinize applications for visas more carefully.[2] Any person in a "black list" prepared by our Government should, of course, not be issued a visa, and doubtful cases should be referred to the Government of India.

2. In scrutinizing these applications, the main purpose should be to see that the applicant is a bona fide one. Thus, if we are satisfied of the bona fides of a person, it does not matter whether some technical provision is fulfilled or not. Thus, if the High Commission or our office in Lahore is satisfied about the bona fides, then they can issue a visa. There are apparently three or four types of persons who come to India: (1) relatives, (2) businessmen, (3) students, and (4) visitors generally.

3. We do not wish to be strict about people having relatives here, though the visas should be granted after enquiry. In regard to bona fide businessmen and students, there should be no particular difficulty. Visitors are a varied class. We do not wish to stop visitors from coming here or even to restrict them but, rather, to check the undesirables.

4. Para. 3 (2): The rule about short term visas should be applied more or less in the same way as the one for longer visas.[3] The difficulties come in where these visas are issued en masse without any enquiry. This should be avoided, and reference made to Government.

5. Para. 3 (3): In regard to extending the period of the visa, more or less the same rule should apply.[4] If the District Magistrate is satisfied about the bona

1. Note to M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 23 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. To deal with the problem of a large number of undesirable Pakistanis staying in India, Desai suggested a thorough and adequate scrutiny of visa applications by Indian Missions in Pakistan. He also wanted to do away with the High Commissioner's instructions of issuing visas within 24 hours. He noted that the issue of visas to Pakistan nationals was based on the India-Pakistan passport and visa scheme of January-February 1953.
3. Desai had suggested that short term visas for a day to ten days in connection with festivals, football matches, shopping etc., should not be issued except in exceptional cases or without prior reference to the Government of India. For long term visas also, the purpose of the visit should be made clear. Doubtful cases should be referred to the Government of India, and visas should not be issued to persons who were on the "black list."
4. In Desai's view, the Home Ministry should instruct the District Magistrates to exercise their discretion strictly while extending the period of visa and allowing change in the specified place mentioned in the visa.

fides of the person, he may extend the period for a while. But, if he is not so satisfied, then he should not do so. The point is that, as far as possible, we do not wish bona fide people to suffer but we want to be strict about doubtful cases.

3. Cable to H.S. Suhrawardy[1]

I should like to draw your attention to statement made by your Foreign Minister, Malik Feroz Khan Noon recently.[2] This statement is rather unique in the annals of diplomacy and I can only conclude that Mr Noon has made it through ignorance, both of facts and of diplomatic procedure.

2. I do not wish to discuss this statement in detail nor do I challenge the right of any member of the Pakistan Government to criticize the policies of the Government of India. But some parts of the statement are so extraordinary that I must draw your attention to them. One of those is the reference that in the matter of Algeria India has struck some kind of a bargain with France.[3] Mr Noon evidently does not know that it is India's representative in the United Nations who has in the past played the leading part in regard to the Algerian issue in the United Nations and that we have continued to work for the freedom of Algeria through diplomatic and other ways. We have not subscribed to the recent attempt to inscribe this matter in the UN General Assembly's agenda because we have felt at this stage this will not help the cause of Algeria and will also confuse the Suez Canal issue, which is the dominating issue today.

3. As for Kashmir, we have not mentioned this matter to France in any context.

4. Mr Noon also refers to so-called massacres of Muslims taking place in India.[4] I think we are entitled to expect a Foreign Minister to base his statements

1. New Delhi, 5 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. Feroz Khan Noon had issued a rejoinder on 3 October to G.B. Pant's statement of 28 September in Srinagar that Pakistan had no right to talk about Kashmir.
3. Noon said that India had tried to strike a bargain with France. Accordingly, France would support India in the UN on the issue of Kashmir and India would help France regarding Algeria.
4. Noon said that the Muslim world was watching with horror the continuing massacre of Muslims in the "so-called secular state of Bharat."

on facts. The present statement is not only not related to facts at all but is absurd on the face of it.

5. You are well aware of the tremendous and continuing exodus of people from East Pakistan to India, which is creating very grave problems for us and which must indicate that the position of these people in Pakistan is very unsatisfactory. We have welcomed your statement that you will do your utmost to stop this exodus and I hope that this will have some effect.

4. Cable to H.S. Suhrawardy[1]

Three days ago I ventured to draw your attention to a statement made by your Foreign Minister Mr Feroz Khan Noon. I dislike troubling you by protests, but I feel that I must draw your attention when something is said or written which is not only wrong but is also likely to embitter relations between our two countries.

2. In its issue of October 6th, *Dawn* newspaper writes a leading article in which much is said which normally one does not expect responsible newspapers to say. I would like however to draw your particular attention to the honour done me by *Dawn* calling me "Delhi's double crossing kafir". I do not mind any epithet or abuse thrown at me, but unfortunately some other people react more strongly to this kind of thing. It is for this reason that I am taking the liberty to draw your attention to these extraordinary effusions.[2]

1. New Delhi, 8 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 6 October, *Dawn* criticized editorially, the Egyptians and some of the Arab countries for "pooh-poohing the idea of Islamic unity" for the cause of some other Muslim country but suddenly remembering Islam when an Egyptian cause was involved. It said: "They must learn their lesson the hard way at the hands of Delhi's double-crossing kafir." The article entitled "Our misguided brothers" said that King Saud, Nasser and other Arab rulers knew about the friendly ties between India and Israel and "yet most of them appear to have thought it good diplomacy to adopt Delhi's Hindu imperialist as their friend, philosopher and guide."

5. Pakistan's Stand on Kashmir[1]

The Soviet Ambassador came to see me yesterday morning. He did not talk to me about the present crisis in the world, in Egypt or Hungary as I expected but about another matter. It was I who later referred to the question of Hungary and asked him to convey my message to Premier Bulganin.

2. He spoke to me about the talk which the Soviet Ambassador in Karachi[2] had had with Mr Feroz Khan Noon and Mr Baig at the beginning of October last. It was rather odd that this old story should be repeated to me six or seven weeks later. I remember seeing a report from our High Commissioner in Karachi[3] about this conversation which the Soviet Ambassador had had with Mr Noon.

3. Mr Menshikov gave the following account of this conversation. This tallied largely with the account we had received from our High Commissioner last month.

4. Mr Feroz Khan Noon said that the friction between India and Pakistan was due to the fact that India had seized Kashmir. India was a continuing threat to Pakistan and because of this Pakistan had been compelled to join the SEATO and Baghdad Pact. The Soviet support of India on Kashmir was one of the reasons for Pakistan joining the Baghdad Pact. This Pact was not directly against the USSR but was of purely defensive character.

5. Pakistan was ready to leave the Baghdad Pact provided the Soviet Union gave assurances to support Pakistan in the United Nations on the Kashmir issue and further assurances to give military aid to Pakistan, if attacked by India.

6. The Soviet Ambassador replied that India was a peace-loving country and there was no reason that she would attack Pakistan. The Soviet stand in regard to Kashmir had been clearly defined by Khrushchev and others. They were in favour of Pakistan and India having peaceful settlement of all their problems.

7. Mr Menshikov being directed to tell me this old story at this late stage rather intrigues me. It may be that we were gently reminded of the Soviet Government's friendly attitude towards India and the help they had given us.

1. Note to Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 23 November 1956. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. S.I. Fadeyevich.
3. C.C. Desai.

VI. NEPAL

1. Cable to Bhagwan Sahay[1]

You will see Foreign Secretary's telegram sent to you today[2] about China-Nepal talks.[3]

2. I wish to emphasize that, as I once pointed out to you previously, we must reconsider our attitude towards Nepal. I am not much concerned about the various proposals made for the Sino-Nepalese Agreement or Treaty. They are not important in themselves. But we are concerned at the attitude of the Nepalese Government to us in this and like matters. They have not only bypassed us and practically ignored us, but have done so with discourtesy. This is obviously a deliberate attitude to emphasize their own complete independence from us. According to Chou En-lai Nepalese Government have stated to him that they have exchanged notes with USA concerning such matters as Consular representation, treatment of nationals, etc. All this is news to us. We seem to know less about Nepalese foreign relations than foreign countries.

3. I think that the time has passed when we should interfere in any way or you should protest to the King or the Prime Minister. I do not want you to raise this

1. New Delhi, 2 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. S. Dutt, India's Foreign Secretary, had written to Bhagwan Sahay, Indian Ambassador in Nepal, that the Chinese wanted a comprehensive agreement between Nepal and China on friendship, consular representation, trade with Tibet, pilgrims etc., on the lines of the Sino-Indian Agreement, which would include the Five Principles in its preamble. This information was based on R.K. Nehru's conversation with Chou En-lai on 18 August, who also conveyed Nepal's insistence on having a Consulate-General on a reciprocal basis in Kathmandu and Lhasa. Dutt advised Bhagwan Sahay not to speak to the King or the Prime Minister about it, as the Indian Government was surprised and greatly irritated by the Nepalese attitude of not consulting India on this issue.
3. The first informal talks took place between China and Nepal in April 1955 during the Bandung Conference and were followed by formal negotiations in Kathmandu where both countries agreed on 31 July 1955 to have friendly relations on the basis of *Panchsheel*. On 20 September 1956, the two countries signed the "Agreement to maintain Friendly Relations and on Trade and Intercourse" accompanied by "Notes Exchanged on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibetan Region and Nepal".

question in this way. They can proceed as they like and we shall proceed as we like later. We have helped them at great inconvenience to ourselves when we are facing difficult financial position. In future this is not going to be so, and I do not want you to give them any impression of future help from us except such as we have definitely undertaken.

4. The policy of thrusting help in the hope of winning goodwill is always unsafe and sometimes leads to harmful reactions. The other country thinks that we are trying to buy their goodwill. Instead we get their ill will. Anyhow, we can neither afford to help them much nor do we desire to do so in existing circumstances. They are perfectly free to go their own way and we shall go our own way.

2. Attitude of Nepal[1]

I have read this long telegram.[2] I still have a feeling that the Nepalese Government tries to play a double game and our Ambassador accepts too many things for granted because he is told so by them.[3] The fact that they have consulted him about various matters does not prove the contrary.

2. For the Ambassador to say that we have withdrawn our objection to the nomenclature of the treaty or agreement indicates a lack of full understanding of our position. We object to the treaty of course but, in view of the Nepalese Government's attitude, we decided not to go on telling them what we want.

3. As for para 7 of this telegram,[4] I am sure Premier Chou En-lai will not

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 7 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. Bhagwan Sahay cabled on 6 September to the Foreign Secretary explaining that the Nepalese Government had been consulting him at each stage of negotiations between China and Nepal.
3. Sahay stated that China had held throughout that the Nepalese might have a Consulate Office at Lhasa and Trade Agencies in four places in Tibet and that China should be conceded similar rights. According to him, Nepal would consider the question when the need arose. This had been according to India's advice.
4. Sahay had advised S. Dutt to try to secure some corroboration on Chou En-lai's statement that there had been an exchange of notes between Nepal and USA regarding Consular representation. He suspected that this was incorrect.

make such a statement without some basis. Whether Nepal and USA have exchanged any notes or not, may or may not be correct. But some representative of the Nepalese Government must have said so to the Chinese.

3. Cable to Bhagwan Sahay[1]

Soviet Ambassador saw me today and mentioned that Nepalese Prime Minister Tanka Prasad had expressed wish to visit Soviet Union and pressed for invitation. Soviet Government therefore wanted to know if we had any objection. They realized India's special position in regard to Nepal.

2. I told Ambassador that we would raise no objection to Tanka Prasad going anywhere he liked. I pointed out also that the Government in Nepal at present is not based on any popular mandate or assembly but are the nominees of the King.[2]

3. This is for your information. Perhaps you might mention it to King when occasion arises.

1. New Delhi, 23 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. King Mahendra appointed Tanka Prasad Acharya of Praja Parishad as Prime Minister on 27 January 1956.

4. To King of Nepal[1]

New Delhi
20 November 1956

My dear friend,

I am grateful to you for your letter of November 14th, conveying the good wishes of Your Majesty and the Queen on the occasion of my birth anniversary.

I must apologise to you for the delay in answering your letter of October 29th.[2] The last three weeks have been full of international crises and burdens for us to carry. Both my time and my mind have been absorbed by these recent developments, which brought us near to war. I hope, therefore, that you will forgive me for this delay in answering your letter.

I am very happy to learn that the visit of our President was a success, and I must thank Your Majesty, your Government and your people for the warm welcome that they accorded to our President. The President has spoken to me about this great welcome with much feeling.[3] I agree with you that this visit will knit still closer ties of friendship between our two countries.

I entirely agree with you that Nepal should be Nepal and, indeed, it cannot be anything else with any advantage to herself. We have always laid great stress on the individuality and independence of Nepal. Independence, however, can only stand on a firm basis with progress and the prosperity of the people. It is for this reason that we have been anxious to give such help as we can, in spite of our

1. JN Collection.
2. King Mahendra had written that for developing "our Motherland", they needed friendly help but "the main ideal should be saved. Nepal should be Nepal and must not line with any other else excepting on friendship to harm none else." He also stated that a number of countries desired to establish diplomatic relations with his country.
3. During his visit to Nepal from 21 to 24 October, Rajendra Prasad received enthusiastic popular response and genuine respect towards India by the Royal Couple. Tanka Prasad Acharya told Prasad that Nepal would require technicians from India for a cement factory for which machinery and equipment was coming from China. He also said that northern Buddhist population of Nepal looked towards the north for religious and other inspirations, thereby making it necessary to seek China's cooperation. But their motives were suspected in India. Acharya's suspicion was that India tried to interfere in their internal affairs through the King. Rajendra Prasad felt that Acharya was afraid of facing early elections in 1957 as proposed by the King and wanted them to be postponed. He was very much cut up by the criticism in the Indian Press of his deal with China and was not happy with India's attitude towards Nepal.

many difficulties, to help in the progress of your country. While our help may be of some use or other countries' help might be desirable, a country really has to stand on its own feet, if it is to progress.

Sometimes, I have felt that the rate of internal progress has not been very marked, and the opportunities that have come to Nepal during the last few years have, perhaps, not been fully utilized. In this great era of transition and change in the world, the rate of progress has to be fairly fast to keep pace with events, and that progress ultimately depends on internal changes. This matter is, of course, entirely for Your Majesty and your Government to decide.

I am glad that the relations of Nepal and China are developing on a friendly basis.[4] That appears to me a right development. I confess I was a little surprised that sometimes information came to me about these first from the Government of China, who consulted us on this subject.

I have been looking forward greatly to visiting Nepal. Unfortunately, international crises, which are continuing, make it difficult for me to plan ahead. About the middle of next month, I am going to the United States of America on a brief visit. In January, we have important meetings of our National Congress and, later, our general elections.

With all my good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. King Mahendra wrote that Nepal's dealings with China had been "purely on a friendly basis and not drifting. Our Prime Minister has rather a talkative habit, which experience will make him amend now and then."

VII. CHINA-MYANMAR FRONTIER QUESTIONS

1. China-Myanmar Border Dispute[1]

It is true that the Foreign Minister of Burma[2] indicated that we might not take any step at this stage in this matter.[3] But, he did not lay any stress on this. Personally, I think that we should take this step and send an aide memoire to the Chinese Government. However, we shall decide this after our talks with the Foreign Minister of Burma.

2. I am inclined to think that this draft is rather vague and might go a little further into this question. Also, there is no reason why we should not mention that the matter has been brought to our notice by the Burmese Government. The fact that the Burmese Foreign Minister has been here is bound to be known to the Chinese Government.

3. Shri Krishna Menon might see various papers in connection with this China-Burma border dispute. I think that it might be desirable for Shri Krishna Menon to meet the Foreign Minister of Burma separately, say tomorrow afternoon or, possibly, it will be better for him to meet him day after tomorrow. Anyhow, he will be meeting him tomorrow evening at my house.

4. I have asked the Foreign Minister to come at 7 p.m. tomorrow to continue our talks. Foreign Secretary and Shri T.N. Kaul[4] might also come then. Shri Krishna Menon might also be requested to come then.

1. Note, 1 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. The Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Myanmar, Sao Hkun Hkio, was in India to negotiate a trade agreement.
3. China-Myanmar 1500-mile frontier had remained undisputed since the 1941 agreement between the British Government and Chiang Kai-shek. On 31 July 1956, the Myanmar Press reported that armed Chinese troops had occupied a triangular area after penetrating 60 miles into Kachin and Wa States of Myanmar, and that the Chinese troops clashed with the Myanmar troops on 20 November 1955 and again in April 1956. These reports also proclaimed that the Chinese held 1000 square miles of Myanmar territory in the Wa State, and that they had an approximately 1500 strong garrison.
4. Joint Secretary, MEA.

2. Message to U Nu[1]

Thank you for your letter dated 29th August[2] and book and papers sent with it.

We have had several talks with your Foreign Minister here about Burma-China frontier questions and other matters.[3] I need not tell you how deeply we are concerned about these matters. Even apart from their effect on Burma, and to some extent on India, this affects the question of coexistence and Five Principles. If these Five Principles and coexistence cannot help to resolve such questions, this has obviously far-reaching and regrettable consequences. I am anxious, therefore, that every effort should be made to resolve these matters peacefully and satisfactorily.

3. As you know, Chou En-lai has invited you to go to Peking.[4] I have suggested to your Foreign Minister that it would be advisable for you to accept this invitation and discuss these matters frankly and informally with Chou En-lai. This is more helpful way than tackling them only at official and governmental level. When meeting him, you could, of course, mention such other matters as you may have in mind also. Your visit would make it easier for subsequent talks with him in Burma.

4. I am sorry I may not be able to visit Burma, as you have suggested, early in December when Chou En-lai goes there. I am terribly occupied then with the last session of our Parliament before elections[5] as well as numerous important

1. New Delhi, 4 September 1956. JN Collection. This message was sent through India's Ambassador in Rangoon, R.R. Saksena.
2. See the next item, fn 2.
3. India and Burma signed a five-year trade agreement on 5 September 1956 under which the two Governments (i) decided to take steps to achieve "as near a balance in their trade as may be possible"; (ii) agreed to give full consideration to suggestions given by either Government for developing and expanding commerce, and diversifying and balancing of trade between the two countries; (iii) decided that imports and exports of commodities from and into either country would be subject to import, export and foreign exchange regulations in force from time to time in the two countries. The two countries also prepared a schedule of commodities, available for export in both countries.
4. U Nu, President of AFPFL, went to China on 23 October to negotiate the border issue with the Chinese.
5. General elections were held in India from 25 February to 12 March 1957.

guests who will be coming here.[6] But I hope to meet Chou En-lai in India. Date has not been settled yet.

5. I am looking forward greatly to meeting you here at the Buddha Jayanti celebrations.

6. I am sending a letter also to you with your Foreign Minister.[7]

All good wishes,

6. To participate in the 2500th Buddha Jayanti celebrations, held in India from 26 to 30 November 1956, Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama, the Maharaja of Sikkim, and several others including U Nu himself, came to India.
7. See the next item.

3. To U Nu[1]

New Delhi
4 September 1956

My dear U Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 29th August.[2] I am grateful to you for the book you have sent me which I shall read with interest.

I have sent you today a message by telegram through our Ambassador in Rangoon.

We have had several talks with your Foreign Minister and discussed the Burma-China frontier issues fairly fully. We have agreed that we should keep in close

1. JN Collection.
2. U Nu had written about the increasing interference in the internal affairs of Myanmar by Russia and China and his public speeches mentioning this without any names. Consequently, the Myanmar Press lent their own interpretation of the exact meaning and names of the Communist Governments supplying the opposition forces with funds and all manner of support. The Russian leaders summoned the Myanmar Ambassador, denied their involvement, and said that they recognized the present leadership.

touch with each other in this matter and exchange information which might be helpful. I need not tell you that we have considerable interests in this matter, even apart from our concern in respect of Burma. This question affects India as well as Burma. There is also the very important consideration which, no doubt, you have in mind and to which I have referred in my telegraphic message to you. The whole edifice of the Five Principles and coexistence may crack if this dispute between Burma and China is not approached in a friendly and peaceful way and satisfactorily settled.[3] That would be most unfortunate and would have far-reaching consequences. I am, therefore, most anxious that every effort should be made to settle this matter in a friendly way. In this, we should like to help in a friendly way. In this, we should like to help where we can, but I feel that the best course to be followed now is for you to accept the suggestion made by Chou En-lai inviting you to go to Peking for informal talks. No one can do this better than you, and such talks can cover any subject you like.

When there is a conference at a formal level, there is a tendency to adopt rigid attitudes. Once this rigidity comes in, then it becomes very difficult to deal with the matter, and the prestige of the countries concerned is involved. It is, therefore, better for informal approaches and talks to take place to clear the way for more formal approaches later. Hence the importance of your going to China.

You have suggested my going to Burma early in December to meet you and Chou En-lai there. As a matter of fact, I just cannot leave India then because of our Parliament which will be having its last session before the elections. Also, we are having a host of important guests from other countries. Apart from this, I rather doubt if it would be helpful for me to be present in your talks with Chou En-lai. That would take away somewhat from the informal character of the talks between you and him. I am likely to meet Chou En-lai in India and I can certainly then mention this subject. I think that it is better for this question for the present to remain one as between Burma and China, and for other countries, however friendly, not to be brought into the picture in any formal sense. Of course, informally, I might separately send a personal message to Chou En-lai at an appropriate moment. I would suggest also that publicity might be avoided as far as possible as this comes in the way of friendly and informal approaches.

Chou En-lai has suggested coming to India after his visit to Burma. We have welcomed this, but I am in some difficulty about the date. It is possible that I might have to go out of India about the middle of December.

3. According to U Nu, although the Chinese "hold aloft the noble Five Principles of Coexistence, they have definite imperialist designs upon Burma."

I have read what you have written in your letter about interference of foreign agencies in your elections.[4] I have also read your references to this subject in your speeches which you have sent me. We are wide awake about these matters. We have had interference from various quarters in the past. On the whole, so far as we are aware, the Chinese have not interfered.[5] There are, of course, not many Chinese in India. A few thousands of them are concentrated in Calcutta.

The situation in regard to the Suez Canal continues to be a dangerous one. I am much concerned about it, and I feel that the UK and the French Governments have become very aggressive-minded in this matter. I do hope that negotiations will continue. The longer they continue the less chance there will be of an active conflict. In any event, it is desirable for India and Burma to keep themselves in close touch over these developments.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Describing the modus operandi of the Chinese, U Nu wrote that the Chinese Government would appoint their own agents amongst Myanmar nationals who would enter into a joint venture with a Chinese taking advantage of the large volume of trade in rubber etc. between China and Burma. 25% of the profit from these businesses would go to the Myanmar agent, 25% to the Chinese partner and 50 % to a secret fund. It was from this secret fund that certain overseas Chinese paid out sums to opposition political agents and subversives.
5. U Nu had written that an Indonesian spokesman told him that Communist China had spent millions of rupiahs during elections in Indonesia. He wrote that he had a feeling the Communist Chinese would help the Indian Communists also in the Indian elections.

4. Message to Chou En-lai[1]

I would like to convey to you some of my thoughts on recent developments and reported incidents in relation to the Sino-Burman border. These, as you know, have received much, and often exaggerated, publicity abroad and to a certain extent in Burma and India. I feel sure that you will appreciate the purpose of and the spirit in which I mention this matter.

2. It is not my intention to refer to any of the details or the different points of view held in respect of this problem or of the situation as it has arisen. My sole purpose at present is to convey to you my concern about the broader aspects and effects of differences between China and Burma, particularly when they involve frontier disputes and incidents.

3. I feel sure that you will agree that anything that disturbs the confidence we are seeking to build up in the Five Principles as a practical and sound basis for friendly internal relations and as a rational alternative to other methods, more particularly in our own areas, is disquieting to us all and should be avoided. In basing relationships on the Five Principles, we trust one another, and we have functioned satisfactorily on that basis, although much scepticism has been expressed about it abroad.

4. The Burmese Foreign Minister visited New Delhi recently in connection with various matters concerning Burma and India. His visit provided an opportunity of discussing the situation that had developed in respect of Sino-Burman frontier issues in a general way.

5. Our general view and earnest hope is that these matters should not be allowed to lead to a deterioration in the relations between the two countries, as this is bound to have adverse effects. Such questions are and would continue to be exploited abroad to our own disadvantage and to that of the relationships and outlook in international relations that we are seeking to promote.

6. We cannot fail to remember that the Burmese, without outside assistance, and even with outside sympathies ranged against them on the side of the Kuomintang, have fought the Kuomintang forces for several years to free their land from their invasion.

7. We have laid stress on coexistence as an active policy governing peaceful relations between countries, and not merely as an avoidance of intervention or

1. New Delhi, 12 September 1956. JN Collection. This message was sent through R.K. Nehru, India's Ambassador in China.

mutual conflict. I feel sure that you will not mind my saying that it calls for your sympathetic initiative to allay apprehensions and disturbed feelings, and to put an end to the difficulties that exist or have arisen, by friendly exploration as hitherto.

8. I would like also to mention that, by and large, in these sparsely inhabited frontier mountain areas, frontiers and positions which are based on previous agreements and have also been accepted by usage, custom and tradition for appreciable periods, should not be disturbed or altered except by friendly agreements.

9. I was happy to learn that you have invited U Nu to go to Peking. I hope very much that he will be able to do so. I feel that frank and informal talks between you and U Nu will help to resolve the difficulties and misapprehensions that may have arisen and strengthen relations between China and Burma.

10. I am taking the liberty of addressing you on this subject more especially because of the larger issues involved and the importance of assuring and strengthening confidence.[2]

2. R.K. Nehru reported on 14 September that Chou En-lai told him that he would study the message and reply later. The Indian Prime Minister should be informed that the Sino-Burma frontier question "has always been there and was mentioned by U Nu two years ago" and was taken up again this year. Chou En-lai told him: "there is admittedly difference between Chinese and Burmese points of view but I feel question can be solved peacefully according to Five Principles." He also said that newspaper publicity "has emanated from Burmese side and we ourselves have refrained from giving any news." He went on to say that from the report of a recent investigation, "I feel that the problem can be solved."

WITH EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA SIGNING THE VISITORS' BOOK AT THE CIVIC RECEPTION AT RED FORT, DELHI, 7 NOVEMBER 1956

WITH GREGORIOS KASSIMATIS, THE GREEK MINISTER OF STATE, NEW DELHI,
10 OCTOBER 1956

5. Cable to R.K. Nehru[1]

Your telegram 421 September 15th.[2]

2. We agree that you should keep in close touch with Burmese Ambassador. You should show him my message to Chou En-lai[3] but do not give copy. We are showing that message here to Burmese Embassy.

3. We are much concerned about Sino-Burmese frontier disputes. Quite apart from merits, we feel that general Chinese attitude has resulted in making Burma, which was full of friendly intentions towards China, now suspicious and apprehensive and relying more on Western Powers.

4. As for Chou En-lai's complaint of publicity in Burmese press, he should know that Burmese Government cannot control that press and some of it is anti-Government and pro-American. American newspapers, including *New York Times*, have also given considerable publicity. Altogether, this has reacted strongly against Chinese Government and their policy and tends to weaken content of *Panchsheel*.

5. Burmese Government also believes that considerable sums of money pass through Bank of China to anti-Government elements in Burma.

6. Sino-Burmese frontier dispute has obviously some relevance for our frontier problems also. We have sent, as you know, a friendly and moderate message to Chou En-lai but our policy in regard to these matters is a firm one. If Chou En-lai comes here, we shall speak to him frankly on these subjects.

7. It is particularly unfortunate that at this time of Suez crisis, these other conflicts should attract public attention and influence public opinion. All this is for your information only.

8. It is probable that Egyptian Government will refer Suez issue to Security Council. At Nasser's invitation Krishna Menon is going tonight to Cairo.

1. New Delhi, 16 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. R.K. Nehru informed that, after receiving the Prime Minister's message, Chou En-lai had a long talk with the Myanmar Ambassador in Beijing. He enquired whether he should tell the Myanmar Ambassador about the message without disclosing its contents. He felt that as the Chinese might try "to extend field investigation to Burmese end of MacMahon Line which would be prejudicial to us in many ways, closer contact between the two Ambassadors is necessary."
3. See the preceding item.

9. There is at present no question of conference being held at instance of Egyptian Government. A proposal to hold such conference was made by Nasser but other events have now made this rather out of date. Anyhow, a one-sided conference will not help in any way in negotiations.[4]

4. The reference is to the second London conference.

VIII. CHINA & TIBET

1. India-China Boundary Question[1]

I have only now seen these papers. I agree with the suggestion made in the office memorandum sent by the Ministry of External Affairs to the effect that it would not be desirable for this question to be raised in the Lok Sabha at the present stage. We have informally mentioned this matter to the Chinese Government previously and we have at the same time made it perfectly clear that, so far as we are concerned, there is no boundary question. We were assured then by the Chinese Government that the maps were old ones.[2] It is possible that we may raise this question in some other form in the near future.

2. There is at present a dispute going on between Burma and China about their border.[3] We are interested in this also.

3. I think that if this question is raised in our Parliament at this stage, this might prove embarrassing from the point of view of the negotiations between Burma and China. Also, it might rather come in the way of our taking this matter up more formally later with the Chinese Government.

4. I would, therefore, suggest to Mr Speaker that this question be not admitted at this stage.

1. Note, 7 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 17, 19-20, 81-82; see also Vol. 33, pp. 475-479.
3. See *ante*, p. 506 fn 3.

2. The Shipki La Pass Incident[1]

This is a serious matter and we cannot accept this position.[2] We should, of course, protest in emphatic language both to the Chinese Embassy here and to the Chinese Government through our Ambassador in Peking.

But I do not think this is quite enough. The question arises as to what directions we should give to the Himachal Pradesh Government which they can pass on to their police force at the border. From the telephone account it appears that our party consists of 27 persons of the Border Security Police and the Chinese party consists of 20 officers and men. Thus, the numbers on both sides are small and there is a slight advantage on our side.

I think instructions should be sent to our force near the Shipki La Pass that they must on no account withdraw from their present position, which appears to be between the Shipki La Pass and Hupsang Khad. They must remain there even at the cost of conflict. For the present, they should not force their way beyond this place, as this would presumably mean a conflict with the Chinese. But it must be made clear that they must remain where they are and if the Chinese advance further, they should be checked. Before doing so, the Chinese forces should be clearly informed that we consider their crossing the Shipki La Pass without our permission as improper and an aggression and they must go back. We would not permit them to go any further and if they did not go back, we would have to take further steps in the matter. We are not doing so immediately because the matter has been referred to Delhi and Peking and because of our

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 21 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 21 September 1956, T.N. Kaul, Joint Secretary, MEA, was informed by the Inspector-General of Police, Himachal Pradesh, that a party of 20 Chinese troops and officers had crossed over Shipki La Pass (200 miles from Shimla) into India's territory. On advance information, a 27-member Border Security Force party, led by a Deputy Superintendent of Police, met them at 4.45 a.m. on 21 September at mile 198. The DSP was told by a Chinese officer that their instructions were to patrol right up to Hupsang Khad (196 miles from Shimla) where a stone marked the India-Tibet boundary, and, if Indian troops went beyond that, they would be opposed with arms. Kaul told the Inspector General that it should be conveyed to the Chinese that Shipki La was the border pass, recognized under the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954, and if the Chinese troops crossed it without proper documents, they would be responsible for the consequences of violating India's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Kaul also advised him to instruct the DSP to avoid an armed clash but not yield to the Chinese troops.

friendly relations we should like to avoid a clash. But if there is any further aggression, a clash is inevitable.

The Himachal Pradesh Government should be asked if they can send some further troops or members of the Border Security Police immediately to this place. If this is possible, they should do so.

In our protest to the Chinese Embassy here as well as the one we are sending to the Chinese Government through our Ambassador, it should be stated that in view of the fact that Shipki La is clearly the border and is acknowledged as such even in our agreement with China, we consider any crossing of armed forces without our permission as aggression and we have to resist it. This was pointed out by our Border Force to the Chinese Officer who had come two or three miles beyond the Shipki La and who stated that he had been ordered to go on to Hupsang Khad, which is four miles on our side of the Shipki La. Our Border Force met them half way between the pass and the Hupsang Khad. We have ordered our force not to take any action for the present in repulsing this aggression and to await instructions which we hope Peking will send immediately. Our Force has been directed, however, on no account to retire from their position or to permit the Chinese forces to go beyond where they are, even if this involves a clash.

It should further be added that we attach great importance to this matter and request immediate action by the Chinese Government. Otherwise there might be an unfortunate clash on our border which will have undesirable results.

3. Cable to R.K. Nehru[1]

Your telegram 472 September 28th.[2] Chou En-lai's visit to India. Dates suggested broadly suit us. Perhaps if he could come a day or two earlier, it would be better.

1. New Delhi, 29 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. On 27 September, Chou En-lai asked R.K. Nehru to inform the Prime Minister of his plan to visit India from 30 November to 12 December and thereafter Myanmar. The Chinese Premier also told the Ambassador that "China will not do anything in South East Asian countries without informing or consulting India," and hoped that "India will be able to draw her (Thailand) to right road." Since Myanmar, according to her Ambassador in China, expected Chou to be in their country on 11 December, R.K. Nehru thought of asking for his travel schedule.

2. We should like to know what places in India he would like to visit, such as Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley group including Sindri and Chittaranjan; Jamshedpur, Simla, Dehra Dun for Military Academy, also Khadakvasala near Poona; Bombay, Bangalore, and Madras. Obviously he cannot visit every place. Presumably he will spend three clear days in Delhi.

3. We are having Buddha Jayanti Seminar and celebrations from 24th November to 3rd December. Because of these a number of distinguished visitors are coming, probably including Prime Ministers of Nepal and Ceylon. This need not interfere with Chou En-lai's visit, but careful arrangements will be necessary to avoid duplication of functions.

4. Invitation to Dalai Lama[1]

The telegram to Peking sent yesterday from the Ministry of Education, enquiring immediately if the Dalai and Panchen Lamas have accepted the Buddha Jayanti invitations and further that the Dalai Lama has been invited to address a public meeting is extraordinary.[2] It indicates complete ignorance of the political situation in Tibet and China and might well lead to difficulties. As it is, it is very doubtful if the Dalai Lama can come to India. The matter rests not only with him but with others also. To suggest that he is expected to address a public meeting here is to add to these difficulties and make it almost impossible for him to come.

2. I think that in this matter, as indeed in all matters affecting foreign affairs, far more discretion is necessary and reference should be made to the External Affairs Ministry.

3. I am now sending a telegram to our Ambassador in Peking explaining the situation.

1. Note to K.G. Saiyidain Education Secretary, 5 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. The telegram dated 4 October also enquired about Dalai Lama's acceptance of invitation to address a public meeting on 24 October.

5. The Fate of Shipki La[1]

There is no question of sending any troops to the Shipki La now.[2] In fact, even in the spring next year, I do not envisage the necessity of sending troops. The fate of Shipki La is not going to be decided by fighting or by a large show of force.

2. It might be desirable, however, for some Army officers to reconnoitre and see the place at a suitable time now or early next year.

3. The main thing to do is to have a Police outpost there and that our personnel should be in physical possession of the Shipki La when the snows melt.

4. Also, it is desirable for us to investigate the other Passes, as suggested in para. 7.[3]

1. Note to Foreign Seeretary, 8 October 1956. JN Colleetion.
2. A meeting of representatives of Ministries of External Affairs, Defenee and Home, and of the Himaehal Pradesh Government, was held on 3 October to consider the situation at Indo-Tibetan border in Himaehal Pradesh. Its recommendations were: (1) not to send any troops to this area at present but reconnaissance by a few Army officers to meet a possible threat from the Chinese troops next spring; (2) establish a permanent poliee outpost at Namgia (194 miles from Shimla) with increased strength; (3) physieal possession of Shipki La Pass by the Indian personnel before 1 April 1957 and eonstruction of cave shelters and aluminium huts before March 1957; (4) constant patrolling from Namgia up to the Pass as often as possible.
3. T.N. Kaul, who had reeorded the minutes of this meeting, informed that during the preceding weeks, the Chinese had transgressed into Indian territory on three occasions. Notes of protest were handed over to the Chinese Embassy in Delhi on 8 September and 22 September. The Indian Embassy in Beijing also took up the matter with the Chinese Foreign Office. Paragraph 7 of the minutes specified that the reconnaissanee should be made of all disputed areas ineluding Lanak La, Dopko Karpo, Sponggur Tso, Shipki La, Tsang Chok La, Mana Pass, Tunjun La, Hoti Plain, Darma Pass, Kungi Bingri Pass and Lipu Lekh Pass, and reeommendations should be sent as soon as possible.

6. To Maharaja of Sikkim[1]

New Delhi
12 October 1956

My dear Maharaja Saheb,
Thank you for your letter of the 29th September. I also saw your letter of the 22nd June on my return from Europe towards the end of July.

Some reports of disturbances in Eastern Tibet have reached us during the last few months. It is, however, difficult for us to know what exactly the situation is there. Reports brought by travellers or refugees are not always reliable.[2]

In any event, you will appreciate that it is difficult for us to interfere in a matter concerning the internal affairs of the Tibetan region.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Attacks on their religion, property, and social system by the Chinese inflamed the people of Eastern Tibet and they retaliated by causing extensive destruction of roads and bridges and raiding supply columns and outposts. This resulted in large-scale military operation with armoured vehicles and aircrafts by the Chinese. Monasteries were singled out as centres of resistance and destroyed. Villagers faced repression when large numbers of Chinese settlers were poured in to take over the land of the dispossessed. A delegation sent in July 1956 by the Dalai Lama for pacifying the area proved futile.

7. Talks with Dalai Lama[1]

The following notes were jotted down by the Prime Minister during his talks with Dalai Lama:

26.11.56

Three areas of Tibet: (1) Eastern area liberated by force; (2) Central Tibet under Dalai Lama; (3) Tsang Tibet under Panchen Lama. Originally all these under Dalai Lama, thus limiting Dalai Lama's authority—at present preparation for local self-government in Tibet—creating three parts as autonomous regions.

This region to carry out orders of the Chinese Government.

Chinese say that Tibet very backward and wanted help to advance.

No present intention but future idea to take lands from monasteries—schools—new educational institutions—equal distribution of land—postpone because of people's opposition.

State authority must be based on people having faith; otherwise religion suffers.

Hope lies in India.

Some fighting still going on in Eastern areas. In other areas preparation going on, including Lhasa.

No definite idea among Tibetans. They have grown desperate, prepared to die.

Foreign sympathy and aid—majority do not think they can fight out Chinese.

Chinese troops about 1,20,000.

Talks with Chairman Mao in Peking—attempts to convert Dalai Lama to communism.

Dalai Lama did not commit himself to communist ideology but expressed objections.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Panchen Lama's views?

Dalai Lama: Panchen Lama's party gaining power because of friendship with Chinese authorities.

1. Nehru's jottings of his talks with the Dalai Lama on 26 and 28 November 1956. S. Dutt Papers, NMML.

Russians playing a part in Tibet—no representative in Lhasa—only Indian, Nepal and, in a way, Bhutan.

JN: Tibet can no longer remain forbidden land.

(PM told me[2] that he had advised Dalai Lama to accept Chinese suzerainty and try to secure the maximum internal autonomy. If he contested Chinese suzerainty, then the Chinese would try to take over Tibet entirely, thereby eliminating any idea of autonomy. Dalai Lama appealed to India for help. PM's reply was that, apart from other considerations, India was not in a position to give any effective help to Tibet; nor were other countries in a position to do so. Dalai Lama should not resist land reforms. The Chinese Government have not yet started such reforms, but in India and other underdeveloped countries, land reform has been the main plank in the political platform of progressive parties. Dalai Lama himself should take the lead in such reforms. He should be the leader of the people. It is not possible for Tibet to remain isolated from the rest of the world. PM's feeling was that Dalai Lama was still thinking in terms of Tibetan independence and looked to India for guidance.)

28-11-56

D.L: Tibet having some connection with China externally but having internal autonomy.

So long as Chinese suzerainty is there, there would be no internal freedom.

Tibet different country from China—culturally, economically and politically. No previous record of being under Chinese suzerainty except for certain periods.

In 1910-50, complete freedom; then communist intervention.

In 1951, temporary treaty—internal autonomy under pressure.

17 clauses—Tibet returns to its ancestral home (China)—no interference by Chinese on customs, monasteries etc.

China not following terms of treaty.

Chinese tightening their grip gradually.

When Dalai Lama went to China in 1954, public much upset. This time, when he came to India, great hopes and satisfaction.

For freedom, method not military or force, but peaceful.

In the past Tibet also conquered parts of China.

2. This paragraph was added by S. Dutt.

JN: Treaty says no change except with the will of the people. But Chinese changing thinking of the people.

JN: D.L. should become the leader of the reform. Best way we can help is by maintaining friendly relations with China, otherwise China would fear our designs on Tibet.

8. Welcoming Chou En-lai[1]

Honoured Guests,

You had come to Delhi two and a half years ago.[2] It was a very short visit and the people of Delhi could only catch a brief glimpse of you. We wanted to have an opportunity of meeting you again. So, we are happy that you are here with us and we welcome you once again.

We are happy to have the opportunity of having you with us for a longer period. You will be able to tour the country and see the old and new faces of India. We welcome you personally and as well as the representative of this great country of yours.

A great deal has happened during the last two and a half years and closer relations have been forged between our two countries. Special mention must be made of the new voice that we have raised together, the slogan of *Panchsheel.*

This new ideal of *Panchsheel* is reverberating in the world. Many countries are with us in this. There are grave dangers to the world and so it is more than even necessary to put this goal before the world. This is how we can serve the cause of world peace.

I extend a warm welcome to you on behalf of my country and its people and the Government of India. I welcome the Deputy Prime Minister of China, Marshal Ho Lung, who is standing on the other side.

1. Speech while receiving the Chinese Prime Minister, Chou En-lai at the Palam Airport, New Delhi, 28 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Chou En-lai visited India from 25 to 28 June 1954. For his conversations with Nehru and other related items, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, pp. 365-414.

9. Significance of Panchsheel[1]

Mr Prime Minister and honoured guests,
About two and a half years ago, the Prime Minister of China came to Delhi and stayed for two or three days. We welcomed him. He has now come again for a little longer stay. We have gathered here to welcome him with our affection, but he himself has seen the real welcome which the citizens of Delhi gave him and wherever he goes, to our big towns and cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Bangalore or to our villages, he will receive the same welcome everywhere. He will see for himself the affection that the people have for him and his country. Wherever he goes, he will hear the slogan which is becoming more and more popular *Hindi-Chini bhai bhai*.

Our two countries are neighbours and we have a border extending to thousands of miles but barriers were raised between our two countries and the common routes were closed. Gradually, these barriers are being removed and there is greater intercourse between our two countries. Many people have gone to China and others have come from China. We have tried to understand each other. We have tried to understand what great events are taking place there and we have learnt many things.

Just as yours is a large country, ours is also a big country though not so large as yours. We have in our country many things in common and also much diversity, but from diversity we are forging unity in the country. When there is so much difference within our country, it is not surprising that there should be a diversity between two countries and that we follow different paths. If the whole world follows the same pattern, it would not be so interesting a place. Its beauty lies in following different methods and different paths, but these paths should take us to the same goal and there should not be any conflict. This problem of elimination of conflict is before us, before you and before the whole world.

It is after taking all these facts into consideration that our two countries agreed on *Panchsheel*, the Five Principles. It is clearly stated there that all nations should cooperate, however, different their methods may be. For, if one nation uses force to compel another nation to follow its policy, there will be conflict and nothing can be settled by conflict. That is why we agreed on *Panchsheel*. Whatever the responsibility of other nations may be, the responsibility of our two nations is much greater because we were the first to evolve the Five Principles.

1. Speech at a banquet in honour of Chou En-lai, New Delhi, 29 November 1956. External Affairs, PIB files.

The word *Panchsheel* is old and to some extent it was used in a different context.[2] We remember that context now when we are celebrating the Buddha Jayanti and we see that the *Panchsheel* of old laid down how people should behave towards each other, and how they should avoid taking a wrong path. Then they emphasized the value of character, purity of thought, love and mercy. But unless we follow the same principles now, whether between individuals or between nations, if there is no mercy, no love, no attempt to understand each other's viewpoint, then the Five Principles will not be of much use.

The world is passing through difficult times and difficult problems have arisen. There has been conflict and there is some danger of further conflict. At such a time, we should all try to remove the root cause of conflicts. Unless we are able to do this, all our efforts will be useless.

We all know how your nation has worked towards peace and how you have exercised great patience. We have also tried to do the same and so have other nations. I hope that all our efforts to resolve problems will continue and the causes of conflict will be removed. It is my hope that your country and your people and the people of India will progress through peace and love. In this way the cause of peace in the world will triumph. May I express the hope that you will enjoy your stay in India and when you go, you will carry away with you, a lot of our affection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, p. 23.

IX. USSR

1. Facilities for Russian Tourists[1]

I have seen these papers.[2] There are obviously some risks involved in this fairly considerable tourist traffic between India and the USSR. At the same time, as SG says, we just cannot deny visas to Russian tourists.[3] Looking at it from the larger point of view, we have always asked for the removal of the barriers which prevent visitors from Europe and other countries going to Soviet Union and from people in the Soviet Union going abroad.[4] We have not discussed India in this connection, but the broader proposition includes India.

2. From a long term point of view, I have no doubt that it is good for Soviet citizens to go abroad. They have lived rather in a mentally walled-in enclosure and a visit abroad will help to widen their understanding and outlook.

3. I do not think that we need be afraid of these Soviet tourists doing much propaganda here or indulging in any undesirable activities. They will be moving about from day to day, visiting different places and hardly having any time to stay anywhere. Even so, of course, it is always possible that someone of their number might participate in some activity which we disapprove of. But, broadly speaking, there is not much chance of this. People who intend to function in a propagandist way can always come in some way or other, singly or otherwise.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary, 29 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. The papers gave details of the arrangements between the Soviet tourist agency, Intourist, and the Mercury Travels, the Indian agency, to facilitate tourism between the USSR and India.
3. N.R. Pillai wrote on 26 September that the Indian Government would set "at naught the basic principles of our foreign policy, if we declined to grant visas to Russian tourists wishing to come to India" under these arrangements. He wrote that a party of Indian tourists was already in Moscow.
4. Pillai clarified on 30 September: "My real point was that we could not object to giving visas to Russian tourists as such." But the Soviet tourist agency "should not have concluded an agreement without the Soviet Embassy here first having cleared the matter with us. This was a serious omission...I told JS(W) to express to the Soviet Ambassador our disapproval of the procedure which had been adopted."

The chief propaganda will be the mere fact of these crowds wandering about India.

4. What I think might prove a little more harmful is many of our people visiting the Soviet Union. Yet there is another aspect of it. If a fair number of people go there, the novelty wears off. Today there is a mystery about the Soviet Union.

5. There is nothing very extraordinary for a reduction of fares by air or railway train in the Soviet Union for our tourists.[5] But I do not understand the 25 roubles a day being given as pocket money.[6] I would take strong exception to this being any kind of a gift. I think this matter should be enquired into from the travel agencies and if it is a gift, then we should object to it. I do not understand why SG says that Government cannot interfere in any such arrangements between travel agencies. We do not interfere with the other arrangements. But I am not aware of money gifts being given to any tourist in any country. I can, of course, understand some relaxation in the shape of providing local currency. I remember that in the middle thirties, Germany under Hitler had special rules applying to tourists whom they wished to encourage. They got a specially favourable rate of exchange in Marks and this was endorsed on their passports. Thus, any relaxation in exchange rates for tourists might be accepted, but not an outright gift.[7]

6. Normally our Embassy in Moscow would grant such tourist visas for a month without any reference to us. But they should be told not to do this automatically but to exercise some judgment.

7. I see from Azim Husain's[8] note dated 29th September that it is proposed that the following persons should be attached to each group of Soviet tourists:

(i) a D.I.B. Officer

(ii) a Guide of the Indian travel agency

5. Under the arrangement, Intourist gave 75 per cent discount on rail travel from the Soviet border to the first point of tour and from the last point to the Soviet border; it offered 50 per cent discount on air travel on similar distances to every Indian tourist visiting the USSR.
6. Intourist also decided to offer Roubles 25 per day to each Indian tourist as pocket money for theatres, cinema tickets, tobacco, shaving, etc.
7. On 30 September, Pillai explained that sometime ago Soviet Union announced exchange rate of Rouble, appreciating its value which was objected to by many countries. When the Soviet travel agency revived its operations in the West, favourable exchange rate for tourists was sought. Instead of agreeing to this, the Soviets, in order to encourage tourism, decided to make a daily present of some Roubles to tourists coming to USSR through Intourist.
8. Joint Secretary and Director, UN Division and European Division, MEA.

(iii) a Ministry of Transport Tourist Bureau Officer

In addition there will, of course, be a Soviet Conducting Officer of the group. It seems to me that this is rather a crowd and I am not at all sure whether it is desirable to attach a DIB man as a rule. I have no doubt at all that the fact that he is a DIB man will be patent to everybody. Their face and their manners proclaim them. I doubt if he can do anything particularly useful. If our Ministry of Transport Officer is bright enough, he can keep an eye on them and report to us. It is far better for a normal officer of the Tourist Bureau to go with them than a person who knows nothing about tourism or the Russian language to go about.

8. It would be desirable for a DIB man to be attached to the Ministry of Transport Tourist Bureau. He need not travel about with these tourists, but he can keep in touch with them when they arrive and generally keep aware of what is happening. Much depends upon that man. He may sometimes accompany the group for a while or he may not and somebody else may accompany them.

X. USA

1. US Propaganda in India[1]

Sardar Jang Bahadur Singh[2] of the *Sher-i-Punjab*, an Urdu periodical, came to see me today. He told me that in 1953 he had been invited by the American Embassy (by Mr A.C. Bartlett).[3] After some meetings he had been offered

1. Note to Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, 5 September 1956. JN Collection.
2. (b. 1915); Chief Editor, the *Sher-i-Punjab* publications since July 1948; founder-member, Press Club of India; President, Editors Council of India, All India Nationalist Sikh Party, and Sikh Press Association; Working President, All India Periodicals and Small Newspapers Advisory Committee.
3. (1901-1964); joined the US Information Agency in 1952; Attache to the First Secretary, US Embassy, New Delhi, 1952; public affairs officer/attache, Baghdad, 1954 and Manila, 1955; branch public affairs officer, Kolkata, 1956; Director, Manila Regional Publlications Centre, 1957; US Consul, Kolkata, 1960; Chief of USIA's Press and Publications Branch for the Near East and South Asia, 1962-64.

Rs 2000 a month to do some propaganda work for them. It was stated that this money would be paid to him by various American firms in India. Each firm would pay Rs 2000. There were twelve such firms so that this would cover a year.

He also told me that Mr Bartlett had informed him that they were subsidizing *Thought*[4] in some such way as well as other papers.

Sardar Jang Bahadur Singh did not wish to accept this money and so he gave up seeing Mr Bartlett and his other colleagues.

He gave me some old letters as proof of his contacts with the American Embassy in 1953. I enclose them.

The DIB, Shri Mullik,[5] told me recently that they had information about a meeting in the American Embassy where they considered how to carry on their propaganda through newspapers, missionaries and others in India.

4. A weekly published from Delhi.
5. B.N. Mullik.

WITH CHOU EN-LAI, DELHI, 28 NOVEMBER 1956

WITH CHOU EN-LAI IN A BANQUET AT ASHOK HOTEL, NEW DELHI, 29 NOVEMBER 1956

XI. OTHER COUNTRIES

1. Talk with Gregorios Kassimatis[1]

Mr Kassimatis, Greek Minister of State,[2] said that his Government proposed to press for the discussion on the Cyprus issue[3] in the next session of the UN General Assembly and pleaded for Indian Government's support. In their view, the only way to exercise pressure on the UK was to focus world opinion on the Cyprus problem. This would also strengthen the people in the UK, who were sympathetic to the Greek point of view. The Greek people were in a state of effervescence and the idea of self-determination had become one of faith with them. If the Cyprus issue was placed on the agenda of the UN,[4] negotiations between Greece and UK would be possible. The Turkish opposition could also be surmounted.

2. The Prime Minister assured Mr Kassimatis that he had been following the course of events in Cyprus. He sympathized with the desire of the people of Cyprus for self-determination. The question, however, was how to find a peaceful solution of the problem. The Prime Minister referred to the Suez Canal problem

1. Note on talk held with the Greek Minister of State, Gregorios Kassimatis, New Delhi, 10 October 1956. The note was recorded by the Foreign Secretary, S. Dutt on 11 October 1956. File No. 7(1)-Eur/56, MEA.
2. Gregorios Kassimatis (b. 1906); professor and politician; practised law, 1927-37; taught law in the University of Athens till 1959; Minister of Industry, 1951 and of Labour, 1951-52; Minister without Portfolio and Acting Minister for Coordination, 1956-58; Minister of Education and Religion, 1961-63.
3. The ongoing strife between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in Cyprus, a British Crown colony since 1925, had turned violent, and was also directed against the British. The Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus were carrying on its movement against foreign rule and the Enosis movement (merger of Cyprus with Greece) with the support of the Greek Government, while the Turkish community retorted to Enosis campaign by demanding that Cyprus, seized by Britain in 1878, should be given back to Turkey. In 1923 under the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey and Greece had agreed that Cyprus should be under British sovereignty.
4. The UN General Assembly, decided on 14 November to consider, as a single item, the Greek request for equal rights and self-determination for the Cypriots and the British complaint of support from Greece for terrorism in Cyprus.

WITH CHOU EN-LAI IN A BANQUET AT ASHOK HOTEL, NEW DELHI, 29 NOVEMBER 1956

and the excitement which it had generated. The Government of India had definite views on the problem. All the same, they avoided condemnation of one government or another because in their view that would not help in solving the problem. One need not give up the principle, the Prime Minister added, but the method of solving a problem should be one which would soothe rather than aggravate feelings.

3. The Prime Minister then elaborated on the British attitude in regard to the Suez; how the British difficulty proceeded from their desire to maintain military supremacy in the Mediterranean and their position in the Middle East. The British Government were in a pathological condition during the last 10 or 12 years. They had lost much of their position in West Asia and elsewhere. There has been a great reaction to this loss of position among the Conservatives who now insisted that the process of liquidation must be stopped and that the British Government must hold on to what they have got. This policy was obviously wrong, but the fact remains that the British people feel strongly about it and do not want to give up their position. The Prime Minister added that in his view an agreement arrived at by negotiation would be desirable even though it might not be 100% satisfactory. The question, therefore, was whether the inscription of the Cyprus item on the agenda of the UN would help negotiation.

4. In the Prime Minister's view, the question of Cyprus, if it were to come up before the General Assembly of the UN at this stage, would complicate the Suez issue. If the two problems got mixed up, the solution of the Cyprus issue would also become difficult. Any attempt to coerce the British would intensify the British feelings. On the other hand, public opinion in Britain was gradually changing in regard to Suez and possibly in regard to Cyprus towards moderation. Would it not be safe, the Prime Minister asked, to let this change continue? A great deal depended on what happened, to the Suez problem. The Prime Minister added that in his view acts of terrorism had not helped.

5. Mr Kassimatis said that the relations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots, who were spread all over the island, were very good. But the British intransigence was standing in the way. Mr Kassimatis pointedly asked the Prime Minister for his advice about the inscription of the item on the agenda of the UN.

6. The Prime Minister replied that the Government of India had enough problems of their own. He did not want to advise the Greeks on the problem of Cyprus. He would say that the only way to solve the problem was by negotiation and an atmosphere should be created in which negotiation could be undertaken; otherwise the solution itself would be delayed. It was difficult for India to advise how this should be done.

2. Economic Help to Ethiopia[1]

I have read this note.[2] I have also read the political note sent separately and returned it to you.

Para 3.[3] I agree with what you have said.

Para 4.[4] It is obvious that we cannot give any substantial loans or perhaps any loans at all. We are in great difficulties with our own programmes and financial resources and, more especially, foreign exchange. There is absolutely no chance of our providing for any exchange. As to what we can do about any other part of this you can consult the Finance Ministry. As far as I can see, the only help we can give is to send technical experts. We can certainly support any Ethiopian request for loans from international institutions, but the International Bank etc. are rather cautious and make full surveys and want full particulars. Therefore, any request for a loan should be worked out carefully. Perhaps we might be able to help in this.

Para 5.[5] This matter should be considered with our Army people and Home Ministry as well as other Ministries concerned; possibly also Planning Commission.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, MEA, 19 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. M.J. Desai's note indicated India's attitude to various points raised in the memorandum given to him by India's Ambassador in Ethiopia, Niranjan Singh Gill. These points were elaborated by the Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie to Gill after his three-weak visit to India beginning 25 October .
3. This paragraph mentioned Emperor's keenness to visit Egypt, scheduled for February 1957. Desai told Gill that the existing international situation might make this meeting difficult.
4. Ethiopia wanted India's help in matters of finance and technical personnel. Realizing India's difficulty regarding finance, the Emperor suggested that India could arrange to take money from Russia and lend to Ethiopia. Desai told Gill that the device involving Russia was neither practicable nor wise. Instead, he suggested that Ethiopia should make its plans on a moderate scale financed largely by local resources and borrow money from World Bank or SUNFED. India could support Ethiopian request for loans.
5. This was in regard to the technical personnel for an Ethiopian military academy and her police force. The Emperor thought that India's aid would be unselfish and non-exploitative unlike that of the West. Desai told Gill that these schemes should emphasize the maximum development of local talent to make Ethiopia independent of foreign technicians. India could give a few top technical men to train local talent.

Para 6.[6] I agree that we should go slow in this matter and take due care as to who is to be sent.

Para 7.[7] If Ethiopia wants to buy any Indian goods, of course, we shall supply them provided we have them to spare. So far as the raw materials are concerned, if a railway is to be built, a very full survey has to be made. If necessary, our men can go to look at it.

Para 8.[8] Any delegation that goes there should mainly consist, I think, of experts. Neither an expert nor any person can finalize matters on the spot. They can only report.

6. This dealt with Ethiopian request to have Indian settlers in Ethiopia who would be granted early and full citizenship. Desai told Gill to go slow in this matter and not ask for special concessions. In his view, the previous scheme of settling Indian farmers in Ethiopia had failed.
7. Ethiopia wanted Indians to build the railway line from Addis Ababa to Lake Isana, and also to supply the raw material needed for it. Desai told Gill that India could send a team of railway technical experts for survey.
8. The Emperor hoped that the Indian delegation to Ethiopia would have various experts who could finalize matters on the spot. Desai told Gill that these experts would report to their respective Ministries but their careful selection would assist in expediting decisions.

XII. GENERAL

1. Undesirable Activities of Foreign Agencies[1]

...2. I think that we should prepare three separate briefs relating to USSR, China and USA. In each of these, mention should be made of the reports we have received of the undesirable activities of the foreign agencies from the particular country concerned. These agencies are often not directly connected with Government, but no doubt, have indirect connections.

3. It is true that many of the statements in these notes are probably not capable of proof. Nevertheless, if we have even some evidence in regard to them, we should include them in our particular brief.

4. I want these briefs prepared, not to hand them over to any person but for our own use. I should like SG[2] or FS,[3] preferably the former, to interview the Ambassadors concerned and speak to them on the subject of financial help being given directly or indirectly to political and anti-Government organizations, newspapers, etc. They should be told that we are mentioning this to them because of our friendly relations and our desire to be quite frank with them. This kind of interference in internal affairs, however, naturally disturbs and distresses us. To the USSR and China, it might be added that this is against the basic principles of the *Panchsheel* to which we have subscribed.

5. To the Soviet Ambassador[4] it might be mentioned that when Mr Bulganin and Mr Khrushchev were here[5] I spoke to them about some of these matters and pointed out how they came in the way of friendly relations between our countries. We find that the Communist Party of India has received substantial aid from

1. Note to Secretary General and Foreign Secretary, MEA, 18 September 1956. JN Collection. Extracts,
2. N.R. Pillai.
3. S. Dutt.
4. Mikhail A. Menshikov.
5. Bulganin and Khrushchev were in India from 18 to 30 November and again from 7 to 14 December 1955. For details of their visit, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, pp. 299-368.

time to time from various sources. Some of these aid have come publicly in various ways, some indirectly and some secretly. Among the indirect methods has been the supply of large numbers of books, the commission on which is kept by the Communist agencies here. We might add that we have no desire to come in the way of books from the Soviet Union coming to India, but we do object to this method of financing the Communist Party here and hence we had often to discourage this import of books. It might also be mentioned that large properties have been purchased by the Communist Party which has no considerable income in India.

6. To the Chinese Ambassador[6] it might be stated, inter alia, that, according to our information, the Bank of China is used for the purposes of helping the Communist Party here. We have information that this was done in Burma too and the Burmese Government has objected to this. Any other relevant factor might also be mentioned. The US Ambassador[7] should be told of the reports we have received about newspapers and organizations being subsidized usually through the USIS or other methods.[8]

7. I suggest that SG might have frank talks with these Ambassadors and tell them that we are concerned about these matters chiefly because they affect our relations and they go contrary to the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs to which we have agreed, more especially with the USSR and China, and the assurances given to us by the US Embassy. In view of the coming general elections, it is important that these facts should be appreciated. According to our information, in the recent elections in Burma, the Opposition parties were indirectly helped financially.[9] (This applies both to Chinese communist help and to help from American agencies, of course, to different parties.)

8. We might also ask our Ambassadors in Moscow[10] and Peking[11] to mention these facts to responsible people at the other end.

9. I do not think there is anything very special in these notes about the other Communist Missions here. If anything is known or even suspected about the other Communist Missions, their representatives should be spoken to in the same way.

10. I might repeat that we need not confine our talks to proved items. Where there is a fair suspicion, we can mention it. The main point is that these people

6. Pan Tzu-li.
7. John Sherman Cooper.
8. See also *ante*, pp. 527-528.
9. This information was given to Nehru by U Nu. See *ante*, p. 510 fn 5.
10. K.P.S. Menon.
11. R.K. Nehru.

should know that we have considerable information on these subjects and that we take objection to this kind of undermining attempts.

11. As regards Pakistan, it will not be much good to proceed in this way, though perhaps it would do no harm to speak to the Pakistan High Commissioner.[12] Some of the sums mentioned as having been paid by the Pakistan Government or High Commissioner are legitimate, such as the payment made to the Deoband Dar-al-Ulum or to certain orphanages etc.

12. The cases of Prem Nath Bazaz,[13] P. N. Lakhanpal,[14] Noor Mohammad, etc., stand on a different footing and it is for the Home Ministry and our Intelligence Bureau to consider what further steps should be taken in regard to them.

12. Ghazanfar Ali Khan.
13. National Conference member and an old associate of Shaikh Abdullah.
14. Convenor of the "End of Kashmir Dispute" Committee.

2. Cultural Delegations Sent Abroad[1]

There has been a great deal of criticism about the quality and personnel of the cultural delegations we send abroad. In particular, this criticism has been directed to the cultural mission which recently went to the Soviet Union and other countries and is still there.

2. Whatever choice might be made in such matters there is bound to be some criticism from some quarter. But, it is true, I think, that the manner of our choosing members of such delegations has not been satisfactory. We should, therefore, lay down precise rules as to how this should be done, so that the best possible results might be obtained and, as far as possible, criticism should be avoided.

3. The Ministries chiefly concerned with such cultural missions are: (1)

1. Note to Y.N. Sukthankar, Cabinet Secretary, 21 September 1956. JN Collection.

External Affairs Ministry, which is connected with all external activities, (2) the Education Ministry and more especially the Sangeet Natak Akademi, and (3) the Information & Broadcasting Ministry and more especially the All India Radio Department, which is in intimate contact with large numbers of artistes, singers, dancers etc.

4. I think that the proper course would be to have a committee consisting of these three Ministries. To that committee, some non-officials might be added. That would depend on the nature of the mission. If the leader of the mission has been chosen previously, he or she should also be a member of that committee.

5. This committee should function as a whole and no decision should be taken by odd members without reference to the committee. Normally, the choice of the personnel of the mission should be made early so as to allow enough time for preparation and some joint training, if necessary.

6. I am inclined to think that the missions we have sent abroad have been too miscellaneous and often too large. It is difficult to lay down any firm rules about this matter as much will depend on varying circumstances. But, generally speaking, a relatively small and compact mission is preferable to a miscellaneous crowd. We need not try to represent every type of dance and every type of music and singing in it. If it is a dance troupe, let it be confined to that and let that be done well. For instance, we may send a Bharat Natya troupe with full accompaniment, and one or two other artistes. However, this matter can be considered by the committee.

7. Should it be necessary to send any gifts with the mission, these should be carefully selected by someone acquainted with this business, and the committee should approve of them.

8. Copies of this note are being sent to External Affairs Ministry, Education Ministry, Ministry of Information & Broadcasting, and Chief of Protocol.

3. Basic Approach of UNESCO[1]

Mr President,[2] Excellencies, distinguished delegates, ladies and gentlemen,

I am here to add on behalf of our Government and our people to the many welcomes you have already received. It has been stated that the meeting of this General Conference of the UNESCO in Delhi has a certain special significance. It is a tribute, if I may say so, to the importance that is now attached by this great Organization to the countries of Asia.

But there is yet another significance to this Conference which was not realized when this date and venue were chosen. We meet at a moment when we can hear again the dread tramp of armed men and the thunder of the bombs hurled from the skies to destroy men and cities. Because of this, there is perhaps a measure of unreality about your discussing the various items in your agenda which have nothing to do with this deep crisis of the moment. But these very developments force reality upon us and mould our thinking.

Soon after the last Great War ended, and as a result of the War and the hunger for peace of the peoples of the world, the United Nations Organization came into being. The General Assembly of the United Nations came to represent the mind of the world community and its desire for peace. If the General Assembly mainly faced the political problems of the world, its specialized agencies were charged with work of equal, if not greater importance, in the economic, educational, scientific and cultural spheres. Man does not live by politics alone, nor indeed wholly by economics. And so, the UNESCO came to represent something that was vital to human existence and progress. Even as the United Nations General Assembly represented the political will of the world community, the UNESCO tried to represent the finer and the deeper sides of human life and indeed might be said to represent the conscience of the world community.

1. Address at the inauguration of the ninth general session of the UNESCO Conference, New Delhi, 5 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in File No. 42 (19)/56-PMS. The Conference was attended by 66 member-nations and remained in session for a month.
2. Zavala Muniz, who also headed the delegation from Uruguay.

I should like to remind you of the preamble to the Constitution of this great Organization. This embodies a declaration on behalf of the Governments of the States and their peoples and lays down:-

> ...that since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;
>
> that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;
>
> that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;
>
> that the wide diffusion of culture and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;
>
> that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which would secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind...

Here is laid down, in clear and noble language, the basic approach of this organization and the way it was to travel if it was to realize its objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind.

The UNESCO has considerable achievements to its credit during its ten years of existence, and yet, after those ten years, what do we find? Violence and hatred still dominate the world. The doctrine of inequality of men and races is preached and practised; the democratic principles of dignity, equality and mutual respect are denied or ignored; some countries dominate over others and hold their people in subjection, denying them freedom and the right to grow, and armed might is used to suppress the freedom of countries. The UNESCO does not concern itself with political questions and it would not be right for us to raise them in this gathering. But the UNESCO is intimately concerned with the dignity of man and the vital importance of freedom.

We see today in Egypt[3] as well as in Hungary[4] both human dignity and freedom outraged and the force of modern arms used to suppress peoples and to gain political objectives. Old colonial methods, which we had thought, in our ignorance, belonged to a more unenlightened age, are revived and practised. In other parts of the world also, movements for freedom are crushed by superior might.

It is true that the atomic and hydrogen bombs have not thus far been used. But who can confidently say that they will not be used? The Preamble of the UNESCO Constitution says, as I have quoted, that wars begin in the minds of men. We have been living through a period of "cold war" which has now broken out into open and violent warfare. If we have closed the minds of men with thoughts of cold war, can we be surprised at its inevitable result?

You will forgive me if I speak with some feeling. I would be untrue to myself or to this distinguished gathering if I did not refer to something which has moved us deeply and which must be in the minds of all of us here. We use brave phrases to impress ourselves and others. But our actions belie those noble sentiments. And so we live in a world of unreality where profession has little to do with practice. When that practice imperils the entire future of the world, then it is time that we come back to reality in our thinking and in our action. At present, it would appear that great countries think that the only reality is force and violence, and that fine phrases are merely the apparatus of diplomacy. This is a matter which concerns all of us, in whichever quarter of the world we may live in. But, in a sense, it concerns us in Asia and Africa more perhaps than in other countries, for some of our countries have recently emerged into freedom and independence, and we cherish them with all our strength and passion. We are devoting ourselves to serve our people and to better their lives and make them grow in freedom and progress. We have bitter memories of the past when we were prevented from growing, and we can never permit a return to that past age. And yet, we find an attempt made to reverse the current of history and of human development. We find that all our efforts at progress might well be set at naught by the ambitions and conflicts of other peoples. Are we not to feel deeply when our life's work is imperilled and our hopes and dreams shattered?

3. Egypt was attacked by Israel on 29 October and by the Anglo-French forces on 31 October 1956.
4. In Hungary, popular movement for effective participation in government, better economic conditions and against Soviet domination had turned violent and was suppressed with the help of Soviet forces. On 4 November, a new government under Janos Kadar was formed to deal with the situation.

Many of the countries in Asia laid down a set of Five Principles which we call *Panchsheel*, for the governance of international relations and for peaceful coexistence of nations, without interference with each other, so that each nation and people might grow according to their own genius and in cooperation with others. These five principles are in full conformity with the noble ideals of the UNESCO Constitution. We see now that those Five Principles are also mere words without meaning to some countries who claim the right of deciding problems by superior might.

I have called this great assembly the conscience of the world community. The problems we have to face, many and complicated as they are, will never be solved except on the basis of good morals and conscience. It is for this reason that I beg of you, distinguished delegates from the nations of the world, to pay heed to this collapse of conscience and good morals that we see around us, for unless we do so, all our fine ideals and the good work you have done will be shattered into nothingness.

May I venture to point out to you also that a world organization like this cannot be properly constituted or function adequately, if a section of the world remains unrepresented here. I hope that three countries which have recently attained their independence, the Sudan,[5] Tunisia[6] and Morocco,[7] will find a place soon in this organization to share the burdens and responsibilities of its labours. But, I would especially refer to the People's Government of China and the six hundred million people who live in that great country, which have so far not been represented here.

The countries of Europe and America are fortunate in some ways for they have attained a measure of well-being. We in Asia and Africa still lack the primary necessities of life. To obtain these becomes, therefore, our first task. And we cannot do so with war and violence. I earnestly trust that the meeting of this Organization in this ancient city of Delhi, will turn your minds more to the needs of these underdeveloped countries of the world, which hunger for bread and education and health, but which above all, cherish freedom and will not part with it at any price.

Our country of India is a large one and our population is considerable, but we have no desire to interfere with any other country. We have no hatreds and we have been nurtured, under the inspiring guidance of our great leader Mahatma Gandhi, in the way of peace. We want to be friends with all the world. We know our own failings and seek to overcome them, so that we might be of service to

5. On 1 January 1956.
6. On 20 March 1956.
7. On 2 March 1956.

our own people and to the world.

I have spoken to you out of my heart, but I have done so with all humility, for I know that we have men and women of wisdom and long experience here, and it is not for me to tell you what you should do and what you should not do. But, since it is one of the objectives of the UNESCO to have a free exchange of ideas in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, I have ventured to place before you some of the thoughts I have in mind.

I welcome you distinguished delegates again, and I earnestly trust that your labours will take you and the world some way towards the realization of the ideals which you have enshrined in your Constitution.

4. Policy Towards the Third World[1]

Mr Siqueiros has raised broad questions of past history and present policy both in South America and in Asia and Africa.[2] It is difficult to deal with such broad questions in a short compass. Apart from this, I am not adequately informed about recent history in South America. I have some knowledge of it, but that is not enough for me to express opinions. Any general opinion may be as good as the expression of some principle. But, in practice, the problems of each country are somewhat different from that of another, and an academic treatment does not always throw much light.

2. As a Prime Minister, I have to deal not only with some principles of policy but its adaptation in different countries and in different circumstances. Also, as Prime Minister of India, I do not wish to interfere with other countries, in so far as is possible. Sometimes, in extreme cases, we have to express our opinion in the United Nations or elsewhere.

3. So far as principles are concerned, we have laid them down in what is called the *Panchsheel* or the Five Principles. Also, in the ten principles of Bandung, which include these Five Principles. These ten principles were accepted

1. Note in answer to a questionnaire given by David Alfaro Siqueiros to Nehru, 14 November 1956. JN Collection.
2. Siqueiros, a Mexican painter, revealed these answers at a press conference in Mexico on 17 January 1957.

by the thirty Asian-African countries attending the Bandung Conference.[3] But, in practice, the internal and external policies followed by the Bandung countries often differ considerably.

4. A government may follow a broad line of policy, but usually its policy is the resultant of various pulls and urges. Sometimes, one pull is greater than the other.

5. The United States of America have, to some extent, followed the policy which might be called anti-colonial. But, in recent years, the dominant factor in their policy has been the strengthening of the particular group of nations of which they are considered the most prominent and the leading one. In strengthening this group, militarily and politically, it has often happened that they have strengthened a colonial power and thus thrown their weight on the side of a continuance of the status quo in some colonial countries.

6. The continuance of the "cold war" has had this effect on the policies of other countries also, the main consideration being the strengthening of their group.

7. It is seldom that any country follows an absolutely uniform policy in regard to other countries. That policy is affected by other circumstances and has to conform to them.

8. While it is true that Asian and African countries are strongly opposed to colonialism and imperialism, it is equally true that, in practice, some Asian countries have followed policies which rather encourage colonialism.

9. The Asian-African group of countries, comprises a fairly large part of the world. Possibly it is already an unweildy group of nations, many of which have different economic and other interests. That particular group is more or less a geographical one. It would not be feasible to add to it. But it is always possible for a larger field of cooperation in the United Nations as well as perhaps in direct relationships between countries, wherever they may be situated. Recently, in the crisis of the Middle East, the action of the United Nations had considerable effect. Probably, no smaller group of nations could have produced that effect.

3. Held from 18 to 24 April 1955 at Bandung, Indonesia. For Nehru's speeches at and impressions of the Conference, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 28, pp. 100-137.

5. Resolution on Nuclear and Thermo-Nuclear Tests[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Deputy-Speaker,[2] Sir, I can hardly imagine a resolution before this House which appeals to me more than the present resolution[3] as well as, if I may add, the amendments which have been proposed, and yet I shall venture to ask now and later, the honourable Member not to press it for the simple reason that the resolution says something which is not exactly in the capacity of this Government to do. It involves our making other Governments to do things. I entirely agree with the Mover and with the other speakers that we should make every effort. The second paragraph of this resolution I entirely agree with and, in fact, as everyone knows, our policy has been that throughout the last few years, ever since the menace of nuclear warfare came to face the world, we have been taking up this very line which is represented in this resolution. The first part of the resolution speaks about the appointment of a Commission to investigate this. I might tell the House that for the last two or three years, we investigated the possibility of some such international body of scientists investigating this together. The suggestion really came from an outside source; the suggestion originally came from Bertrand Russell, who was very anxious that some such steps should be taken.[4] We told him that so far as we are concerned, we welcome it, but how far other countries will be able to cooperate is another matter. In fact, his suggestion was that this should be done by scientists from countries which were not themselves directly involved in making these experiments, that is, some of the Great Powers, because they were too intimately concerned with it. The curious aspect of the matter was that the persons who knew most about it, the scientists of countries who had dealt with it practically,

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha, 16 November 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. IX, Part II, cols. 352-361.
2. Hukam Singh.
3. The resolution, moved by Choithram Gidwani on 31 August 1956, asked for the establishment of an International Scientists' Commission to investigate into the effects and extent of the harm caused by nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests and explosions.
4. On 9 July 1955, Bertrand Russell issued a declaration under the signatures of nine internationally known scientists that included Albert Einstein. The declaration appealed to governments and people for renouncing war, and warned that the use of hydrogen bomb in a future war "might quite possibly put an end to the human race" and result in "universal death—sudden for a minority but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration."

not theoretically, would not participate or would not be allowed to participate, and other people who know only about it more or less in theory from books and articles would participate, so that the actual results would not be very satisfactory.

We found that it was not very easy to do this. Then we felt that instead of waiting for other countries to join in this matter, why should we not make an effort ourselves on that rather low level of published documents and published material to find out what the dangers of nuclear explosion were to humanity. It was that effort that ultimately led to the publication of this book,[5] which honourable Members have no doubt seen, and which, of course, does not contain any startling new material—we had to rely on published and semi-published material—nevertheless which, I believe, was the first occasion when all this was brought together under one cover. Previously, this material had appeared in highly technical scientific journals which were not available to the public, and if they were available, the public could not understand them. So, in a more or less popular form that material was considered and brought together and put in this book. I might add that this book has been very warmly welcomed by scientists and others elsewhere, not the general public because they find it rather hard to read. But it has met with a very good welcome from many people all over the world simply because it was the first organized attempt to bring these facts before the public in a more or less readable and intelligible form. As a matter of fact, ever since this book was published and even while it was in the Press, new material came out, and no doubt, if and when a second edition of this book appears, there will be much more information given.

The point is that the material naturally does not come out in a conference. In a conference, knowledge of the material is exchanged. The knowledge comes out of huge laboratories and tests that are going on in various countries. To begin with, a strict blanket of secrecy was placed on all this. It really began, I think, in 1940, that is, in the War years, when the United States of America started rather earnestly proceeding with these experiments[6] because at that time they were afraid that Germany was going to do it and did not want Germany to do something which they could not do. And so this blanket of secrecy was put on it. Even after the War years that blanket continued. Until very recently, it was hardly possible to get to know what was being done and even scientists did not know.

5. *Nuclear Explosions and Their Effects* was brought out in June 1956 by the Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.
6. The reference is to the Manhattan Project.

Gradually, of course, many facts in regard to this matter came out. I think the first time that the world attention was rather vividly and tragically drawn to the effects of these test explosions was after the explosion—I forget the place—in Marshall Islands or Bikini where some Japanese fishermen suffered.[7] That immediately brought this from the realm of theory to the realm of actual tragedy, and inevitably some enquiries had to be made and statements had to be made. Probably the statements made then were very much rather on the moderate side. The whole facts were not given. They came out gradually in the next year or two. Anyhow every country which indulged in these experiments did so under this blanket of secrecy, till last year, when a conference took place at Geneva—I mean the Atomic Energy Conference which was presided over by one of our scientists, Dr Bhabha.[8] For the first time, in that conference, a great many facts came out in the public. They were no doubt known previously to a limited number of scientists but not in a connected way; separately all facts were known. That was very helpful.

Subsequent to that, there have been quite a number of publications, technical publications, issued by the United States Atomic Energy Commission and also such publications were issued by the UK. I am not acquainted with any Russian publications on the subject but I know the British and American publications on the subject which brought new facts out. Always, I should like the House to remember that whatever was published was less than what was known because in investigating this phenomena, they were investigating something which was qualitatively different from the previous type of scientific experiments. It is because atomic energy takes us somewhat outside the normal range of the three-dimensional world. The result is that there is always a great deal of uncertainty about the explosion, something that may happen. We may even observe it and see a bit of it. We have not seen something else happening and that is gradually coming out within the ken of men.

So, a commission to investigate would only mean a commission to collect the results of the investigations of others and publish it to the world. When that time comes, even long before that time comes, the whole process—probably the great countries and the small countries—would have stopped; they would have decided not to continue these.

7. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 25, p. 448.
8. The International Conference on Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy was held in Geneva from 8 to 21 August 1955.

In the nature of things, when each country is continuing its test secretly, it does not want its latest knowledge to be available to the other country and so, it will not be available to any conference or commission or anybody else. Certainly a great deal of knowledge may be available, as it is available today. A formal commission might be helpful but what would be more helpful is that people who are conducting these experiments should publish the results of their experiments. They should not be secret so that they may be available to others. Then, anybody can collect them.

In any event, a country like India can hardly call upon the great countries which are chiefly interested in these and ask them to come and sit at a conference to do this. It is for them to take the lead. To some extent, progress has been made lately by the formation of the Atomic Energy Agency, though not exactly in this direction. But, the mere fact of these bodies being formed and scientists from all parts of the world meeting together and discussing—this does bring into light all the different facts which were previously suppressed or hidden.

Then, there is this proposal contained in the second part of the Resolution about moral pressure being used to stop such experiments. I entirely agree. Morally, or whatever it may be, this approach of bringing this matter up repeatedly, whether it be in the United Nations or elsewhere has been adopted not only by India but by some other countries. I entirely agree that this should be done. Again the amendments say something about the discontinuance of nuclear and thermo-nuclear tests. As I have just pointed out, that is just what we have been doing—we and others too—but not succeeding. Some great countries say that this should be done but they themselves do not do it waiting for the other party to do it. The result is: nobody does it.

So far as the spirit of the resolution is concerned, I entirely accept that. It does, if I may say so with respect, represent the policy that the Government has pursued. So far as giving effect to it is concerned it seems to me that at this stage for the Government of India to address other governments to do this or that will hardly be appropriate. One takes a step with some possibility of success and creates some impression. It becomes too much, too unrealistic and normally a government does not take an absolutely unrealistic step. An individual may deliver a speech or may issue a statement. But, if a government goes about issuing rather unrealistic statements, the value of the government's statements becomes much less. That is my difficulty.

If you like, I can say a few words about the much broader and deeper question which this nuclear energy has raised. Some honourable Members spoke vehemently about this. One honourable Member referred to the Hindu shastras and went deeply into some kind of ancient cosmology which I am not quite able

to follow and I do not quite understand the exact significance of it.[9] But, the point we have to remember is this. The whole idea of science and scientific discovery is a progressive understanding of nature and nature's forces. The whole advance of man, of humanity, has been in so far as man has understood, more and more, nature's forces and utilized them to his own advantage. Although that phrase can really cover every species of human advance, including spiritual and other fields—that is, extending the boundaries of science to mental and spiritual fields, the basis of science should remain. It can be extended to these fields, provided always the basis of science remains.

This process has uncovered all kinds of forces which existed. Nuclear energy is not something which has come out of nothing. It is there; it has always been there, just as electricity was always there in the clouds and elsewhere till some bright person thought that it could be brought to man's use by various experiments and they brought it to use. We use it to man's advantage.

In the same way, there are other forces which will be discovered. They are terrific forces which bind the world together, which bind the atom together. The result of that has been that man has got this force which he can use either for the good of humanity or for its destruction. To say that you must not use this energy at all or that you must not produce nuclear energy is rather to say something which is quite impossible. The world is not static; the mind of man is working. To stop the impulse of man to probe into the mysteries of the universe and its work—it cannot be done and should not be done. If the search for truth involves disaster, disaster will come to us but if humanity gives up the search for truth, then humanity is done for. All science is ultimately the search for truth even though truth may be utilized for evil purposes. Once you have opened out this window of man's mind into the secrets, into some of the secrets of the universe, you cannot close that window. That cannot be done.

Quite apart from political or other reasons, the world is not a static place nor is man's mind static. Therefore, one must realize that nuclear energy has come to stay and that discoveries in regard to nuclear forces will grow more and more.

If that is inevitable, the other question is: how is that to be used? True, it is a difficult question. That naturally depends ultimately on the human being, on man's character, on his integrity, on his ambitions or whatever it is. If man does not grow internally big enough to use these great powers suitably and to humanity's advantage, then he is doomed and there is nothing to rescue him. No one, I suppose, can give an answer to what the future will bring, how humanity

9. B.S. Murthy, KMP Member from Eluru in Madras, quoted from Mahabharata, Upanishads, and from the teachings of the Buddha.

will develop. The present outlook is not very bright. All one can do is to try to direct man's thinking in a particular direction.

At the present moment, I should say there are two elements in this process of thinking. One is that of fear of powerful elements, fear that if this kind of nuclear age sets in and these weapons are used to destroy each other, then humanity will be destroyed. And that is certainly a powerful check on people using these weapons. The other is a nobler impulse, that we should train humanity to look in a different direction so that these forces which are there—you cannot hide them; they are out and you cannot say that you do not like those forces and therefore bury them; you cannot bury them—are used for proper purposes, for the benefit of humanity. That is the only real question that ultimately arises. People say that you must not do it, but it does not help at all.

Now, so far as the question of nuclear experiments goes, we have been opposed to them—to these big test experiments. But that does not mean that nuclear energy should not be constantly examined, discovered and used. We in India have set up, as the House knows, a reactor near Bombay. We are setting up a much bigger reactor which will come into operation year hence or about that period.[10] In about four or five years' time we shall be in a position, probably, to use a good deal of nuclear energy, which can be used for good or evil purposes. It is just like any other power. You can use electricity for good or evil purposes. You cannot run away from electricity; it is there. You can train the nation's mind not to use it for bad purposes, that is a different matter. Are we not to develop nuclear energy—not the bomb, I mean the nuclear energy—in India or in any other country because it might be used or it might be perverted for wrong purposes? That simply means that we do not endeavour to take advantage of a great force while other countries do it.

The history of the last at least 300 or 400 years has been that we in India and other countries in Asia have been static in scientific accomplishments. I regret to say that many minds in India are still completely static. They are totally unaware of what science means, what these wonderful forces of nature are. They only live in a kind of little well of thinking without looking out of the well. It is a fact. That is how and that is why we fell back in this age of science.

Today we live in a world which is built by science and the progeny and the accomplishments of science. Why are the United States and Soviet Union specially advanced in regard to nuclear energy and other things? Because they have worshipped tremendously at the shrine of science and technology. They produce scientists and technologists in vast numbers every year. The whole

10. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, p. 134.

atmosphere becomes of scientific thinking. That is true. They will advance in every direction, every scientific direction including production of nuclear energy also. Of course there is one thing. They have resources to do so. A small country cannot do so today. It may very well be that after some time the question of resources will not be so important; that is, it may well be that some kind of a nuclear weapon can be produced without very great resources. That would be a time of greater danger for the world, when you may say that almost any odd group can produce it. I do not quite know how the world will face that particular danger. It is quite conceivable, it is not something that is very very unlikely. But, nevertheless, today it is the country with resources only that can do it. Only three countries have so far done it. Apart from the Soviet Union and the United States of America, the United Kingdom is the only country that has really had these test experiments of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

But, as I said, quite apart from this scientific element the other element comes in which, in the normal sense, takes you in a somewhat different plane—you may call it the moral element, the spiritual element, call it what you like, it is some element in the human being which controls the misdeeds, which restrains the man. After all, one definition for the growth of civilization is the growth of restraint in the human being; otherwise he is a wild animal. He restrains his impulse, his passions, his activities and coordinates them so that they may not come in conflict with those of his fellow men and so on and so forth.

So, this discussion that has taken place on the subject, I welcome it very much although I regret I cannot accept the resolution because of these obvious difficulties. I welcome the discussion partly because it represents our own thinking, the Government's thinking, and partly because this discussion draws people's attention in the country and, maybe, outside. It is a good thing about it. But I cannot accept it because I really cannot give effect to it.

6. To K.M. Panikkar[1]

New Delhi
22 November 1956

My dear Panikkar,

More than thirty years ago at Brussels Congress against Imperialism, I came in contact with a person of the name of Louis Gibarti. Since then I have sometimes seen him when I have been to Europe. In those early days he was somewhere on the dividing line between socialist and communist and intimately in touch with all manner of leftist groups. Later, I think he drifted a little further away from communism and indulged in odd activities about which I know little, except that they were often of a journalistic kind.

He often has rather useful information picked up from odd places. Sometimes the information is far-fetched or even wrong. I told him when I met him last that should he so wish it, he could send me any information through our Embassy in Paris. But I do not think that Malik[2] encouraged him at all. I think you might have some kind of distant contact with him and should he wish to send any paper to me, you can send it through the bag.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have just received from him.[3]

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. H.S. Malik, India's Ambassador in France.
3. Louis Gibarti wanted Nehru to provide him facilities of diplomatic mailpouch for sending memoranda on various topics like (1) action plans of communist parties of the "satellite" sphere; (2) growing contamination of atmosphere by radioactive "fall-out materials"; (3) probable appointment of Clare Luce as American Ambassador in New Delhi; (4) changes in the French policy.

9
MEETING THE PRESS

1. Change and Equilibrium[1]

Mr Chairman and Members of the Press Association,
When I came here today I had a vague apprehension that I might be called upon to say something. I looked round and to my relief I found no loudspeaker arrangements visible. Now, suddenly they are produced from under the table, and the Chairman gently hints that on these occasions I should make some announcements of world-shaking importance.

I am inclined to think that I do not know about working journalists but in a sense politicians are in the same category. When I look at the morning paper and I find nothing very exciting in it, I have a sense of relief. Excitement means trouble for oneself and for others and one does not welcome it. Fortunately, the types of excitement that find expression in newspapers are usually of rather temporary character. It is really extraordinary how a paper of a week ago is completely out of date, almost, I might say, stale. Something new has happened. Even yesterday's paper is slightly out of date. If the news you publish gets out of date so rapidly, well, the presumption is that it is not very important. Just as books. A book may come and may create some sensation, and a year or two later people may have forgotten it. Somebody said that the test of a classic in literature is that people should read it 40 or 50 years after it has been written. There is something enduring in it, some enduring character in it. I do not know how many books survive that test. And I doubt very much how far newspapers or periodicals survive that test either. In other words we will be, largely for the moment, thinking of the moment's news, reacting to it and passing on to the next moment. It is the very reverse of what might be called contemplated existence, that all the philosophers and wise men of old have recommended to people, and yet I suppose one cannot get out of this habit. It is inextricably bound up with life as it is today.

Again unfortunately, normally speaking, virtue is not news, vice is news. If people live quietly and decently, it is not news. If they commit a murder, it is news, immediately of course. And because news can travel rapidly all round the world, one gets reports, succession of reports of disasters all over the world, and I take it that one must therefore get a somewhat perverted view of the world. That is an unbalanced view because disasters are displayed far more than all the

1. Speech at the luncheon hosted by the Press Association, New Delhi, 8 October 1956. External Affairs (PIB) 1956.

other happenings which are not displayed at all, because they are now news. People might begin to think, as they do think, that the world is full of disasters. Of course, we are there, but it does create an unbalanced view of the world, and the result is, I suppose, it affects our individual lives of all of us who read newspapers. Fortunately or unfortunately, most people in India do not read newspapers. So they lead a quieter life, don't worry about disasters happening in other countries. If it comes to them, then they have to face it but otherwise they don't trouble themselves about it. And so the pace of our life quickens, and the pace of news quickens also. And the balance tilts more and more to news which are in the sense of, well, news of the bad things happening in the world rather than good things happening in the world, and one gets an idea that the world is going to dogs. Every generation has more or less expressed the opinion about the next generation that it is going to the dogs. Every father or grandfather thinks that because the world is changing. Well, the world is changing rapidly. The tempo of change grows faster, really because of the tempo of technological progress, because that affects our lives, govern everything.

Take communications, which is so interesting. Nothing is more fascinating than the record of the development of communications. And all this change in communications is really taking place in the last four or five generations. You might say, 200 years if you like. And during these 200 years we have gone ahead at a terrific pace. Now, we have the radar and all that. You have the news impulse going and returning simultaneously. We have now what is called some kind of an operating brain, mechanical brain. It is really a development of the idea of communications, in a sense. One does not quite know what the world may be like even a few years later, say, 15 or 20 years later. But some process has started in the world which inevitably brings about these tremendous changes and nobody can stop them. All we can do is to try to understand them and perhaps to bring them in particular channels. There is the atomic energy and so on, and yet oddly enough, while all this is taking place, the average human being is a very static individual. Thinking so far as his thoughts are concerned, he takes things for granted. The changes remain in his thoughts rather in a groove. Now, surely this must produce a kind of conflict. In an ever changing world, thinking and remaining static more or less. It can't wholly remain static. And so there is a conflict between the mind of man and the environment in which he lives. And we have this development of rare conditions, more so in advanced countries than in undeveloped countries because there, the pace is faster. Whatever thing you may deal with—and perhaps the most important ultimately is the economic field which governs individuals' lives, nations' lives and which is governed so much by technological development, as it is also governed by ideological urges. If you study these ideological urges which is taking rather a

rigid shape, we call them certain "isms", capitalism, communism, socialism, Gandhism and so many other, we find a strange tendency that the ideological urge itself becomes rigid. Starting from some revolutionary impulse, it becomes more and more rigid and loses that revolutionary fervour which it had. And, meanwhile, conditions are changing, people go on thinking in terms of an earlier date when that particular ideology was fully applicable. Now, I do not want to enter into any arguments on this but would like just to mention one or two things. We talk about capitalism. Nothing is more obvious than that. Capitalism of today is completely different from what it was three generations ago, or let us say the capitalism subscribed to 100 years ago was something entirely different. It does not matter whether it is better or worse but it is different, not the same thing. Now, if you criticize in the same terms as persons criticized 100 years ago, you are criticizing something which does not exist, which existed 100 years ago. It is just an example. Take communism. Communism, of course like socialism is a child of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution. Otherwise, these questions would not have really arisen. They are different phases of the same thing because they belong to the same family. They fight each other so much. Take communism. It is extraordinary how a revolutionary gospel like that of communism, also becomes rigid and some times more and more divorced from reality. It represents a powerful urge which has moved humanity. There is no doubt about it. You can see it but the forms it takes become static and rigid. Of course, they change. If they don't change, something takes its place. Thus, the point is many of the arguments that people carry on are arguments, first of all, about things which are past, which are not of today, which are of yesterday and the way the matters are argued really represents yesterday's events and not today's. If something of today, not the whole thing, goes, it has to be adopted today. It becomes out of date. How is one to bring that up to date.

A newspaperman, by the mere fact that he lives a fevered existence from moment to moment of news, presumably he has little time to think. So also a politician. He has no time to think of, he has to deal with problems of the day. To some extent, one is forced to think but cannot help it, but it is not a kind of leisured thought which has some depth in it and yet, what is most necessary is some leisurely act of thinking about the problems which face us and an attempt always, to have certain principles which you may hold on, bringing it up to date with reality. Take the economic sphere. Take the political changes that have taken place ever since the last War, in the last ten years, or so. There have been very considerable changes in Asia, and Europe and elsewhere. Those political changes have inevitably reflected on the relations of countries with each other, countries of Asia inter se, relations of countries of Asia with those of Europe or America or countries of Africa. If there are big changes in India or Pakistan or

Burma or Ceylon or China or anywhere, obviously their relationship is affected with other countries. Adjustments are necessary and sometimes big adjustments. If those adjustments are not laid, and people continue to think in terms of the old, then suddenly new problems arise or you fail to solve the problems of the day, because you insist on having a picture in your minds, which does not exist at all, which was of yesterday. Difficulties arise, psychological difficulties, political of course, about these new adjustments, new relationship of countries. Broadly speaking, you might say, because changes have been very considerable in Asia, that the whole relationship of Asia with Europe and America is something which is constantly changing, a new balance, a new equilibrium. To some extent it is realized but perhaps, it is not adequately realized, because of one factor which is difficult to catch hold of, the psychological factor, that is the urges, the ferments in people's minds unless you know thoroughly the people, and yet that produces consequences and big consequences. I am not giving out an attempt which, I think, might be considered in trying to judge a situation. That is today, the difficulty in solving a problem is often because you are not thinking of that problem but of something that existed previously. You are trying to solve, to think of hard facts of the problem, what you think are the facts of yesterday, they are not of today or they have changed, they have shifted ground. The result is one never comes to grips with the real problem of reality partly because, may be just lack of knowledge or experience, partly because nobody likes to come to grips with an inconvenient fact. One wants to avoid it. It is a natural impulse of human beings to avoid thinking of things they don't like. But by our avoidance in that way, things do not cease to exist, they continue. The result is that problems become more difficult.

So far as India is concerned, I do think that by far the most important thing in India is the internal development that is going on here which is slowly, but not so slowly either, changing people's minds. I am much more excited by that than the usually important world news, partly because it is my particular concern what happens in India, naturally, as it is your concern, and we are all parts of this changing scene in India and one is all the time looking ahead. And if one has made a picture in one's mind of what he wants to happen, if that is done, it brings enormous satisfaction, the realization of a particular objective. But I do think that something extraordinary and rather wonderful is happening in India. I am for the moment not referring to some big project, some steel plants and the like—that is interesting—but the gradual and yet the marked change that is coming over our countryside and that is supposed to be the most static part of all, the Indian farmer and the peasant, and the change coming over him through our Community Projects and the National Extension Service is very fascinating to watch. It is not the type of change that comes from a sudden violent upheaval,

which uproots things. But this is something which does not uproot anything and yet changes it. Now, whether that is going to be a complete success in the sense of bringing about those changes within a measurable period of time or not, I cannot say, history will show, but I wish to end by pointing out two factors which always seem to influence the development of human society. One is the factor of change, and the other is the factor of continuity. Now, those existing human societies change of course. Everything is changing. The individual is changing from day to day, he gets older. The fact is that a child will be a boy, a youngman will be an old man, changing constantly. Society changes though very, very slowly. The other dynamic societies change more rapidly. In the revolutionary movement the change is very sudden. On other hand, however, they change, they tend to maintain continuity. If the continuity is completely broken, they lose their roots and if you look at the biggest revolutions anywhere, the French or the Russian or the American or the Chinese, you will find that after a big initial spurt of a big change, it tends to pick up the old threads again, pick up the old roots in the soil itself, which may be represented by some nationalist feelings, and then gradually a balance is found between this urge to change and the change and an equilibrium is established. Of course, it is established day to day. In big matters, it may take a long time or of course it may upset the equilibrium. Now, the problem that India has been experimenting with some measure of success, is how far she can bring about these major changes, not only peacefully but without upsetting the equilibrium of the people and the country. It is a fascinating problem.

Anyhow, I think, I have spoken enough and am grateful to you, Mr Chairman, and Members of the Press Association for inviting me today. I am afraid I cannot give you a guarantee of this fixture becoming a permanent one.

2. Democracy and Private Enterprise[1]

It is noticed in the letter addressed to the Finance Minister of the Government of India by the World Bank Chairman, Mr Black[2] that his viewpoints in favour of private enterprise are broadly those of America. The Indian Finance Minister has replied to him in clear and moderate terms that "in regard to our basic policy we have come to a firm decision."

The idea of equating democracy with private enterprise is according to our thinking not justified. In fact, I would go a step further and say that in the final analysis, democracy and unrestrained private enterprise are incompatible. In the modern development of capitalism a great deal of monopoly has arisen and the tendency of vast organizations controlling not only huge financial resources but a great deal of economic power are continuing. Although it is checked in all countries including the USA by political democracy, there is a friction between the two even in that country. It is in that sense that he would say that unrestrained private enterprise, is incompatible today with real democracy. Of course, small enterprise, land and small industry, need not be so. It is only big ones that grow bigger and bigger which raise all these vital issues.

When they talk about democracy many people think in terms of political democracy. But political democracy may be opposed or powerfully influenced by too much economic power being concentrated in few hands. Therefore, to fulfil its functions democracy must become economic democracy also. Apart from these broad theories they are concerned in India with various problems which are not similar to those of other countries. I am not competent to say what is right for other countries because conditions, human materials and many other things are different. But in India they are confronted with two types of problems; one is general and applicable to all underdeveloped countries while the other relating to India in particular.

They have to fashion their policy in relation to their problems both as an underdeveloped country and also according to the conditions prevailing here while at the same time maintaining their democratic apparatus of governmental structure. That is what they try to find an answer in their Five Year Plan. They do not adopt any rigid or democratic attitude. Broadly speaking, they believe there

1. Statement to the Press, Kolkata, 21 October 1956. *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 22 October 1956.
2. Eugene R. Black.

should not be concentration of economic power and there should be a progressive approach to equality, economic and social, and that the standards of the people should go up as quickly as possible.

In the present condition of India it has become inevitable for the State to play an ever greater part in industry and, more specially, to control the basic industries, which are considered strategic. This is because such a control will give the State the machinery to prevent the economic power being misused by a few private parties. Apart from misuse there is also another question. The private parties do not look at the entire picture of development and are concerned with their particular aspects only. It is only the State that can have the entire picture of development before it. They have therefore, decided to try and pursue what is called "mixed economy" where the public sector comprises basic and strategic industries and at the same time to encourage the private sector to function in a fairly broad field.

The criticism made by some people that India is heading into State capitalism by going in so far State ownership in public sector is true to some extent. But there is no other way. They want to develop cooperative elements not only in land but in industry also. Not to develop their industry would mean not to raise their standard of living and to remain depressed by the growth of population. It would mean their growing weaker and weaker as a country and therefore, perhaps not be able to build up and to protect their freedom.

I do not see any other way out. I do not like the State doing everything in this country. In fact, I am rather allergic to the State too much interfering in the private life. But there is a major difference between the State doing it here and the State doing it in a communist country. There are many differences. One, of course, is that democratic apparatus of the Government is a big check. Secondly, we don't envisage the State controlling everything. In fact, take the biggest sector in India viz., the land we envisage small farmers working in agrarian cooperatives. We are not thinking of collective farms but of cooperative farms. We envisage at present the vast number of internal trades to be put in private hands. Maybe something the State may take over. But we envisage the whole sector of village industries not obviously to be in the State hands but left to the individuals; so there are vast areas in which individuals will function under the general rules to be framed by the State. But the same time we do think that major industries and the major services should be progressively more and more under State ownership and control. I cannot say, however, what will happen ten to fifteen years later, because our whole approach is not static but a dynamic one.

Finally, I can say that India is prepared to learn from any country in all these matters whether it is the USA or USSR or China.

3. India and the World[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, gentlemen, it is a long time, I think since we met here last. It was suggested to me a few days ago that I might have a Press Conference and I gladly agreed and it was fixed today. The day is not very happily chosen, partly because I have a bad cold and partly because all kinds of things are happening in the world and you are likely to put me very inconvenient questions which I may find difficult to answer. However, I would make an attempt. As usual, we can note down the subjects first.

I will take the smaller ones first. You asked about the possibility of my going to the United States. Well there is that possibility still, though it has not been finally decided. My difficulty is lack of time. I want to go there some time. The coming months are very very full. If I manage to go, it will have to be inevitably for a short time.[2]

Then, somebody asked me about the Queen's possible visit to India. There has been no talk about it any time. Some newspaper gave out this news. There is no mention of it anywhere.

Then, you are naturally interested in the question of Delhi water supply. I think, I cannot give you any information at the moment, but naturally you are all interested and I am also interested. It is fairly easy to criticize others, and they may be deserving criticism but no doubt you will realize that the kind of floods which we had, have been upsetting all normal arrangements. It may be possible, of course, I do not know—to have fool-proof arrangements, which cannot be upset but nature is still rather difficult to handle. Anyhow, all of you and I are interested, all people of Delhi are interested to enquire about it.

Then I go on to Suez. Well, partly because I was going to meet you today, we hastened to publish our Plan[3] yesterday, so that you might know what it is. Of course, large bits of it have been published in New York, some in London, a large bit in Cairo before the whole thing was published. All we can say is that this was an earnest effort on our part after prolonged talks with most people concerned, and taking into consideration the realities of the situation. We think,

1. Proceedings of Press Conference, New Delhi, 25 October 1956. File No. 43(73)/56-58-PMS.
2. Nehru visited the United States from 16 to 21 December 1956.
3. The reference is to the Indian proposals of 24 October. See *ante*, p. 420 fn 3.

WITH VIJAYA LAKSHMI PANDIT AND OTHERS AT THE OPENING OF THE UNESCO CONFERENCE, NEW DELHI, 5 NOVEMBER 1956

WITH MORARJI DESAI, UNION MINISTER FOR COMMERCE & INDUSTRY, LOOKING AT A MANUSCRIPT AT THE BUDDHA JAYANTI EDUCATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL EXHIBITION, NEW DELHI, 14 NOVEMBER 1956

it is an attempt to meet the various demands made on the situation. It is now upto countries directly concerned to deal with each other. There is a proposal for conversations to be carried on in Geneva. I do not know whether it has been finalized yet. They may take place there soon. Well, that is all about Suez. You can ask any question.

Question: To say this Plan is meeting the various demands.but I did not see...

JN: I did not say that. What I said was it is an attempt.

Q: Will it meet the guarantees required by all nations?

JN: In the ultimate analysis there can be no guarantee except, of course, the normal kind of international guarantees with two countries coming to terms. If the United Nations comes into the picture, well, that is a very powerful guarantee but you will see some disputes being considered by other methods and all that. Any further guarantee would really be a restriction on the sovereignty of the country.

Q: India's Plan seeks to give equal access to all countries to the Suez Canal. About the question of Israel specifically Mr Krishna Menon said recently that we have no opinion on that question because Egypt regards it as being at a state of war with Israel. Are we going to take any positive stand on the question of Israel?

JN: It is not a question of our taking any positive stand, but rather this Suez question being settled as between the conflicting parties. So far as I understand Egypt holds by the 1888 Convention[4] and their case is that that Convention does not cover a country at war. That is their case. Whether that is so or not is a matter for legal interpretation. It may be possible, therefore—I am just making this suggestion—that if there are two legal interpretations, some superior legal court should be asked to give the right interpretation of that Convention. That is the normal way of dealing with it instead of quarrelling about it. That is apart from the merits of the case. It becomes a legal issue.

4. The Convention of 1888, held on 29 July at Constantinople, was signed between the representatives of Great Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungry, Spain, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia and Turkey. It reiterated that "the Canal shall always remain free and open."

Q: You said on the Suez question that it is now up to the countries concerned to deal with each other. That is India has attempted to meet the various sides and it is up to them to deal with them. Do we take that to mean that India's efforts in this matter are for the present at an end?

JN: I am sorry I have not quite understood the question.

Q: When you say that it is now up to the various parties concerned in the Suez dispute to deal with this, can we take that to mean that for the present India finds that no further efforts are needed in this matter?

JN: Well, yes. For the present we have put forward our Plan. We have had talks with everybody, and it is best for them to deal with each other, instead of through intermediaries. I do not know what the future developments might be, but as you said for the present we sit at home.

Q: Has the Government got any indication from the Egyptian Government that they accept or they are in favour of the Indian Plan?

JN: We have not. It would not be proper for us to ask the Egyptian Government to give a specific reply to various parts of our proposal. Broadly speaking, what we wanted to know was whether according to them it was generally a proper approach, apart from details. Our impression is that the broad approach is approved by them, but that does not commit them to any particular part of it.

Q: How have Britain, America and France reacted to it?

JN: It is rather difficult for me to answer this, because the reactions of most countries have been mixed—approving of it and yet, perhaps not liking some bits of it here and there. So, no country wants to commit itself at this stage. That is the difficulty. Even if it approves of something, it feels it ought not to commit itself. That always happens in such matters.

Q: Do you think that the passing of November 6 will have any special effect on the Suez Canal situation—I mean the American elections?

JN: I do not think that it would necessarily have any special effect on the Suez Canal issue.

Q: Does the Indian Plan pertain specifically to the Suez Canal issue alone or

it is intended for other international waterways also like the Panama etc.?

JN: This is for the Suez alone. We did not consider Panama etc.

Q: Has any clarification been sought with regard to the Indian Plan, because in his remarks in the House of Commons two days back, Mr Selwyn Lloyd[5] pointed out that the Indian Plan required further clarifications? Have any such clarifications been issued?

JN: This Plan as a whole was placed before the UK Government, the Egyptian Government, the French representative in the UN, the United States representative in the UN, and there were considerable separate talks with each of them. Presumably, those talks included the clarifications which were naturally discussed. The whole thing has been adequately discussed. Of course, other questions may arise, that is a different matter. But there is no particular clarification from us. And there is no point in clarifying it any further. We have done it as far as we could. It is for the parties themselves to understand it in one sense or the other.

Q: Was there any resentment in any quarters with regard to our taking the initiative in the matter?

JN: Well, your question is such a broad one. I think, broadly speaking the efforts of India have been greatly appreciated all round. Maybe that some people did not like these efforts. But, of course, at no time have we tried to, if I may say so, push ourselves forward, and we have kept very much in the background. We have done whatever we could without inviting publicity to our efforts.

Q: Sir, after the passing of the Security Council resolution,[6] is it still open to some countries to say that they will stand by the internationalization of the Canal? This proposition was put before the Security Council and it could not be passed.

5. Foreign Secretary of the UK.
6. Britain, France and Egypt agreed on 12 October 1956 on six principles as a basis for further negotiations for the Suez Canal settlement. On 13 October, a resolution on these principles was passed in the Security Council. For details see *ante*, p. 419 fn 4.

JN: I do not know actually what the position is going to be. But even at the first London Conference[7] and afterwards when the Menzies Mission went to Cairo,[8] one thing was perfectly clear that the Egyptian Government would on no account agree to any kind of international control, because according to them it meant giving up a considerable portion of their sovereignty in that respect. Nevertheless, this matter was raised again in the resolution put forward in the United Nations.[9] But this much is clear that on that issue the Egyptian Government is not going to agree. It has made its position perfectly clear.

Q: Sir, in the Security Council resolution one of the six points that were mentioned was with regard to insulating the Canal from national politics. That was not mentioned in the five points in the Indian Plan.

JN: Our Plan was prepared and was handed over to people before the Security Council resolution. The Security Council resolution containing these points was subsequently framed. You might have noticed that different interpretations[10] are being put already on that Security Council resolution and more particularly about the particular one you mentioned.

Q: Is the hope now brighter for a negotiated settlement?

JN: Oh, yes. I think, we are definitely now in the negotiating stage, and it is difficult to go back on it. Shall we go on to some other matter?

Well, about Algeria, I can say that some developments that have taken place there during the last day or two, have rather worsened the situation. Our position in regard to Algeria has been firstly that Algeria is entitled fully to freedom and independence; secondly that this question, as others, should be considered in a friendly way by the parties keeping in view all the aspects of the problem; for instance in Algeria, there are a large number of French settlers, a very considerable part of the population and you might remember the statement I made in

7. On 16 August 1956. For details see *ante*, pp. 389-390.
8. On 11 September, the Menzies Committee declared that the proposals were "completely rejected" by the Egyptian President.
9. On 23 September 1956, the British and French Governments urged the Security Council to consider the situation created by the unilateral action of the Egyptian Government in bringing to an end the system of international operation of the Suez Canal.
10. Britain, France and Egypt interpreted differently the six principles and were divided on their implementation.

Parliament about this. It seems to me that on several occasions in the course of the last three or four months there was an approach to negotiations between the French Government and the Algerian nationalists, but it did not actually result in that. Something happened which came in the way. Then came the Suez Canal crisis, which rather diverted attention at least for the rest of the world and which, I believe, probably in French minds was indirectly connected with the other. I can say that it is impossible for the Algerian question to be settled by force and by trying to suppress the nationalist movement there. Tunisia[11] and Morocco[12] which have attained independence were till recently on very good terms with France. Because of this fact, now they are excited at the developments. We in India have always tried to follow some kind of middle course between our sympathies and our desire, more especially as a Government, not to interfere in other peoples' matters, in their internal affairs, and thirdly our desire to be helpful quietly in a possible solution of the problem.

Somebody asked me about the French claim to search ships carrying arms.[13] I don't know what the legal answer is but presumably it would give rise to friction between the parties concerned—whatever the parties may be but I really cannot answer what the law on the point is.

Q: It is at the instance of India that the Algeria question was taken out of the UN Agenda last time. Do you think it is now time to bring it up?

JN: It was at the instance chiefly of India that it was put on the UN agenda.[14] Secondly, it is also true that it was at the instance of India that it was taken off,[15] because by putting it on the agenda we achieved the object indirectly, i.e., to draw the attention of the UN and the world to this question but it could not be discussed there subsequently because you remember that the French

11. On 20 March 1956, Tunisia attained independence from the French protectorate.
12. On 2 March 1956, Morocco attained independence from the French protectorate.
13. The French National Assembly had adopted the motion on 2 June 1956 that it would search ships in the Mediterranean carrying arms because that could help the Algerian rebels.
14. In fact, the Arab-Asian group in the UN proposed in September 1955 in the General Assembly for debate on Algeria which was accepted. Krishna Menon, India's representative in the UN, said that the Algerian question had been brought before the UN solely for the purpose of conciliation.
15. In June 1956, the Security Council rejected the demand of 13 Asia-African nations to debate the question of Algeria. India did not sign this request. For India's stand see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 33, pp. 485-86.

representatives withdrew. So, in effect it could not be discussed. It had achieved its primary object, and then it became a kind of brake on the discussion of even that issue or any other issue with which the French Government were concerned. Therefore, India advised at that time that it might be taken off for the time being for that session. As a matter of fact, nothing could have happened in that session as it was not going to last long. So it was taken off. That exhibits that our approach, our views are clear about the matter but the manner is we want to be helpful not merely condemnatory. We wanted to help in finding a solution without giving up any principle and not merely for delivering strong speeches which do not bring about any satisfactory result and only irritates all the parties concerned.

You want me to say something about Eastern Europe. We are right in the middle of things happening there,[16] and a wise man would like to await further developments without saying much, but it seems clear to me that this is what might be called a nationalist upsurge. Probably, it has very little to do or nothing at all with local economic policies. It may have something to do. It is more nationalism. I don't suppose it is likely to affect—I don't know—the broad foreign policies or economic policies of those countries, but it is affecting their internal independence. There is a feeling that they are going to fashion their policy, and not necessarily others but the thing is, the movement is going on and we have to watch. Anyhow, it is not for us to interfere in anyway, even by expression of opinion in the internal affairs of these countries.

Q: Is the Polish Prime Minister's visit going to take place?

JN: I hope so—in the next month or in less than a month. We want it to take place and there is no reason why it should not. He is due to come here in the middle of November and we are expecting him and presumably there will be no change in the programme and he will come.[17]

Q: May I ask a question which is not in your list?

JN: What is it?

Q: I would like to know whether any protest has been lodged with Pakistan, against a few outrageous statements that had been made recently in that

16. The reference is to the events in Hungary and Poland. See *ante*, p. 452 fn 2 & p. 456 fn 3.
17. In fact, the Polish Prime Minister, Josef Cyrankiewicz, visited India from 24 March to 2 April 1957.

country by people who should have spoken with a greater sense of responsibility?

JN: Well, in a sense it is in my list under Indo-Pakistan relations. I do not know if I should call it a protest; but I did draw the attention of the Pakistan Prime Minister to certain statements of the Foreign Minister[18] which seemed to us, firstly to be completely factually wrong, and secondly, to be rather extraordinary in the sense of the lack of, well, diplomatic decorum and how diplomats and foreign ministers deal with matters. So I pointed that out and I presumed that this was due to his inexperience.

Q: What do you think of President Eisenhower's reply to Bulganin's proposal for the banning of nuclear tests?

JN: I really cannot go into that, what he wrote and what reply was given[19] and all that.

Well, something was said about Mr Black's letter.[20] I dealt with Mr Black's letter at some length, I think, in Calcutta and I do not think I should repeat all that now. But I want to say this that whatever Mr Black might have written and whatever reply might have been sent from here, our relations with the World Bank are very friendly. Do not imagine that we are quarrelling with each other. We are dealing with each other as we have done for the last several years, in a friendly way. Mr Black expressed his opinion and we explained to him what our opinion is.

Q: Do you think it was within the jurisdiction of the World Bank to express an opinion like that over the policy of a country?

JN: Well, anybody can express an opinion, it has nothing to do with jurisdiction. It may have unfortunate results or fortunate results, but we cannot challenge the

18. According to the Pakistan Foreign Minister, Feroz Khan Noon, India was "inimical" to Pakistan owing to her "intransigence" on the Kashmir question and that she had tried to strike a bargain with France with the idea of getting French support over Kashmir in return for Indian help to France in regard over Algeria. See also *ante*, pp. 498-499.
19. Bulganin, the Soviet Prime Minister, wrote to the American President, Eisenhower, on 17 October 1956 proposing an agreement between the US and the USSR to ban atomic weapon tests. In his reply on 21 October he said that Bulganin's letter interfered in US affairs and "departs from accepted international practice in a number of respects."
20. See *post*, pp. 597-601.

jurisdiction of any individual. I do not suppose you would like your freedom to express your opinion restricted in any way, I mean people of the Press.

Q: Has the Planning Commission formally considered the suggestions put forward by Mr Black?

JN: What suggestions?

Q: The suggestions about giving more importance to private enterprise.

JN: No, this question we have already considered and we have made our broad policy, basic policy and our specific programme in the Second Five Year Plan. There it is.

Q: He seems to suggest a particular revision of our approach to mineral exploitation, that is to say, that there should be some relaxation in its favour, some relaxation of restrictions in respect of minerals.

JN: Mr Black more or less has said that we are not fully utilizing private enterprise for the furtherance of our plans and we wish to utilize it fully. There is no question of our not; but our judgment as to how best to utilize it, may be different from his to some extent. But there is undoubtedly a basic difference in our approach and his approach. That difference will not affect our dealings with each other or our relations.

Q: Mr Black makes a specific point that the Government of India's present policy towards foreign capital is not encouraging enough. Now, do you accept that there is any substance in that view? And, if so, is there any modification possible of Government's policy with regard to that?

JN: The answer to that is not for me to give. It is merely for the owners of foreign capital to say whether they are encouraged or discouraged. He may be right, for what I know, in that particular matter. What can I say? But I don't think that foreign capital need have any kind of apprehension because whatever our internal policies might be, if we deal with a foreign investor, we give him fair, reasonable terms and the guarantee of the State. What more can anybody require?

Q: Will you think it a fair or unfair statement to say that foreign capital has been greatly frightened by the Suez Canal nationalization, seizure of the Dutch assets in Indonesia and things that have happened in that part of the world.

PM: I do not know. Owners of capital, from all accounts—I have no intimate knowledge of these matters—are very sensitive human beings. The slightest thing that happens, they think might perhaps involve some future risk. It makes them draw themselves into their shells. People are so sensitive and timorous. As a matter of fact, there were the great days of capitalism, when it was adventurous, when it was not timorous. It simply went out, took risks and won. Those were the great days of capitalism, in the United States and elsewhere. But if you are thinking of China and India, that is a different matter. The whole of the 19th century has seen in the United States the adventurousness of the entrepreneur and the capitalist. They went ahead and took enormous risks and got enormous dividends out of that.

Q: We have restricted the dividends very much now. The risks are there, but the dividends are not there.

JN: No, no. Not at all. The dividend may be restricted, but the risk is also restricted. In fact, the dividend has been pretty sure.

Q: Was Mr Black's famous letter written in his personal capacity or on behalf of the Bank?

JN: It is very difficult to distinguish between these two things. He is the President of the World Bank. I do not know, I do not suppose that the letter was put up before the Bank's Directorate and passed. People do not function that way.

Q: What Mr Black has said is believed to be the considered opinion of the Board of the Bank?

JN: How do I know? But one may presume that apart from any particular details this represents broadly the opinion of the Bank. His letter was a private letter. It was not meant for publication. Since it was published, this argument arose.

Q: I do not know whether the Indonesian action has been the subject of particular study by the Government here but at the time, it created a great stir and there has been a great deal of comment abroad concerning the effect of the nationalization action by the Indonesian Government?

PM: I am unable to deal with the Indonesian question. I know very little of it. There is no doubt our Government has been studying this as we study other questions to keep ourselves up-to-date. It is not for us to interfere, but remember that the Indonesian argument is that they are not refusing to pay,[21] except in so far that their money was used to suppress them. That is their argument, and I believe the Dutch, the Netherlands Government denies that factually. I am unable to form an opinion about the facts of the case, apart from the legal implications there might be.

Q: Can it be said that a large number of countries are now willing to help India financially than they were earlier?

JN: I do not know. There was no refusal to help India previously. I do not think there is any difference now or before. The position is the same. After all the countries that can help have always been limited, their capacity to help, I mean, not that they do not wish to help.

Q: The Indonesian Government was helped by the resolutions passed by the Congress before the war?

JN: We never refused in that sense. We always said that we do not accept inevitably the liability to pay, but all these debts incurred by the British Government should be examined by an impartial commission afterwards. That is the Congress resolution passed 12 years ago. An impartial commission should be appointed to examine the debts, to find out what is legitimate and what is not. I give you an instance. The beginning of the Indian national debt was the sale, if I may say so, of India by the East India Company to the British Crown. We were sold body and soul, but the odd thing was that the British Crown paid the money to the East India Company and made us pay for our sale. The beginning of the national debt was that India paid for her own sale. Take another instance. We said "Why should we pay for the Burma war, you conquered Burma and India pays". These were the various points that we raised in those days but the final thing that we

21. On 4 August 1956, the Indonesian Government announced that it no longer recognized any debts to the Netherlands. The Indonesian Finance Minister, Dr Wibisono argued that the debts were "of a political nature" and had been "imposed on Indonesia as a kind of compensation to the Netherlands in return for its consenting to recognize the sovereignty of Indonesia." However, Indonesia recognized the debts of other countries and guaranteed their payment.

suggested was we should like an impartial commission to consider these matters. You see our general attitude is very adaptable, cooperative and compromising.

You mentioned about Naga Hills. I have not been to the Naga Hills area. I have been to Shillong recently.[22] Well, all I can say is that I found, broadly speaking, the situation fairly satisfactory and I am not talking about in military terms, but rather psychologically, that is the people of the Naga Hills coming to us, talking to us, more and more cooperating. In fact, if we had looked at the question in a purely military way, we could have taken much stronger action some time back, but we have deliberately avoided it, because we want to win over the people there. Naturally, those who have committed very bad crimes we hold them responsible. What is most distressing about the Naga Hill situation is the suffering of a number of people, villagers and others, both through sickness, illness and sometimes lack of food. They have been rather in the interior where they are harassed by the hostile elements, their food taken away, their money taken away in the past—much less now—and also cultivation has been obstructed. We are trying to reach these areas to help and rehabilitate.

Q: What date will the general elections be held?

JN: Well, the date has not been fixed yet. I suppose it may be fixed fairly soon. I cannot exactly indicate the date but should imagine it will be in the second half of March. That is on the one hand we want to have time for preparation, on the other to avoid the hot weather. Those are the limiting factors and so practically it drives us to March, maybe at the beginning of April. On the last occasion, these elections lasted off and on for six weeks, I think. Now our organization has improved. There are more people trained to do the job and therefore, we are reducing the period of six weeks to two weeks. Possibly, for the next general elections after these, we should reduce it to two or three days or a week. Ultimately, our aim is to have elections for one day all over India except perhaps in some mountainous areas.

Q: Is the Congress in a better position to win now than in 1951-52?

JN: Do you want me to speak as an important person in the Congress, as a politician, to boost up my own party or as an impartial observer? I will tell you something quite objectively. Of course, it is possible for a member of any political party to say that all the virtues are in his party and all the villains are in the other

22. Nehru visited Shillong on 17-18 October 1956.

party. One has to look at a picture broadly as to the forces at work, the social forces and other forces at work and then to see how far groups of parties represent the right forces. An individual may be bad here, there and everywhere.

Now, in India as elsewhere there are all kinds of forces at work. Broadly speaking, some may be called progressive and some may be called reactionary. In the case of progressive forces we may for the moment leave out the political aspect because political questions have, by and large, been settled by our independence. Of course, other political and internal questions do arise. So, we judge all these forces from the economic and social points of view, and as well as to some extent, from the point of view of their effect on foreign affairs. Now, you know that the person who talks loudest or in most extreme terms need not necessarily represent the progressive forces. We also know how the person who talks in the most reactionary terms sometimes joins hand with a reactionary or the person talking in revolutionary terms acts as a counter-revolutionary in the real sense of the word. For example there was in India a small movement based on despair.[23] Young men went about throwing bombs at British officials and Indian officials of the British Government. And those young men were no doubt courageous because they played with their own lives obviously. But to imagine that by throwing a bomb at an official to get freedom for India was rather infantile. It was a gesture. This bomb-throwing was really stopped ultimately by Mr Gandhi, not of course by argument, but by putting some positive way of action before the country, so that that feeling of frustration disappeared. Now, some people may say that bomb-throwing is very revolutionary because it is a most extreme way of showing what you feel. But the real analysis of bomb-throwing was utterly counter-revolutionary, because it came in the way of proper development. So strong language or strong action is not necessarily helpful because it is strong. We have to judge its effects, how far it helps in producing social or economic changes. Now, you can judge all the various groups and their activities functioning in India today. As I said, in every group there are good people as well as bad people. On the one side there is a great deal of tendency for what I call exhibitionism which has been encouraged considerably because of the approach of the elections. Also, there is the tendency to use strong language running down the Government. But basically, there are both kinds of forces in India, progressive and reactionary, and they are both pretty strong. Let there be no mistake about that, with the difference, of course, that the strength of the reactionary forces is largely the strength of inertia plus of course something

23. The Revolutionary Movement.

else too, social habits, social forms etc. It is a strength which utilizes a thing like this.

Recently, we had this agitation and counter-agitation about that book *Religious Leaders*.[24] That was an agitation on the part of Muslims and counter-agitation on the part of Hindus. You see there these reactionary forces at work. Normally, they cannot function with any strength but as soon as they get something to hang on, immediately they make a nuisance of themselves and play with the passions or the inertia of the masses, so that there is this, the real opposition in India. I am not talking in terms of parties but this basic reactionary element which can take advantage of the inertia and the religious passions or habits of the people, etc. Now, the organizations which use this most are the communal organizations, whether they are Hindu or Muslim or Sikh or anything, because in a sense they have no strength of their own, but it is only the strength that they can possibly get from exploiting these weaknesses. You will see that parties claiming to be very socially advanced—let us take the Communist Party who call themselves a very revolutionary party or some of the Socialist parties—there are two of them—they ally themselves frequently with these socially reactionary groups, no doubt for the sake of winning an election or whatever it may be, so that all these become rather blurred objectively from the social and economic points of view. The real conflict in India should be between the socially and economically progressive forces and those that are reactionary, but this conflict is somewhat blurred by various other factors. Also, there are those who are themselves progressives but they are so excited that really their statements and actions have the reverse effect like the bomb-thrower thinking that he is winning Indian Independence but he really delays Indian Independence. You cannot build up a social movement on the throwing of a bomb on an individual. I am putting this idea before you because normally the thinking is on party grooves and lines. I think that the Congress has, of course, always been something more than a mere party; it is a party, a political party, but it has also been something of a movement. In the past it was essentially a movement, a very big movement for the progress of India. That aspect of it continues. Because it is a movement, it has in its fold people of sometimes differing viewpoints.

I am free to confess to you that there are plenty of social reactionaries in the Congress too. As in every group inside a party there are various types of groups. There is plenty of inertia in the Congress, social reactionaries in the Congress, people who are afflicted sometimes by these religious and communal cries. They are there because it is a vast organization which people can join without

24. See *ante*, pp. 253-271.

any direct scrutiny as to who joins. The scrutiny part comes later but even so it is difficult to keep out people who may not perhaps accept hundred per cent the Congress ideal itself. I am only showing you all these factors. One finds in every political organization at least honest people trying to keep it as straight as possible, in thinking, apart from other things and in action. We try, let us say, in the Congress not to allow the less socially advanced elements or if you like, the more reactionary elements to influence our policy. They are there and they may occasionally influence it in some villages or towns but broadly speaking they cannot do it. Locally, they might do and they do mostly to our disadvantage. I am not talking about other parties. The Communist Party stands in a special way because partly it has been depending till recently, either on outside inspiration about its policies and the rest and it is rather shaken up by recent events. But the worst thing that has happened to it is, when you rely on thinking being done by others, your own thinking apparatus gets rather rusty, and it only reacts and usually reacts by some repetition of some slogans, and finds it very difficult to consider an entirely new situation for which it has no slogan ready, so that it tends to be rather out of date in its thinking. I am not referring to any aspects of it and it tends even to be reactionary in a certain sense—not of course in any other sense, but in a sense, out of date. I think, they are annoyed when I call them reactionary, but I use that word in a technical and specific way and I think, it is perfectly correct. One finds that a person shouts a lot. An RSS man shouts as much as a communist. They both come and demonstrate before Parliament House. They seem to think that in that way they can spread their gospel—by shouting and exhibitionism. I am not really condemning anybody. I am trying to understand them. Now, in this broad context, I have no doubt in my mind that while undoubtedly there are progressive forces in the Communists, among the Socialists and among other groups and also among independents—of course, there are and who said all progressive forces are in the Congress?—I don't say that but organizationally considered, it is the Congress alone that has those progressive forces in the largest bunch and in a balanced way. Lack of balance is the difficulty—lack of balance in other parties and there is no balance and they are too much thinking of slogans.

Therefore, I have said that the Congress has a historic task in India still; it had it in the past; but is still has to perform a historic task; and without the Congress there would be a type of political fragmentation which naturally would weaken any progressive movement. And then we come across inertia and inertia has to be pushed and kicked about. We cannot deal with inertia with political fragmentation of progressive groups. Well, I do not know if I have made myself quite clear. I have put across an idea to you which is not normally discussed in this way.

Q: Are you aware of the strange paradox in this country that people vote for you and not for the Congress? Has that truth been realized? If you retire and look on from outside you could realize the real position.

JN: I think that you are not right, at least you are not largely right, you may be partly right. It is natural that the personal element plays a good deal in elections. Take the American elections—President Eisenhower quite apart from the Republican and Democratic policies—is a man whose personality counts. There it is and one of the biggest factors in the election of President Eisenhower is his personality and his personal popularity. That happens everywhere. Here in India you have the additional factor, and that does not apply to me personally alone but to a number of us. We are relics, the continuing relics of the Indian revolution. We built our reputation up in 20 years, 25 years and 30 years before Independence. Well, naturally, that is our credit with the people. They have a certain faith in us, belief in us. What would happen in the normal way when this old gang is dead and gone, I do not know; but undoubtedly, that is a powerful factor in favour of the Congress and I see no reason why I should accept the advice offered to me to retire and look on to see what happens.

Q: You have said that in the Congress there is no check of the mass membership. But can you not check the quality of the people who rise to higher positions, more effectively than at present.

JN: I don't mean to say there is no check, we try to check the whole membership, the mass membership, to some extent, you know there is such a thing as active membership, apart from the primary four anna membership. Then there are other checks and all this process of checking is there. But you know there is a type of person who survives every kind of checking.

Q: Is it a fact that you do not favour the policy of the UP Government about Urdu?

Q: It is not a question of the UP Government particularly. I think that Urdu should be given greater encouragement than it has in various parts of the country where Urdu is a fairly widespread language, spoken etc., and this for a variety of reasons. One is, you must remember, Urdu is one of the national languages mentioned in our Constitution and rightly so.

Because it is essentially an Indian language. It is not a Pakistani language. No other country can claim Urdu except India. It is today widely spoken in large areas and as you know better than I do. Urdu newspapers in Delhi have a

pretty large circulation, larger than many others, possibly larger than the Hindi ones and there are Urdu newspapers of even the Hindu Mahasabha.[25] It shows that they have to publish it in Urdu in order to reach the public. All over the Punjab, there has been this great argument about Punjabi and Hindi. The fact is, Urdu has been the real language learned and written there up till now. So, I see no reason to suppress this or not to encourage it. In fact, I see a good deal of reason to encourage it.

First, it is there and under the Constitution we have recognized it. Secondly, because actually it is a life-giving, strengthening element in Hindi, that is to say, not Urdu only, all other languages also. I do not believe that one language flourishes at the expense of another, by crushing the other. Learning is not a thing which you divide up. If you are a learned man and you share it with somebody you don't become less learned. You may even be more learned. By sharing its words with others a language enriches itself, enriches the other language. I want to develop that habit, whether it is Urdu, Marathi, Bengali, Tamil or Telugu. There is no conflict. They help each other, more particularly, Hindi and Urdu which, of course, are basically the same thing, same origin, with differences in vocabulary and phrasing and script. Leave out the script. I want that vocabulary to become richer by that. Urdu, mind you, is a language which is alive even now. It has got plenty of life in it. It is difficult to describe the life of a language but you can see the strength of it. In a sense, it is very ornate sometimes; but it is not the ornate part but the simple part of Urdu which is alive and kicking. The words are relatively short with strength in them. Every language has such words. So I say, it will enrich Hindi, even develop it. It deserves development because of this. Secondly, it will enrich Hindi. Thirdly, it is a connecting link, the script to some extent and even the language to a slight extent, between places outside India. I am not, for the moment, talking of Pakistan, although it applies to Pakistan also. If you go to Central Asia and if you do not know the language—whether it is the Chinese State or Russian State—you might be able to get on to some extent in the caravan routes if you know Urdu. Not very well, but Urdu is slightly known all over Central Asia because of the caravan routes. Take the Urdu script. It is a script, with slight variations, which is used all over Western Asia and North Africa—in wide areas. It becomes a link if you know it, a helpful link. So, all these are various factors which should induce us to encourage the learning, the knowledge and the practice of

25. *Tej, Pratap* and *Milap*.

WITH THE DELEGATES TO THE SYMPOSIUM ON "BUDDHISM'S CONTRIBUTION TO ART, LETTERS & PHILOSOPHY" IN CONNECTION WITH 2500TH BUDDHA JAYANTI CELEBRATIONS, VIGYAN BHAVAN, NEW DELHI, 26 NOVEMBER 1956

WITH DALAI LAMA & PANCHEN LAMA AT THE SYMPOSIUM, 26 NOVEMBER 1956

Urdu. But the main thing is that it is widely known, widely spoken and written today, and it is, I think, our constitutional duty and our practical duty to keep it going and encourage it. And that does not come in the way—it is completely wrong to say or even to think that it comes in way of Hindi or any other language. It does not. It really helps the other languages to grow from strength to strength.

Q: Do the American elections make any difference or prevent you from going to America and meeting President Eisenhower earlier?

JN: I am afraid it is difficult for me to find time, but apart from this difficulty, obviously, I would not like to go there in the midst of elections. Let them calm down before I go there.

Well I think I have got to go now. Thank you.

10
LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

I[1]

New Delhi
20 September 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

Much has happened in India and abroad since I wrote to you,[2] and there is much to tell you or to comment upon. I do not quite know how to cover this period of trouble and strife.

2. Parliament ended a brief but very full and eventful session.[3] During this session, it dealt with the States Reorganization Bill[4] and the Constitution Amendment Bill.[5] It was rather extraordinary that, after a year of fierce controversy, these measures should have been passed by Parliament quietly and by overwhelming majorities. No one can say that these majorities were the result of unwilling members being induced to vote by Party discipline. As you know, some of the principal decisions were really taken by Members of Parliament on their own initiative and not by any pressure from Government. The decision about a composite Bombay State has emerged from the storm and stress of many months of argument and conflict.[6] It is true that we welcomed it. But we had almost given it up as something we could not bring about in existing circumstances. When, however, some Members of Parliament took the initiative,[7] there was an overwhelming response from the other Members, including MPs of several parties. One might well say that some Members of Parliament, in a moment of crisis and difficulty, took the lead, and the Government followed

1. File No. 25(30)/56-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 4, (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 432-445 and 449-461.
2. On 27 August 1956.
3. On 13 September 1956.
4. The States Reorganization Bill was passed by the Lok Sabha on 10 August and by the Rajya Sabha on 25 August. It received the President's assent on 31 August 1956.
5. The Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Bill giving effect to the scheme envisaged in the States Reorganization Act was passed by the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha on 7 and 11 September 1956, respectively.
6. On 9 August, the Lok Sabha accepted the official amendment to the States Reorganization Bill, providing for the formation of a bilingual State of Bombay. See also *ante*, p. 41.
7. Asoka Mehta, S.K. Patil, Purushottam Das Tandon, J.B. Kripalani, Thakurdas Bhargava, Tulsidas Kilachand and C.D. Deshmukh were some of the Members who took the initiative.

that lead.[8] It was not that Government followed it unwillingly, because we have all along hoped that a composite Bombay State would be decided upon.

3. Another important work of the last session of Parliament[9] was the discussion on the Second Five Year Plan, which had begun in the previous session.[10] We had a long and helpful discussion. As usual, a good deal of attention was paid to minor matters[11] and not so much to the basic policy and strategy of the Plan. But, the debate was very instructive and, I have no doubt, it did good. In spite of the fierce arguments about other matters in the country, the fact remains that the most important subject for us has been this Second Five Year Plan. The First Plan was relatively easy canter. It began at a slow pace and gradually gathered speed and, finally, finished its run at a good pace.[12] By that run, it brought us not only to a more promising stage of our nation's growth, but also to a much more difficult one. These five years to come are of vital importance in the shaping of the new India. If we succeed, as succeed we must and will, than we have laid sure foundations for the future growth.

4. There were other many important measures before Parliament, to which I need not refer. One, however, deserves particular notice. This was the Central Excises Bill[13] by which authority was taken to increase the rate of excise duty on mill cloth. This was by no means universally welcomed and, in fact, it evoked a good deal of criticism. And yet, I have no doubt that it was the right thing to do. Perhaps, few governments and few parliaments, on the eve of an election, would have ventured to take a step which, prima facie, was going to be unpopular. It was only after full discussion and deep thought that we agreed to it, realizing that it was necessary. I cannot prophesy what the result of it will be in regard to prices of cloth. We hope that prices will not rise or, at any rate, will not rise

8. On 3 August 1956 one hundred and eighty Members of the Lok Sabha requested Nehru to lend his "weighty support" to the move for creating a bigger bilingual State of Bombay. The letter, signed by Members belonging to various parties and groups in the House, was presented to the Prime Minister by Jaipal Singh, an Independent member. This amendment was passed by the Lok Sabha on 9 August.
9. Starting on 16 July 1956, Parliament's monsoon session concluded on 13 September 1956.
10. The session was held from 15 February to 30 May 1956.
11. Members of opposition in both Houses criticized the Government for not evaluating the First Plan before seeking the approval of the Second Plan. They demanded reduction in income tax and other taxes and the setting up of a new steel plant.
12. The First Plan period was 1951-1956.
13. The Bill passed by Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha on 3 and 8 September 1956, respectively, was aimed at checking the rise in the price of cloth by taxing more the increasing profits on ex-mill prices.

much. The whole purpose of this excise, strange as it may seem, was to keep down prices in the future.

5. Parliament ended its session peacefully and, on the whole, happily. There was a feeling of satisfaction in Members' minds, as of good work done. But if there was peace in Parliament, there was not much of it in evidence elsewhere. And, in some parts of the country, there was much trouble. While the fate of Bombay State hung in the balance, there had been rioting and arson and many other forms of misbehaviour in Bombay City and in parts of Maharashtra.[14] When Parliament came to a decision about this great composite State of Bombay, Gujarat and especially the city of Ahmedabad witnessed a wave of resentment and angry denunciation.[15] Even in this peaceful and disciplined State, nurtured by Gandhiji and afterwards by Sardar Patel, rioting raised its ugly head and was followed in some places by police firing and deaths. As usual, the original cause of dissatisfaction receded into the background and this firing and death became a major issue to rouse the people. Some, who developed the habit of trying to fish in troubled waters, rushed to the scene from other parts of India and added fuel to the fire.[16]

6. It would, however, be wrong to imagine that some outsiders created this crisis in Ahmedabad and Gujarat. There can be little doubt that the decision of Parliament came as a shock to the people there chiefly because of its suddenness and lack of mental preparation for it. There was an element of anger that the people of Gujarat could be ignored and bypassed and an impression that this was done to please others. This, of course, was not true. Circumstances, as I have said above, forced the pace of events in Parliament and we had to come to a quick decision. There could be no postponement of the issue at the last moment. The open trouble in Ahmedabad has subsided, but it appears that the minds of many are still agitated and those who seek trouble can take advantage of this disquiet.

7. I have written to you on several occasions about this growth of the spirit of violence, almost bordering on anarchy, which has been so evident in India during

14. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 31, pp. 153 and 209 and Vol. 32, pp. 180-181.
15. See *ante*, p. 41.
16. A.K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Party in the Lok Sabha, Parvati Krishnan, Communist Party member in the Rajya Sabha, N.C. Chatterjee, President, All India Hindu Mahasabha, and H.V. Kamath, Praja Socialist Party leader, went to Ahmedabad to study the situation in the city. A.K. Gopalan was arrested on 17 August for addressing a meeting at Sarangpur in Ahmedabad.

the past year or so. The question of States Reorganization brought it to a head. But there have been other instances also. What happened in Gujarat was politically painful, because it was least expected. Why did we fail in our appraisal of the situation there? Are we so out of touch with the feelings and passions of our people? I cannot imagine that such an upheaval can take place suddenly and merely because of anger and a new turn of events. There must have been other and more long-standing causes which came to a head because of this apparent provocation. We may blame others and our judgement might be justified. But two facts stand out; one is this disastrous tendency to violence and destruction; other is the gulf between many of our people, and especially the younger generation, and the Government or the Congress or the older generation of leaders.

8. I think that we must give the most earnest thought to these matters and not merely rest content by blaming others. Introspection and a searching of heart by all of us is necessary. Wherein have we erred and what wrong steps have we taken? I believe we have worked hard and to the best of our ability and we have not spared ourselves. And yet somehow the spirit of violence and evil stalks over the land.

9. In the Punjab, there is occasional recrudescence of the senseless agitation against the regional formula.[17] A greater folly I cannot imagine. This takes the shape of personal violence. I think, however, that the mischief-makers in the Punjab are confined to some elements in a few cities, and the mass of the people have shown little sympathy with them. This Maha Punjab agitation is the quintessence of narrow communalism which we have fought in the past and will have to fight in the future.

10. There has been yet another and rather an alarming exhibition of communalism in Northern India. You know of the agitation against the book *Religious Leaders*.[18] I can understand people objecting to some passages in that book and drawing attention to them. But, there was something much deeper, and it was obvious that mischief was afoot and had been deliberately organized. The offending passages were broadcast in cyclostyled papers by the very persons who objected to them. Demonstrations and riots took place, and these were met by counter-demonstrations and riots. Some students of the Aligarh University

17. On 8 and 9 September, the supporters of Maha Punjab movement clashed with Congressmen at Jalandhar and Amritsar.
18. See *ante*, pp. 253-271.

played a disgraceful part in this agitation.[19] Their retiring Vice-Chancellor, Dr Zakir Husain, has described this in stronger language than anyone else can use.[20] Some of the accounts that came from Aligarh about the students' behaviour were exaggerated. But, what actually happened was bad enough. As usual, Muslim communalism led to Hindu communalism taking the offensive. In the result, inevitably, many suffered.

11. But, this exhibition of communalism had another and a dangerous aspect, in so far as some Muslims were concerned. The slogans that were raised were not only anti-national, but also treasonable. It is said that some people had come from Pakistan and had incited others to misbehave. This may be partly true, but there are enough people in India who can be expected to misbehave in this way. Some newspapers in Delhi itself and in other parts of North India are full of communal poison, both Muslim and Hindu. Communal organizations, which seem to lie low, suddenly raise their ugly heads whenever some incident occurs. The Hindu communal organizations are well known, and the Jana Sangh has now assumed some kind of leadership in mischief. Among the Muslims , the old Muslim League still exists in Malabar,[21] though it has faded out from the rest of India. The Islami Jamaat[22] is now the most aggressive organization of this type, issuing speeches and writings of a venomous kind. The freedom of the Press and of speech and our democratic Constitution spread out their wide umbrella to cover all this evil brood.

12. Probably, much of this trouble, as well as that connected with the States Reorganization, is due to the approaching general elections. All our opposition parties want to cash in whenever trouble occurs, in the hope that this will pay them dividends when the time for voting comes. Opposition is justified in taking advantage of the mistakes of Government. But it is sad to see how some of these people belonging to opposition parties, in their over-eager desire for an election success, forget some of the basic principles and decencies that should cover public life in India. They talk of joint fronts against the Congress, and the Socialists and the communalists and the Communists, all try to club up together against the Congress and the Government, each feeling too weak to stand on its own feet. Whatever happens, a chorus of voices is raised to condemn Government.

19. See *ante*, p. 264.
20. On 18 September 1956, Zakir Husain expressed disappointment and shock at the "disgraceful manner" in which the students of Aligarh Muslim University had behaved. He said: "I am sure that your action should have caused pain to the soul of the Prophet."
21. See *ante*, p. 9.
22. See *ante*, p. 257.

13. A recent article in the *Manchester Guardian* by their correspondent in India, who is no particular friend of the Government or the Congress, brought out this significant feature in the Indian landscape. It pointed out how Government is anxious to protect the minorities and show tenderness to opposing groups. It gave numerous instances of how Government had behaved so as not to cause offence, and then it goes on to say: "The only body of people who can be criticized in India with absolute immunity, is the Government; call them corrupt, inefficient, dictatorial, or Communist, and they will turn the other cheek". I suppose we do not always turn the other cheek but I think there is much truth in this statement. The great game not only for people in the opposition, but for many others is to join in a chorus of condemnation of Government. This does not require any thinking or high degree of intellect or knowledge of facts. Mr Appleby, whose report you must have read,[23] expressed his amazement at this aspect of India's life. Having praised our achievement and stated that the achievements visible here are enormous and of a size and quality probably never before or elsewhere approached together, he goes on to say: "India has been both building and serving democratic values while at the same time engaging in a monumental programme of economic development. Facing tremendous need and many great difficulties, both primary objectives have been served convincingly with vision, wisdom and hard practical performance. The two Five Year Plans have been brilliantly conceived in their analyses of needs and their balancing of values.... Most of the Programmatic fields have been well directed, and the Community Development Programme as a whole has been successful far beyond any reasonable expectation."

14. Having paid this handsome tribute, he goes on to say: "Yet, in the face of these achievements, one finds in Parliament, in the Press, in the universities and in many conversations that citizens of pretension, cultivation and influence voice criticisms which tend to suggest a sense of failure and a lack of confidence. Criticisms.... are made in such sweeping and extravagant terms and in terms so little recognizing the nature and means to administrative improvement, as to be damaging and threatening of increasing damage to India's great march forward. One is moved to observe that India's greatest need is for a sense of certainty concerning her own success."

15. We have encouraged opposition and criticism and even many kinds of action which few countries would tolerate. I think we have been right in doing so. But it is time that people realized that politics and economics or any kind of

23. The second report of the American expert Paul H. Appleby was tabled in Parliament on 13 August 1956. See also *ante*, pp. 180-197.

progress or democracy in India are not served by violence, indecency and vulgarity. We have to face difficult and serious problems which require capacity for thought, restraint and sustained action. We stand out in the world as a mature nation possessing some degree of wisdom, and yet, we see this infantile and unintelligent behaviour which rejoices the hearts of our enemies.

16. I do not wish to give you a pessimistic and unbalanced picture of India. If I have stressed one unfortunate and distressful aspect, I should like you to remember other and far more important ones. Think of the mighty works that are being carried on in all parts of India by the people of India; of our brilliant young men and women who are working in our scientific laboratories and institutes; of the new and ever-growing army of our engineers and technicians who are building this new India; of our young men in our armed forces who fill me with pride whenever I see them and find them intelligent, keen-minded and courageous; of the tens of thousands of our workers in the Community Development Schemes who are filled with enthusiasm and a crusading spirit in the great task of changing rural India; of many of our younger civil servants who at an early stage carry heavy responsibilities; and indeed of the masses of the people of India working over this vast land and keeping this great machine going. Instead of appreciating and encouraging this work, some of our people are bent on running down not only the Government, but their country and all their country-men, and on creating an atmosphere of defeatism and frustration.

17. I have laid stress on the bad side not because it is dominant, but because even a little evil carries its poison far and we have to bc aware of it so that we can meet its menace. Nothing is more dangerous than complacency and self-righteousness and living in one's own shell regardless of changing conditions and the new thoughts and urges that fill the new generation. Most of us belong to a passing generation. We have grown up under different conditions and have been moulded by other forces. Now, even the struggle for India's freedom, which meant so much to us, is past history and its most moving episodes are hardly remembered by the new generation. And yet, it is the new generation which will have to carry the burden of India tomorrow.

18. I spoke the other day[24] about this new world that is rapidly growing around us, the new world of science and technology and engineering. In the measure we fit in with this new world, we shall progress. Old slogans have ceased to have much meaning today. The new world requires new minds and new thinking and new training. It is going to be a world primarily of the votaries of science

24. Replying to a debate on the Second Five Year Plan in Lok Sabha on 13 September 1956.

and the experts in technology and engineering and the infinite progeny of science. While this new world is gradually taking shape, the hard shell of the old encloses it and prevents its growth.

19. I have often told you that the biggest revolutionary change that is taking place in India is in our rural areas through our Community Development schemes. I do not mean to imply that every Community Project or NES block is an example to glorify; but by and large, these projects and blocks are bringing about revolutionary changes in our countryside. In recognition of this fact and also because it has become essential to ally this vital movement with food production, we have constituted a separate Ministry to deal with Community Development.[25] Shri S.K. Dey, the dynamic Administrator of these Community Schemes, now becomes the Minister in charge, working in close cooperation with the Food and Agriculture Ministry.

20. This is a significant step which indicates our new outlook—the importance we attach to Community Development as well as the vital necessity of increasing food production. I have written to you often in regard to the essential nature of this problem and I want you and all your Ministers, and more especially your Ministers of Agriculture, to realize their responsibility in this matter. It is round this growth in food and agricultural produce that we shall not only build up the prosperity of our peasantry and the stability of our agrarian economy, but provide the means for the development of our industry.

21. There is another important point for us to bear in mind and this relates to cooperation. There is much talk of cooperation and we have had some reports from China and other countries. What exactly is cooperation? In its essence, it is not merely an organization to provide credit, but a social movement, a means by which social changes are brought about. Therefore, essentially, it must be a people's movement and not something imposed from above. In the past, the cooperative movement in India did not prosper greatly because it was too official and too much tied up with intricate rules which impeded growth. We want to make it a vital movement, a voluntary growth from the village upwards. It is round the village multi-purpose cooperative, the panchayat and the school that the life of the village should revolve. That will be the foundation of democracy and self-reliant growth.

22. There may be larger cooperatives. But if these lose touch with the village and become too much controlled by officials from above, then they will lose the real spirit that we wish to evolve. During the last two or three years, there has been some growth in small cooperatives in the Community Project and NES

25.The Ministry of Community Development was constituted on 20 September 1956.

areas. I am told that about a million and a half families have associated themselves in these village cooperatives without any special help. This shows that where the right lead is given, the response is good.

23. The next five years, indeed the next two or three years, are vital for our food and agriculture. We should aim at doubling our food production within ten years. I am convinced that this is a feasible proposition, if it is tackled through these Community Schemes and in an intensive way. Real progress depends on intensive cultivation and not on more land being cultivated. If more land is available, certainly it should be cultivated. But, I do hope that this will not be at the expense of our forests which are so necessary for our well-being. We have to approach this problem in a methodical way, and each Community block must draw up its own programme of development and spread it out to each family in that area.

24. Whether it is in regard to food production or any other activity, we have to go down to each family. It is not enough for governments to pass fine laws or issue good instructions. They have to reach the cultivator or the worker or the professional man and to be implemented by them. Fortunately, we have now got a very fine organization reaching down to the village—the Community Project and NES. We can use that organization for any purpose, provided always that we can explain our objectives to the peasant and gain his willing support.

25. I have laid stress on food production through the Community Schemes. But this does not mean that we should give up the other activities of the Community Projects or the NES. It is these activities that enthuse the people and create a feeling of pride and confidence in them. In the final analysis, it is this feeling of pride and self-reliance that counts.

26. Even as we have to approach each family for our food production programme, we have to do so for our State loans[26] and savings scheme.[27] The recent success of the State loans, on which I should like to congratulate you, has indicated what great reserves we have in our people if we can tap them. In the States where the approach was made to the family, the results have been startlingly successful. I should like to congratulate specially the States of Madras and Andhra.

26. During 1953-54, eleven States floated loans for an aggregate amount of Rs 31 crores. All these loans, bearing an interest of 4 per cent, matured in 1963.

27. On 19 April 1954, the Government of India floated the National Plan Loan, 1964, for an unspecified amount to meet the requirements of both the Central and State Governments. As part of this Loan, a series of Ten Year Savings Certificates was issued on 19 May 1954. If held to maturity, these certificates were to yield a simple interest of 4 ½ per cent per annum free of income-tax. See also *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 26, p. 40.

27. I have written to you at great length about our domestic matters. And yet, all these internal developments are closely tied up with external happenings. If there is war, all our plans are shattered. If our exports and imports cannot go through the Suez Canal, all our estimates and planning are powerfully affected. The Suez Canal issue is thus not merely an important world issue in which we take interest, but something intimately related to our own work and future. We have struggled hard to help where we can in lessening tension and in moving the chief parties concerned towards a negotiated settlement. A superficial view would indicate that the differences between the two viewpoints are much too wide apart to be bridged. But, on closer analysis, you will see that the gap is not in reality so wide. The real difficulty is not the Suez Canal but all the fears and apprehensions, the vested interests and the new urges that lie behind it. There is oil, of course, which runs the modern world, and there is the conflict between the rising Arab nationalism and such elements of Western control as still exist in those areas.

28. I think that war is not likely to come now. But, it must be remembered that we were on the verge of war some days ago. Even now, the danger is not past. What is more likely, however, is the continuation of a cold war in this region, with all its tensions and inevitable losses. Mr Dulles talks of converting the Suez Canal into a "dry ditch" by sending ships round the Cape of Good Hope.[28] As I write, the conference of some principal users' countries is meeting in London,[29] and our colleague, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon, is in consultation with President Nasser in Cairo. I do not know if you had occasion to read Krishna Menon's speeches at the London Conference which was held last month.[30] These speeches were important because they brought out clearly what the position was.[31] As a representative of India, he carries a great responsibility in this matter, and we must all wish him success in helping to bridge the gulf that exists.

29. Any failure to do so means a new and indefinite period of conflict. This may not be a big scale war to begin with, but it will upset much that is happening

28. At a press conference in Washington on 13 September.
29. Eighteen nations met in London on 19 September to form the Suez Canal Users' Association to ensure the users' right of navigation and control over the canal.
30. From 16 to 23 August 1956. For more details see *ante*, pp. 389-390.
31. Disagreeing with the US plan, which called for a system of international control of the canal by the users, Krishna Menon proposed that a consultative body should help Egypt in keeping control.

in the world and keep us on the verge of a big war. Egypt, of course, might suffer, but I think the Western Powers would ultimately suffer much more because they have much more to loose.

30. In another four days' time, I am going to Saudi Arabia for a brief visit. This was fixed up long ago, and has nothing to do with the Suez Canal. In India, we are going to have a multitude of distinguished visitors during this winter season. Among them are the Emperor of Ethiopia,[32] the President of Syria,[33] the President of Lebanon,[34] the President of Indonesia,[35] possibly Premier Chou En-lai of China,[36] Vice-Premier Chen Yi[37] of China,[38] the Prime Minister of Poland,[39] the Prime Minister of Nepal[40] and Lord and Lady Attlee.[41] This is a formidable list. And, then there will be many distinguished visitors for our UNESCO Conference[42] and Buddha Jayanti celebrations.[43] Many of these eminent guests of ours will travel about India and may visit your State. In the past, you have been good enough to give your cooperation in welcoming these guests. I hope you will do so again. You will, of course, be informed of their programmes as soon as these have been prepared.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. Haile Selassie visited India from 25 to 27 October 1956.
33. Sayed Shukri Quwatly visited India from 17 to 21 January 1957.
34. The visit by Camille Chamoun did not take place.
35. Ahmed Soekarno could not visit India on this occasion.
36. Chou En-lai visited India from 28 November to 10 December 1956.
37. (1901-1972); Chinese soldier and politician; studied in France and was active in socialist movements, 1919-21; founded the Chungking newspaper *Hsin Shu Pao*, 1921; joined the Communist Party of China, 1923; held important military positions in the wars against the Japanese and the nationalists, 1927-49; Mayor of Shanghai, 1949-58; Vice-Premiere of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council, 1954-58; Deputy Premiere and Foreign Minister, 1958-68; dropped from Politburo during the Cultural Revolution, 1969.
38. His proposed visit to India was postponed.
39. Josef Cyrankiewicz visited India from 24 March to 3 April 1957.
40. Tanka Prasad Acharya visited India from 3 to 18 December 1956.
41. Clement Richard Attlee and his wife visited India from 11 November to 13 December 1956.
42. The ninth session of the UNESCO General Conference was held at New Delhi from 5 November to 5 December 1956. See *ante*, pp. 537-541.
43. As part of Buddha Jayanti celebrations, an international symposium was organized in New Delhi from 26 to 29 November 1956. See *post*, pp. 619-624.

II

New Delhi
14 October 1956

My dear Chief Minister,

As I write to you this letter, the city of Delhi is awaiting, with a good deal of apprehension, the rapid advance of the swollen Jamuna river.[1] This flood is coming nearer and nearer like an army bent on aggression. We have had enough notice of it, and such steps as can be taken have been taken. The various embankments have been strengthened and are guarded night and day by our Sappers and Miners in case any breach occurs. Large low-lying areas have been evacuated both by cattle and human beings.

2. Because of these precautions, perhaps, the damage that is likely to occur will be limited. In Delhi we are in a position to take rapid measures of protection, even though they may not be wholly adequate, for nature in its fury is still stronger than man's effort. But vast areas in India, more especially the rural areas and the small towns, have no such protective apparatus. And today a good part of North and East India has been converted into a sea.[2] I am told that, flying from Kashmir to Delhi, one finds these wide stretches of water as soon as one leaves the mountains. So also, in going from Delhi to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. Here in Delhi and, no doubt, in many other places there has been incessant and continuous rain, as at the height of the monsoon. Today was the first more or less clear day after a long interval.

3. From all reports received, the damage done in West Bengal, in Uttar Pradesh and in Bihar by these rains and floods has been enormous. Areas which are used to periodical floods, as in northern Bihar, have, to some extent, adapted themselves to this recurring disaster. On this occasion, however, vast areas which were unused to floods and unprepared for them have suffered this calamity,[3]

1. On 13 October, eight Delhi villages were flooded. 50,000 people were evacuated from the low-lying areas.
2. Due to heavy rains in September-October 1956, the States of Punjab, Pepsu, Delhi, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal were flooded. Considerable damage was caused to crops, cattle and houses.
3. Floods being an uncommon occurrence in South Bihar, both the Government and the people were caught unawares. According to official reports, about 20,000 square miles were inundated and 14 lakh people were affected up to the end of August. In September, even greater damage took place. In Tirhut division alone, an area of 23,000 square miles was submerged affecting a population of 19.53 lakhs.

and I am told that, in West Bengal[4] and parts of Uttar Pradesh[5] specially, thousands of villages are today represented by just rubble and mounds of earth. Behind this unleashing of the waters, lies human misery and great loss of our crops which are of vital importance to us. Immediately, the problem always is to give food and some improvised shelter to these shelterless human beings. But we have to think at the same time of what to do about them in the future. It is not much good allowing them to build their mud huts again in the same places and thus inviting disaster afresh. Perhaps, from a long term point of view, this disaster may be an advantage as it gives us an opportunity to fashion our villages in a better way and thus, to put an end to the miserable hovels in which our people have lived for so long. That is a vast undertaking. And yet, there is no escape from it. And why indeed should we try to escape, however big the task?

4. We have, therefore, to think from now onwards of this broader planning of our villages. The first thing to remember is that a village should be situated on higher ground so that the houses might escape the recurring floods. This has been done, I believe, to some extent, in the past few years in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and the results have been satisfactory. It has to be done now on a much bigger scale. Secondly, the building of houses and other structures in the village must be done in a planned and hygienic way. Each village should have at least one decent and biggish building which can serve as a school or as a community centre or, in times of emergency, as a refuge.

5. Just at the time when we had to face many difficult problems in connection with our Second Five Year Plan and the economic situation, we have to face this rather overwhelming situation. Perhaps, it is as well that we have to do so because this may help to put a new vitality into us to meet the challenge of nature by the challenge of our manhood.

6. Since I wrote to you last, I have paid a brief visit to Saudi Arabia.[6] This was a new type of country for me, new not because it was largely desert, but because of the impact of dollars and a money economy on an ancient, simple and virile people. I saw a great deal of construction, big solid buildings growing up and broad roads being built, where there had been small straggling towns containing chiefly mud houses. These new houses were full of airconditioners and electric coolers and many other gadgets which contrasted strangely with the bare and

4. See *ante*, pp. 244-246.
5. Eighteen villages were marooned in north-west Uttar Pradesh and army help was sought for rescuing people to safer places. On the whole, floods claimed 46 lives in Uttar Pradesh.
6. See *ante*, pp. 485-494.

bleak country around. I was given a very friendly and cordial welcome not only by the King,[7] but by the people wherever I went, and I liked the people. But always, I was thinking of how this intrusion for dollars would affect the life of the people, and I was not a little apprehensive that that effect might not be all for the good. Indeed, I mentioned it to my hosts there and asked them if there was not any danger of the people growing soft and losing the qualities which had enabled them to maintain their freedom and their distinctive way of living. The desert, like the mountains, breeds hardy people. They have to contend against the harsher aspects of nature and their very survival demands physical toughness and a capacity for endurance. Civilization has developed chiefly in the richer valleys and the plains where nature is soft and man has had greater leisure to lead an easier life. But that easy life itself has led to a softening of his fibre, even though there has been intellectual growth.

7. In Saudi Arabia there is not only the great and inhospitable desert, but also the stern, puritanical tenets of the Wahabi sect of Islam, to which the ruling family belongs. In theory and, presumably, in practice, the law is the old Mosaic Law as interpreted by the Muslim law-givers of old in the Shariat. It is a hard law which does not deal leniently with a transgressor. It is perhaps not difficult to impose such a law in the broad stretches of the desert where life is simple and temptations are extremely limited. What will happen when life becomes complicated and temptations grow with the advent of what is called modern civilization? How long will the old restraints continue then? The other Arab countries—Syria, Lebanon and Egypt—have had a taste of modern civilization to a far greater extent and, in the course of a hundred and fifty years or so, have gradually adapted themselves to it. In Saudi Arabia the impact is sudden and is likely to be overwhelming.

8. Arabia covers a vast area, almost as big as India. And yet, the population of Saudi Arabia is estimated to be (there has never been any census) about six or seven millions only. Gradually, a good part of this population is drifting to the major towns which are growing rapidly. It is not easy for the Bedouin with nomadic habits to settle down anywhere. The present King's father[8] encouraged the Bedouin tribes to settle and, to some extent, succeeded. Even so, the Bedouins felt more at home in their tents than in solid houses. Now, as a result of the discovery of oil and its consequences, this movement is much faster. Oil gushes out from innumerable pumps and is sent to the ends of the earth, bringing dollars in return. The dollars again are sent abroad to purchase luxury cars and consumer

7. King Saud Abdul Aziz.
8. Ibn Saud (1880-1953); King of Saudi Arabia, 1932-53.

goods of all descriptions. I do not think that much thought has been given yet to the development of industry. The basic products of Arabia today are dates and oil. I have little doubt that after this first flush of excitement is over, the problems of industrial development will follow. Meanwhile, there is this reaction from age-old restraint and hard living and a desire for the comforts and luxuries of life. Schools are being put up rather slowly, and some attention is being paid to defence installations.

9. Oil has brought wealth to Arabia. But there is a distinct possibility of something even more valuable than oil changing the face of this great country. This is water. There is drilling for water and engineers have found it, deep down below the surface, about 14000 meters which, I believe, is nearly a mile. It is said with some confidence, though there is no certainty yet, that far below this great desert there is a vast sea of water, hundreds of miles long. If this great reservoir is tapped adequately, it will have a tremendous effect on this country which has been a desert for ages past.

10. My visit to Arabia was a great experience for me which I liked. It had also certain desirable political consequences and brought our country and Saudi Arabia a little nearer to one another. Arabia, though backward and undeveloped, still remains the ancient homeland of the Arab race and it was from Arabia that they spread out more than 1300 years ago to conquer vast stretches of Africa and the Eurasian continent. Not only because of the holy places of Islam being situated in Arabia, and the annual haj pilgrimage which brings large numbers of Muslims to Mecca, but because of innumerable emotional attachments, it has a great pull on Muslims everywhere. Politically, it has some importance of course, but Egypt is at present and has been for some time the premier Arab country. The newspapers of Cairo go all over the Arab world and they have a much larger circulation than Indian newspapers. Egypt, as well as Lebanon and Syria, have been the meeting places of modern Europe with the Arab world and Western Asia. In a sense, it has been a meeting place for many centuries. The old Crusades were fought in what is Palestine and Syria and Lebanon now. Most of us have read about these Crusades from books written by Western authors with a natural bent towards the Christian West against the Islamic East. More neutral accounts have rather tilted this balance and shown that Western Asia was more developed and civilized at the time of Crusades than Europe. In fact, the main effect of the Crusades, apart from the final defeat of the Crusaders, was the influence of Western Asian civilization on Europe. Many arts and even luxuries crept into Europe then.

11. There was another powerful influence on Europe coming from Arab Spain. Cordoba was a great centre of philosophy, medicine and arts and sciences during the middle ages when Europe was supposed to be going through a period of

intellectual darkness. Professors from Cordoba went to the Sorbonne in Paris and to other great universities of Europe. Even today Spain bears the impress of the long period of Arab rule there.

12. After a bright period, during which Baghdad and Cordoba were the centres of civilization and culture, there was decay. The Arabs were driven out from Spain, and the Arab empire, of which Baghdad was the Capital, went to pieces. It did not recover. The Ottoman Turks came there and the period of Turkish rule of the Arab countries in Western Asia was not noted for any growth or advance and the Arabs were treated as a subject race by the Turks. The Europeans then came there, as they came to many other parts of Asia, and established their dominion. The new and vital Europe with its growing science and industrial civilization became dominant. In Syria and Lebanon the influence was chiefly French. In Egypt it was British.

13. An American University in Beirut[9] played an important part in not only building up a new middle class but also helped in reviving Arabic as a literary language. In this way Cairo and Beirut and Damascus became the new centres of a mixed culture which affected other Arab lands. Even today university trained people from Cairo and Beirut spread out over Arabia and other Arab countries as engineers, doctors, teachers, etc.

14. I should like to make clear that Arabia and Saudi Arabia are not synonymous terms. Saudi Arabia is of course for the biggest part of Arabia, but there are other independent or semi-independent States also. When I was at Riyadh,[10] the Capital, and Jeddah,[11] the port on the Red Sea. I was not far from the Suez Canal. This issue was dominant. The very day I reached Riyadh President Nasser left some hours before I arrived there.[12] He had come for a consultation with King Saud. Some people thought it rather odd that he should not have waited for my arrival there. As a matter of fact, President Nasser sent a message to me that he would gladly stay on to meet me and he did not wish to appear discourteous by going away in a hurry. I replied to him that I quite understood

9. It was founded by the American Protestant Mission to Lebanon in 1863 as an autonomous organization. Its educational philosophy was similar to that of an American university, but its programme was adapted to the educational needs of the Middle East. Students were mainly drawn from the Arab countries and North Africa.
10. From 24 to 26 September 1956.
11. On 26 and 27 September 1956.
12. President Nasser met the Syrian President and the King of Saudi Arabia from 22 to 24 September 1956 to discuss the Suez Canal issue.

the position and he need not stay on. There would be no misunderstanding on my part if he went back to his other duties. In fact, I suggested that he might do so. I was not going to Saudi Arabia for a tripartite conference.

15. This brings me to the problem of the Suez Canal which has been a dominant international issue during the past two and a half months. We have just heard that some temporary agreement has been arrived at on some basic issues between Egypt on the one hand and the Western countries on the other in the Security Council.[13] This does not take us very far, and yet it is an important development and one can hardly conceive now of a complete break in the future. I need not tell you that in this matter India has played a part which has been considerable though rather behind the scenes. The attitude of Egypt, throughout these negotiations has appeared to me to be restrained and reasonable. It is on the other side that there has been lack of restraint. Whatever one may think of the original and rather sudden action of Egypt in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company overnight,[14] subsequent to that Egypt has functioned with commendable moderation. We have been in close touch with the Egyptian Government, and, as you know, Shri V.K. Krishna Menon has undertaken arduous journeys on our behalf. He is now in New York. We have not at any time tried to impose any viewpoint upon Egypt, but have attempted to explore various possibilities of settlement, always keeping in view Egyptian sovereignty and national interest. We are, of course, anxious and eager to prevent any warlike developments as well as to see that the Suez Canal functions properly.

16. I have found in some newspapers that a curious charge has been brought against me to the effect that I wrote to President Tito criticizing Egypt's action because it was said not to fit in with our Brioni statement. This charge is without foundation. We have naturally been in intimate touch not only with Egypt, but with Yugoslavia and some of our neighbour countries. It is our practice to keep in touch with them whenever any important occasion arises.

17. Two or three days ago, an unfortunate leakage took place in Delhi of the letter Mr Black, President of the World Bank, wrote to our Finance Minister.[15] We decided that the whole correspondence should be released and you may

13. See *ante*, p. 494 fn 4.

14. On 26 July 1956.

15. In his letter to the Finance Minister T.T. Krishnamachari on 5 September 1956, Eugene R. Black cautioned against the Government's excessive reliance on deficit financing, and the priority given to development through public sector and ambitious planning. He feared that these might force the Bank not to recommend further loans to India. See also *ante*, pp. 567-569.

have seen Mr Black's letter and our Finance Minister's reply.[16] These have attracted much attention both in some foreign countries and in India. Mr Black raises an important question of basic policy. He is, as is to be expected, firmly committed to private enterprise in the development of a country. He does not approve of our socialistic tendencies and State ownership of industrial undertakings. That represents the fundamental outlook in the United States of America. It is not for us to criticize what may be good or bad for the United States, but we have accepted the goal of socialism in India, not just for some idealistic and ideological reasons, but rather for strictly practical considerations. It is true that we are governed, and rightly so, by idealistic reasons also. But our whole approach has been pragmatic and we have not accepted any dogma.

18. Nearly two years ago, we adopted, at the Avadi Congress[17] as well as in Parliament,[18] the socialist pattern of society as our goal. That was not a sudden decision, but a natural development of our thinking and our national movement. Ever since the twenties, the Congress had been favourably inclined towards socialistic ideas. It is true that Congress thinking was rather vague and not precise, and was governed chiefly by idealistic considerations and a desire to raise the under-privileged and to eliminate vested interests and the big differences between various classes and groups in the country. Some Congressmen, undoubtedly, thought more precisely and definitely about this socialist pattern. When the Socialist Party was formed within the Congress twenty years ago,[19] this did not mean that the rest of the Congress was against socialism.

19. There has been much confusion not only in India but elsewhere about the content of socialism and the methods to be adopted to achieve it. Outside India, even the communist version of socialism and the way to achieve it, which have been rigid dogmas, are in process of undergoing some change. In the Soviet Union, there is greater flexibility in approach, and in the other communist countries of eastern Europe there is a new ferment of ideas. Members of the

16. In his reply on 16 September, Krishnamachari said that, "nobody need have any anxiety on the score of the financial stability of India being imperilled". According to him, the Government's policies were sound, the State enterprises were more efficient than the private ones, and it was not lack of internal finance but shortage of foreign exchange that effected the rapid development of the economy
17. For the resolution adopted on 21 January 1955, see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 279-283.
18. In the Lok Sabha on 21 December 1954. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 27, pp. 350-364.
19. The Congress Socialist Party was formed on 17 May 1934. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 6, p. 285.

Communist Party of India, bred up in subservience to rigid dogmas, have been rather at sea because of these developments.

20. The Socialist Party led by Dr Lohia can hardly be taken seriously, either in its objectives or its methods.[20] The Praja Socialist Party, which is still supposed to represent the main stream of socialist thought in India, has displayed, in recent times, an amazing confusion of ideas. Indeed, in some ways, their prominent leaders like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan have drifted away from the basic tenets of socialism. Some raise their voices against State ownership and condemn it as State capitalism. Some even equate democracy with private enterprise and, thus, indicate some kind of a basic conflict between socialism and democracy. The old socialist view has been, on the other hand, that there is an inherent conflict between democracy and capitalism, and democracy can only find fulfilment when it extends itself from the political field to the economic field.

21. About a week ago, I sent you a letter in which a reference was made to the Democratic Research Service of Bombay.[21] This organization, which is sponsored and largely financed from foreign sources, has started some kind of a campaign in favour of private enterprise as opposed to socialism. In doing so, they run down our Government's policies and measures and take refuge in some statements of PSP leaders. It is very extraordinary that the party which should have primarily represented socialist thought in this country has become so confused in its thinking and is used in this way by anti-socialist elements.

22. I think it is important that there should be clear thinking. Words and slogans often lose their original meaning and, to some extent, even get rather out of date because of changes. We cannot allow ourselves to become victims of slogans without thinking out clearly what they mean in present circumstances. Unfortunately, people in all parties, including the Congress, are far too much in the habit of allowing a phrase or a slogan to take the place of thought. Because of this, the Communists have become quite out of date in spite of their brave professions. Such reputation and prestige as they have is largely derived from the achievements of the Soviet Union or of China. Members of the Socialist Parties in India, equally, seem to live in a bygone age. So do, let us admit, most Congressmen.

23. It is no easy matter to define socialism precisely, for socialists themselves differ in their definitions. I do not propose to enter into this rather complicated question in this letter, but I should like to point out some broad considerations which we should have in view. Some people think that socialism means an

20. See *ante*, p. 19.
21. For the letter dated 8 October 1956 see *ante*, p. 206.

egalitarian society, that is, equality for everybody and nothing more. Socialism certainly aims at a removal of differences and equal opportunities for all. But socialism is much more than this. The very word came into use after the Industrial Revolution had ushered in modern capitalism. It was in fact a child, as capitalism was, of the Industrial Revolution which for the first time rapidly increased the productive apparatus of society and therefore added greatly to the available wealth. For the first time in human history the prospect of a measure of well-being for everybody came into view and various theories were advanced how to achieve it. Marx studied the early days of capitalism with remarkable insight and prophesied that there would be progressively an accumulation of wealth in ever fewer hands and greater misery for ever larger numbers of people. This would ultimately result in a revolution ushering in the communist era. Indeed, he expected this revolution to take place every time there was some crisis in capitalism.

24. Marx has been proved right in his analysis in many ways, but he has also been proved wrong in other ways. Capitalism has survived and prospered and even resulted in much higher standards for the industrialized communities of the West. But it is true that the new stage of capitalism, though markedly different from the old stage, bears out the Marxian analysis in so far as it is leading to big monopolies. In the highly industrialized countries a few huge combines have developed and wield enormous power. The main argument in favour of private enterprise was that it encouraged large-scale competition. With the development of these monopolies, the sphere of competition becomes lesser and lesser and the self-regulating character of the old competitive economy ceases to function.

25. In spite of the growth of monopoly capitalism, to some extent capitalism has been kept in check by two developments which were not before Marx. One is the development of democratic government leading to adult franchise; the other is the development of powerful trade unions in the industrialized countries. Both these have helped in improving the standards of the common man and in checking the predatory character of capitalism. Thus, while capitalism has undergone a considerable change, the conception of socialism also has to be adapted to new conditions. So long as private monopolies remain, it is not possible for any socialist structure of society to develop. It be mes essential, therefore, for society to control the major means of production and to prevent these monopolies from developing. And yet, the very nature of capitalism, aided by continuing technological progress, is to develop these monopolies.

26. Another aspect which is to be borne in mind is the terrific pace of technological growth and the release of new sources of power, finally culminating in atomic energy. While it was bad enough for monopoly capitalism to wield great influence previously, and in fact to grow bigger and bigger, the prospect

of this new source of power being controlled by it brings grave dangers.

27. The result of all this is that even in the highly industrialized countries capitalism, while changing considerably, has reached a stage of monopoly utilizing the latest technology to increase its power to a degree which might in future endanger society as a whole. In India, the position is not so developed and is different. It would be folly for us to pursue a path which leads to these dangers and deadlocks.

28. We have, I think, adopted a wise course in trying to keep this basic factor in view and yet allowing private enterprise to develop in the secondary fields which are not of strategic importance. Gradually, the public sector will grow both absolutely and relatively, and the whole economy of the country will be controlled by it. It is interesting to compare what is happening in a number of other countries in Asia, more especially Western Asia, with what we have done in India. Very large sums of money have been given to these countries as aid or as profit from oil production. These sums have been spent in some improvements, some development of light industries and an increasing consumption of consumer goods. There has been no basic change in the general level of the people. Nor has any foundation been laid for any future progress. In effect these large sums have been largely wasted. We must learn from this.

29. I am sorry to inflict these theoretical arguments upon you. I was impelled to do so because of Mr Black's letter. I realize that what I have said is rather superficial and very incomplete. What I wanted to do, however, was to induce people to think about these problems so that we can give a greater content to our ideas of socialism. Those ideas can no longer be merely utopian. They have to be based on some logical and scientific appraisal of conditions as they are today.

30. I am going to Assam for four days early next week. The month of November is going to be a very heavy month for us in Delhi and elsewhere with the UNESCO Conference and the visits of many eminent guests from abroad. Some of these guests will, no doubt, visit other parts of India also.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11
MISCELLANEOUS

1. Netaji Inquiry Committee Report[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru: I beg to lay on the Table a copy of the Netaji Inquiry Committee Report.[2]

Copies of this will be available to Members in the Notice Office. They can take them there. As the House will remember, three members were appointed to this Committee. All the three went to various places, and more especially, Japan and took the evidence of a very large number of persons, in fact, almost every person who could be traced and who had some relevant information. In this matter, they were greatly helped by the Japanese Government, and I should like to express my gratitude to the Japanese Government for all the cooperation and assistance that they gave to this Committee in this business.

On their return, they prepared this Report. Before the Report was prepared, a certain list of agreed points and conclusions was made and signed by the three members. I am mentioning this because the whole Report now is a report of two members of the Committee. The third member, Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, when the Report was under preparation but after the points had been agreed to and signed by the three members, went away from Delhi and did not come back here. In fact, the Report was somewhat delayed by that fact. When the Report was presented to me, I think, about five weeks ago, it was our intention to place it before the House much sooner. But I thought it desirable that if Shri Suresh Chandra Bose wanted to write any separate note or Minute, he should be given time for that. I got in touch with the Chief Minister of West Bengal,[3] who saw Shri Suresh Chandra Bose and told him so. Shri Suresh Chandra Bose said that he would write such a note and it would take him about a fortnight. We waited for three weeks, more in fact. Ultimately, we thought that we should not delay this any further as the House was going to adjourn soon. Therefore, we decided to place this Report before the House and generally before the country.

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, 11 September 1956. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. VIII, Pt.II, cols. 6611-6615.
2. The Netaji Inquiry Committee Report was submitted to the Government of India in July 1956. For details see *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 32, pp. 584-85.
3. B.C. Roy.

In this Report, as honourable Members will see, the conclusion has been arrived at in the last chapter as follows:

> "The Committee has come to the conclusion that Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose met his death in an air crash, and that the ashes now at Renkoji temple, Tokyo, are his ashes."

This is their main conclusion. They make a recommendation about these ashes, that they should be brought to India with due honour and a suitable memorial erected. So far as the latter part is concerned, the Government do not propose, at this stage, to take any action. This is a matter in which, primarily, the family of Netaji is concerned, and it is with their consultation and goodwill that any step should be taken. I am not prepared to say that it is entirely a family or domestic matter. It is a national matter. Nevertheless, the family is concerned.

Anyhow, the Government do not intend, at the present stage, to take any action in this matter.

So far as the other matter is concerned—the conclusion arrived at by the Committee—Government feel that the evidence adduced in this Report is practically overwhelming in this matter, and should be accepted. I should like also to express my gratitude to the Managing Committee of the Priests of the Renkoji Temple who have looked after these ashes during these many years with great reverence and care.

> H.V. Kamath: On a point of information. Is the House to understand that Shri Suresh Chandra Bose has not indicated by letter or otherwise the exact date by which he would be able to send his note? Secondly, may I also know whether the signature that is appended to the document was to indicate his agreement with the findings or was merely in acknowledgement of the receipt of the draft report of the two members sent to him?

JN: The signature dated 2nd July, is to the note of principal points agreed to, that is to say, before the whole Report was written. The signature is not to the Report. In fact, if I may say so, the note of principal points agreed to is in Shri Suresh Chandra Bose's handwriting. He has signed it and the other members have signed it. After that, the Report was written based on those principal points. So, the signature is only in regard to those points and not to the Report. Subsequently, he went away, and, as I said, I tried to get in touch with him through Dr Bidhan Roy, who saw him and discussed the matter with him, I think, twice. On the first occasion, he said that he would like to have two weeks.

Dr Roy reminded him again and he said it will take some time more. Then Dr Roy told us that it may not be worthwhile waiting for that, 'you go ahead with the publication of the Report'.

H.N. Mukerjee:[4] May we take it that Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, purported to sign it subject to a note of dissent which he would send later or do we take it that he dissents from the major findings in regard to this Committee's decision?

JN: I really cannot speak on his behalf. But it is clear that he has not signed the Report as it is. He has signed, I repeat, a note of agreement on major points which is given there. The Report was written after that or it was being written. As a matter of fact, he was not here when the Report was completed. He had gone to Calcutta and he has not signed that Report. I cannot say to what extent he agrees with the Report and to what extent he does not. All I can deduce from his behaviour is that he does not like the Report as a whole. What part he likes and what part he dislikes, I cannot say.

H.V. Kamath: Is it a fact that Shri Suresh Chandra Bose, before he left Delhi, contacted the Prime Minister or his Secretary and said that he was compelled to leave Delhi because the Government did not give him decent accommodation here?

JN: I think, he was staying at Kotah House which is normally the place where many of our guests stay.

H.V. Kamath: He was given a hutment there.

JN: Anyhow, the matter was not brought to my notice at all.

4. CPI Member from Kolkata, north-east.

2. Preservation of Wildlife[1]

Wildlife? That is how we refer to the magnificent animals of our jungles and to the beautiful birds that brighten our lives. I wonder sometimes what these animals and birds think of man and how they would describe him if they had the capacity to do so. I rather doubt if their description would be very complimentary to man. In spite of our culture and civilization, in many ways man continues to be not only wild but more dangerous than any of the so-called wild animals.

Nature is said to be red in tooth and claw and life is precarious in the forest. The strong prey on the weak and the weak develop subterfuges and camouflages to protect themselves. But this eternal way of the forest is due principally to the quest for food. Man does not eat man, but he kills him for other purposes and even where he does not kill the body, he kills the spirit.

We are strange mixtures of good and evil, of civilization and barbarism of the divine and the base. We talk in one language and act in another way. We hold aloft noble ideals and shout many slogans, but in our behaviour we belie them. We talk of peace and our manner of doing so is often aggressive and warlike.

In India, perhaps even more than in other countries, there is this difference between precept and practice. In no country is life valued in theory so much as in India, and many people would even hesitate to destroy the meanest or the most harmful of animals. But in practice we ignore the animal world.

We grow excited about the protection of the cow.[2] The cow is one of the treasures of India and should be protected. But we imagine that we have done our duty by passing some legislation.[3] This results not in the protection of the cow but much harm to it as well as to human beings. Cattle are let loose and become wild and become a danger not only to crops but to human beings. They deteriorate and the very purpose for which we value the cow is defeated.

1. Message, 16 September 1956, New Delhi. File No. 9/2/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection. It was later incorporated as Foreward with minor changes to the book *Wild Life in India* by E.P. Gee, published by Collins, London in 1964.
2. During the last quarter of nineteenth century, various agitations for protecting cows came up in the north India. The Kukas of the Punjab were the first to initiate an agitation against cow-slaughter. Subsequently, the Arya Samaj and numerous sanyasis campaigned against cow-slaughter. In fact, the cow-protection movement occupied centre-stage in the politics of late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
3. The UP Vidhan Sabha passed the Anti-Cow Slaughter Bill on 8 September 1955. Similarly, the Punjab Vidhan Sabha adopted the Prohibition of Cow Slaughter Bill on 6 April 1956.

In many other countries, even children take great interest in animals and birds. There are innumerable books on the animal world and many people take arduous journeys to see some rare birds. Societies of birdwatchers are formed, not to kill them but to see and study them. How many of our people know even the names of the less common birds? How few books we have about birds and animals.

I welcome this new interest in India in the preservation of wildlife.[4] I cannot say that we should preserve that form of wildlife which is a danger in our civilized haunts or which destroys our crops. But life would become very dull and colourless if we did not have these magnificent animals and birds to look at and to play with. We should, therefore, encourage as many sanctuaries as possible for the preservation of what yet remains of our wildlife.

Our forests are essential for us from many points of view. Let us preserve them. As it is, we have destroyed them far too much. It is true that as population grows, the need for greater food production becomes necessary. But this should be by more intensive cultivation and not by the destruction of the forests which play a vital part in the nation's economy.

I welcome this pamphlet and I hope that it will lead people to think more kindly and more intently of our wildlife.

4. The wildlife preservation and management began in India on a serious footing with the formation of the Indian Board For Wildlife in Mysore in 1952. The Board devised ways and means of wildlife conservation through various legislative and practical methods, including the closure of shooting of several species.

3. To B.G. Kher[1]

New Delhi
19 September 1956

My dear Kher,[2]
Thank you for your two letters of the 17th September.

I entirely agree with you and with Vinobaji that no community should be condemned to scavengering or indeed to any particular occupation which is considered low in the social scale. As a matter of fact, speaking in terms of earnings, many of this class are better off than many of other classes. I suppose proper training and education in other professions and crafts is the best way to draw them out. This process is already taking effect. Apart from some MPs that we have, there are lawyers and teachers belonging to that class. I suppose we shall soon have engineers, doctors and the like. Once this trend gets going, the change in the position of the community will probably be fairly rapid.

The point, therefore, is to give them opportunities of adequate training.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, at this time.

4. To Yadunath Singh[1]

New Delhi
29 September 1956

My dear Yadunath,[2]

This house in which I live, inevitably requires a great deal of looking after and a great deal of expenditure. Nonetheless, one can keep some check on this expenditure and avoid such as is considered not necessary. I should like this policy to be followed in future.

Recently, some expensive new carpets have been put in the big upper room with the dance floor. I do not think they were necessary and, in any event, it was not even desirable to cover every inch of the floor with the carpet.

I should like to know what the electric charges amount to for this house and compound. A large number of persons live in the compound, including a crowd of policemen and others. The charges, no doubt, will be heavy. I should like to know what they are and, further, I should like a separate meter for the house itself, apart from the grounds and the outhouses, so that I could know how much electric power is consumed in the house.

During the past summer, I have not used at all the airconditioner or cooler or whatever it is called, in my bedroom. I find that I keep better without too much airconditioning. Now, the cold weather is coming in and, anyhow, I do not require it. I think, therefore, that this should be removed from my bedroom.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Military Secretary to the President of India.

5. To Jagjivan Ram[1]

New Delhi
7 October 1956

My dear Jagjivan Ram,[2]
I enclose an advertisement of the Air India International. This has been sent to me by a person in Bombay, whose daughter is herself an air hostess. I am sure you will agree with me that this is vulgar and improper. It would be bad enough if a private company did this, but for a Government of India organization to indulge in this kind of a thing is really extraordinary.

I have been receiving complaints about the Air India International's advertisements and vulgar attempts at humour. Some Members of Parliament drew my attention to this some time ago. I think that something should be done and you should draw the attention of the Air India International people to this matter. I do not think that even in any foreign country, this kind of a thing would be approved. In India, certainly it has a very bad effect on our reputation.

I think, it will be better if you do not mention the name of the man who sent this to me or his daughter, who is an air hostess. She might get into trouble because of this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister for Communications at this time.

6. Birthday Gift Not Desirable[1]

Please reply to this letter[2] as follows:-
"Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 6th October. He appreciates the suggestion you have made to observe his birthday in a particular way. But he would be much more grateful to you if the particular proposal you have mentioned is not given effect to.

He has stated in public on several occasions that he does not wish any kind of present to be given to him on the occasion of his birthday. If anything is given to him it is handed over to the Children's Fund. In fact, that day is observed as the Children's Day. Therefore, it is not at all desirable for you to present him with what you call "The new face of India in gold and jewellery", whatever that might mean.

I should like to make it clear that he does not wish to have any present on that occasion. The only type of present he will appreciate is a contribution for the Children's Fund.

As for the other ceremonies you mention, he would also request you not to have them. You may, if you choose, see him at his house in an informal way. The 14 th of November will be the day when the new Parliament session begins and he will be terribly busy on that day.

Yours faithfully"

1. Note to Personal Secretary, 9 October 1956. JN Collection.
2. The letter from the President, All India Educational Society, Delhi, is not traceable.

7. Christian Missionary Organizations and Political Questions[1]

I am sending the Church Missionary Society's[2] Newsletter, which deals specially with the Kashmir question. I have no particular objection to what has been written, if this had been done by any journalist or any independent person. But I do think it is not right for a Christian missionary organization to deal with political questions in this way and hint at some kind of a conclusion.

I suggest that the Home Ministry might write a letter to the representatives of the Church Missionary Society in India and draw their attention to this Newsletter and point out that this is perilously near intervention in internal politics by foreign missions.

1. Note to Minister of Home Affairs, 5 November 1956. File No. 2609/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The Church Missionary Society was established in 1807 in Kolkata for translating Christian scriptures into Indian languages and for providing employment to Indian Christians.

8. Birthday Messages[1]

A birthday anniversary, when it brings the affection and goodwill of so many persons, is heartening. But I am getting a little alarmed at the coming of my birthdays not only because they are reminders of the afternoon of life but, even more so, because I find myself increasingly incapable of dealing with all the messages of goodwill that come to me. I have received thousands of letters and telegrams which require a large staff merely to open them and sort them out. For me to go through all these messages is beyond my capacity. This distresses me. When a friend or a colleague has taken the trouble to send me his good wishes, I want at least to see his letter or telegram personally and to reply to it. But how am I to do it, unless I retire from all other activities? I would wish that friends would send me silent good wishes which, I am sure, will reach me and strengthen me.

Many people have sent me sums of money, chiefly for the Children's Fund. Among them are numbers of little boys who have saved from their small allowances in order to make their precious gifts. Among them also are many people of small means sending small sums which, for me, are very big. I am very grateful to them all.

This overwhelming affection sometimes becomes a burden hard to carry, even though all my strength is derived from it. I cannot possibly thank all the people who have written to me adequately or in suitable language. There are no words which can express my feelings. And yet words have to be used and so I wish to express my deepest gratitude to all who have blessed me at a time when difficulties and burdens increase.

1. Message issued to the Press, New Delhi, 18 November 1956. From External Affairs (PIB) 1956.

9. The Case of Tridib Chaudhuri[1]

Will you please write to the Election Commissioner[2] in regard to the case of Shri Tridib Chaudhuri, MP, who is at present in prison in Goa?[3]

2. In view of the special circumstances attached to his case, we should like, as far as possible, to make it possible for him to stand for election during the general elections even though he might continue in prison in Goa.

3. Some people on his behalf came to see me today and suggested a change in our Constitution to enable Shri Tridib Chaudhuri to stand. This, of course, is out of the question.

4. Alternatively, they made some suggestions which are given in the attached paper. I should like the Election Commissioner to consider these matters.[4] As I have said above, for a variety of reasons we wish to facilitate his standing for election. Even though he happens to belong to a party which is in opposition, we do not wish to come in his way and quite possible the man might not be opposed.

5. We are prepared to send any paper for signature to him through the normal processes. But sometimes this takes time and the paper may not come back within the allotted period. Would it matter if the nomination paper was sent much earlier and his permission obtained or is it possible, in the peculiar circumstances of the case, to accept this paper if by chance it is delayed by a few days?

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary, 22 November 1956. File No. 16 (10)/56-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Sukumar Sen.
3. See *ante*, p. 57.
4. The Election Commissioner replied that for such case the only course open was to amend the provisions of section 33 (i) of the Representation of the Peoples Act, 1951 and there was no need to amend the Constitution.

10. Relevance of Buddha[1]

President, Vice-President, brothers and sisters,
You have heard something about Buddhism and Gautama Buddha from our honoured guests.[2] I am in a bit of a dilemma as to what I should say when so many scholars have already spoken about deeply spiritual matters. I have often had an opportunity of speaking here on several occasions. I have talked to you of various affairs, domestic and international. But today we are confronted with something that is two thousand five hundred years old and yet in a sense, it is relevant even today. What is it about such things which have come down for thousands of years and continue to be vibrant and powerful enough to make an impact on the people? What is the source of their strength? It is difficult for me to say because I am somewhat untutored in these matters. But one thing I do know, whenever I think about the lives of Gautama Buddha or Mahatma Gandhi, both the products of India's soil, there is a turmoil in my mind and my eyes fill with tears. It is not a question of great scholars about whom I can talk of in highly spiritual terms. But it is true that there are things which have an impact on the emotions, perhaps even more than scholarship. On the one hand, there are all these great men who were born on this soil and their message has reached far and wide and has continued to have an impact on the people for thousands of years till today. Then, on the other hand, I observe the weaknesses of the modern age, reflected in all of us, our tendency to get involved in petty matters and to fight with one another, which upsets me terribly. Then, I think that after all, if we need light to take us out of this darkness, it can come only from the fundamental ideals which have been placed before us, and not by internal squabbles and arguments.

We are living in a strange world today. As you know, there are dark clouds looming over the horizon, and in this situation, when there is constant talk and preparations of war, and when the war-drum is heard clearly, it is difficult to understand who speaks the truth because everyone exaggerates things out of all proportions. It is, anyhow, the habit of nations to exaggerate its own side of the case and minimize the opponent's viewpoint. It is said that in war the first casualty is truth.

1. Speech on the occasion of Buddha Jayanti celebrations, Ramlila Grounds, Delhi, 24 November 1956. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Dalai Lama, Panchen Lama and Maharaja of Sikkim.

We have had small wars here and there. But now, once again, the atmosphere of a world war is building up. We hope that this will not happen. But the situation is critical, extremely serious and already quite out of control. Nobody can say where it will take the world. At a moment like this, we must use our brains a little and make an effort to maintain peace. We do not wish to sit on judgement over everyone or decide issues or voice our opinions and criticisms freely. We do not have any right to sit in judgement over anyone. We hardly ever see our own faults but magnify the faults of others. However, apart from this, in such a dangerous situation which exists in the world today, it is imperative that an effort should be made to prevent the situation from becoming worse. It may be decided later that who should be blamed for this deteriorating situation. But, the most important thing is to see that no words or actions of ours vitiate the atmosphere further. This is constantly in my mind. It is not my desire to criticize the actions of others or to decide international issues. Behind all this is the question as to what is really at the root of all these wars which ruin the world. So, we come round to the fundamental issues after scholarly debates, that were first placed before us many thousands of years ago and are still relevant even today.

Anyhow, this year and especially on this day, we pay homage to the memory of Gautama Buddha. We must do so not only today but often, and open our minds to his teachings. The more we think of him, the better it will be for us, because his memory ennobles us as thoughts of great men and great ideas do. We will grow in stature by following in his footsteps. Therefore, it will be proper for us not only to pay homage to his memory but to think of the great inner strength of this human being who has succeeded in making a profound impact on the world for thousands of years, and who brought about a revolution in India and other countries. Please remember that Gautama Buddha was a revolutionary individual and the impact of his personality has been felt for thousands of years. We make a mistake in thinking of a handful of boys indulging in violence and giving fiery speeches as revolutionaries. What Gautama Buddha did was revolutionary because real revolution consists of having an impact on the minds and hearts of the people, for only then will the world change in any fundamental way. The rest is merely superficial.

So, how to change the hearts and minds of people? How are the emotions of violence and war to be removed from their hearts? I cannot show you the way except to say that until these emotions are removed, neither man nor the world can go very far, however much he may progress in any direction.

As you know, it is my job to understand the present situation in the world and even to voice India's opinion on one side or the other side. Therefore, my mind is full of the complexities of the world, the international situation, and the dangers

and preparations of war. I am perturbed because where will all these military preparations lead the world to? Will it go up in flames? But when I think of Gautama Buddha, my mind cools a little. Though I do not feel completely reassured, but at least I feel calmer and a sense of confidence that the world cannot progress by means of war but by following the old paths shown by our great men, the greatest of whom was Gautama Buddha.

11. Spirituality and Human Life[1]

Mr Chairman,[2] Your Holinesses,[3] distinguished delegates and friends,
The Chairman just announced referring to me as the Chairman of the Buddha Jayanti Committee. I ventured to point out to him that that was not quite correct. I was only rather for show purposes. The real Chairman, as you know, is Dr Radhakrishnan and it was really round him that our Buddha Jayanti Committee revolved and worked under his inspiration and he was a fitting Chairman of that Committee not only because of his scholarship but because his own life is witness to many of the things that we talk about here. But to our misfortune he was called away from here owing to domestic bereavement[4] and he has not been able to come back and so I have to stand before you today, however, unworthy I might be, to deliver what is called a valedictory address.

As you know I function in the political field. I am a politician. Just now His Holiness said that it was difficult to join the spiritual field with, well, the other fields of life. Indeed, it is difficult and yet I have often wondered if there is any real hope for the world unless there is some kind of combination of the two. We have seen in the world tremendous advances in knowledge of the physical world, in science and the achievements of science and all our lives have been moulded

1. Valedictory address at the International Symposium on Buddhism's Contribution to Arts, Letters and Philosophy held at Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi from 26 to 29 November, 29 November 1956, AIR tapes, NMML
2. Maharajkumar P.T. Namgyal of Sikkim.
3. Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama.
4. In fact, Radhakrishnan was the Chairman of the International Symposium on Buddhism's Contribution to Art, Letters and Philosophy but he had to fly to Madras on getting the news of the death of his wife.

by those achievements of science. We have seen also that while such great and wonderful progress has been made and it has brought much good to humanity, that progress, nevertheless, there was something essentially lacking about it and so sometimes all that progress leads to disaster. What is this, that is lacking? Perhaps, it may be that it is some kind of a spiritual element that is lacking, something that holds and restrains the great powers that have been let loose in the world by man's discoveries in science. So, we come back to this problem not only from the point of view of the individual, although that is important, but from another point of view, the point of view of the larger group or of the world itself.

How are we to restrain this tremendous force which often works for evil? I do not know how best to define the word 'civilization'. It is a curious word and used in many ways and many senses. But perhaps one aspect of culture and civilization is the growth of restraint in the individual and the community. Where will that restraint come from?

We find that restraint may perhaps come from fear, fear of consequences. Sometimes we are told that we shall be able to restrain the evil-doer by greater force. But we see that the evil-doer can argue in the same way and increase his own force. So, this becomes a competition in trying to gain more and more force to impose one's will on others. How then are we to restrain? We have seen that this attempt to restrain by stronger force, which in itself is an evil use of power, leads really to greater difficulties and to the further growth of the evil force. We have seen in the world of armies and armaments a race for armaments and we have seen how good people, peaceful people, get afraid and because they are afraid they also run the same race thinking that that might perhaps bring them some safety or security. We have also seen that it does not bring them safety or security. It only increases fear all round and fear is a bad companion for an individual or for a nation. It is bad for him and bad for those who come in contact with him because fear, like some better qualities, is contagious also. And in the world today we find this curious spectacle that while the vast majority of mankind and possibly almost all of them desire peace for whatever reasons, it may be for fear of some danger, fear of another, but they desire peace with all their hearts because they realize that anything else would be disastrous to them. Nevertheless, we find forces of evil, forces of violence, spreading and growing and bringing in their train hatred and the desire to destroy, to crush others, which again breeds hatred and the desire to destroy in the other party and so this goes on. Surely, this is a vicious circle.

How, then, do we get out of it? We have failed to get out of it during these many years of many generations. There must be some other way, other than the normal politician's way, other than the way which men of my kind and my

profession practice, that is, the profession of politics. So I feel that unless we tackle this problem in some other way there can be no solution of it and no assurance of peace. We talk, all of us, rather glibly, of peace and goodwill and cooperation and yet at the same time we often act in a different way belying our own professions. We live, in fact, two different lives—one, what people call the practical life or the life concerning practical affairs, the other some other life which we reserve for our secluded moments. And so we get developed into double personalities both as individuals and as communities or nations. There is much good in us, all of us, but there is also that which is not good in all of us and the question is which will triumph and the question is how we can create an environment in which the good triumphs and the evil does not.

Now, that is the problem which, I suppose, faces most sensitive persons in this world. Some cannot endure this continuing torment and retire from public activity and it may be that they gain some peace, some peace of mind and some wisdom. Others, even though tortured by these circumstances, feel that they cannot escape from this and that it is their duty and their function to continue and try to meet this problem in some better way.

I do not know what is ultimately the right way. Perhaps, there are many ways and each individual has to seek his way to do good or to counter evil. But whatever ways there may be surely the way of violence is not a good way. Surely, the way of hatred is not a good way, that I think we can say with some assurance. And not only because in principle and in theory it is not good but also because of the evidence of our eyes, the evidence of history, the evidence of recent events has shown that the way of violence is not even a practical way, apart from theory and apart from idealism.

It is this aspect of it which perhaps is troubling those people who took pride on being practical people. The man who calls himself a practical person apparently thinks only of the moment and does not think of the consequences of his so-called practical act in the future. I do think that the so-called practical person is the most impractical of all, because he doesn't see to the right or to the left or does not see at all into the future and the result is he gets more and more entangled in his own tortuous thought and reasoning. That has been the consequence of the activities of this world even in the course of our generation, and we have seen it and we have suffered from it.

So that we have now come to a stage when it has become of vital importance that some other element should be found, something that is normally beyond the ken of the practical politician, some way to deal with this problem.

There are people, again, who are earnest people, people with some kind of a crusading spirit in them, who put forward brave ideals, but somehow, their voice is just a cry in the wilderness and does not seem to affect the world's activities in

the slightest. A group of earnest people meet and discuss and talk about a brave new world, a brave world order, one world, all nations knit together, cooperating and not quarrelling. Fine idea. And ultimately, perhaps, an inevitable idea. And yet the people who talk so, seem to produce no effect on any problem or any large number of human beings because perhaps they cut themselves off from the real problems of the day. We cannot cut ourselves off from these real problems. We cannot merely think in the air and lay down utopias which we like to think of. We have to have our feet on the ground. But it is not enough to wallow on the ground all the time. If it is essential to have our feet on the ground it appears to be equally essential that our heads should be higher than the ground, even if they cannot reach the sky.

This problem which is not a new problem, it is as old, I suppose, as history, but there is a certain newness about it today or it may be that we feel it is new or I feel it is new because we are affected by it. Perhaps earlier generations were equally affected by this or some other aspect of this problem. But what I mean by saying that it has a certain newness about it, is this that the forces of evil or rather the forces of violence have become so tremendous, or rather the forces that can be used for violent purpose have become so tremendous, that unless they are held in check they might end up in, in irretrievable disaster for the world. That is, in a sense, the urgency of the problem. While at least the capacity to do good has grown—the capacity to do evil also has grown and the one will ultimately conquer the other. It is in this sense that I venture to say that there is a certain newness in this problem. Previously, if evil triumphed, it triumphed in a small corner of the world. Today, if it triumphs it might engulf the world. Therefore, this immediate issue arises before us and it has a certain urgency which takes us out of the academic field of debate, scholastic debate, and it affects the politician, or it should affect the politician, if he really thinks about these problems.

And, therefore, this Symposium that we have had, although it has dealt with rather scholarly subjects, it has dealt with culture and art and philosophy, all important, and it has not, so far I know, dealt with this vital problem which a politician has to face. Nevertheless, I do believe that it has had, and will have, a considerable influence on people's thinking.

Indeed, it is not this Symposium, perhaps, but rather this great event, this significant event which we celebrate this year, the 2500th anniversary of the *Mahaparinirvana* of the Buddha. It has directed people's attentions more and more to Buddha's essential message. In my own country, as you all know, we have been strangely concerned in regard to this matter—strangely situated—people say, and there is a measure of truth in it, that Buddhism as a religion gradually faded out from India. A number of Buddhists remained. That is true

in so far as that goes, though it is not completely true because, whatever our thousand and one failings might be, there can be no doubt that the message of the Buddha and the personality of the Buddha impressed itself so powerfully on the Indian people and entered the very texture of their thinking and their lives that nothing could take it away and nothing did take it away. Although, may be, in ceremonials and other matters India did not follow that particular path, but her whole thinking, the practices of her other religions were greatly influenced. In fact, such religion as India followed in all its varieties was essentially an amalgam of essential features of what the Buddha taught and some other thinking. So, this became the texture of our lives.

I do not mean to say that we in India have been or are any more spiritual or better than other people. That is a failing in which many a people indulge in every country, thinking themselves better than others. And a country often which has not made good in the normal, physical plane often takes refuge in saying that we are better in some other plane. I do not wish to encourage that thought. We are not better than anybody else. We are different. In some ways we may be better, in some ways we are worse, as all nations are. But the fact is true. I think and I say so without any desire to exaggerate that the essence of Buddha's teaching, which is, after all, the essence of all Indian thought before and after Buddha, and, after all, the Buddha was a product of this essential Indian background and Indian thought although he attained to tremendous dimensions. That is, that has been woven into the texture of Indian life and thought. It is true that the greatest truths get covered up and all kinds of cobwebs of the imagination make it difficult to see the truth. That is perfectly true. That has happened in India and we have roamed about in metaphysical regions trying sometimes to understand the obvious by going in very round about ways and missing the obvious. But it is also true that in spite of this being the texture of our thought here, it was covered up in many ways and, speaking for myself, I have greatly welcomed in this great year of celebration this renewed interest—interest is rather a weak word—but this desire to find out and to know and understand and to be influenced by, more and more, this great message of the Buddha. To some extent, I believe that is common in other countries naturally, in the countries where Buddhism is the dominant religion, it is so. In other countries too. But in India, undoubtedly, this year has shown a tremendous awakening in this respect. Our mind was prepared for it in many ways, not only by many past happenings but by our great leader, who conditioned us in the course of this and the last generation, Mahatma Gandhi, and whose voice and whose message sounded so often to us as if as a repetition of the Buddha's.

In any event, we face these great problems in our individual lives, in our nation's lives and in the world. And I do believe that it is essentially through the

message of the Buddha that we can look at these problems in the right perspective, that we can draw back from this attempt at conflict, this attempt at competing with each other in the realm of conflict, of violence and hatred. I am convinced that every action has certain consequences. A good action has certain good consequences. An evil action has evil consequences. That I believe as good a law of nature as any physical or chemical law. If that is so, hatred, which is evil, must have evil consequences. It can never bring good results. Violence, which is evil, must have evil consequences and, indeed, lead to the growth of violence. How then are we to get out of this vicious circle? I hope and believe that in this year of the celebrations of the 2500th anniversary of the *Parinirvana* of the Buddha, it has led people to look deeper into these problems, that it will lead them and make them realize that they have to search for some kind of union between our day-to-day political, scientific, technological and other activities and a certain measure of spirituality.

As I told you when I inaugurated this Symposium, I am no scholar—certainly not a scholar of religion and philosophy. But I have had to deal with many problems, national, international—and it is because of that and not because of any individual search that I have been driven to this conclusion.

I am very grateful to all of you revered gentlemen and friends, who have come here from far countries. I have no doubt that your deliberations will help many. But quite apart from what you have said and what you have written, the mere fact of all of us meeting here in this way, getting to know each other, and through each other, getting further insights into this great message of the Buddha and the effect it has had on the world, is a great and significant thing in itself. And perhaps it was fitting that it should be so that when the world is tortured by crisis after crisis in this year, we should be made to think on another plane and thus forced to realize that this is the way, this is the only way to meet such crises adequately and suitably.

I hope that the message that this Symposium gives, the message that all of you have given in various ways, will spread and enter into the minds and hearts of many people and influence them in the right path.

I am very grateful to all of you for having come here and taking part in this Symposium. And I hope that when you go home from here you will carry this message to wherever you may go.

GLOSSARY

Bharat Mata	Mother India
Bharat Mata Ki Jai	victory to Mother India
danda	stick
daridranarayan	have-nots, poor
durbari	a courtier
hindi-chini bhai bhai	Indians and Chinese are brothers
Hindu rashtra	Hindu nation
izzat	prestige
jagir	a tract of land and its revenue (given for services rendered)
jagirdar	holder of jagir
jagirdari	a system of assignment of a tract of land and its revenue
Jai Hind	victory to India
jayanti	birth anniversary
jungli	uncouth, uncivilized
khoon ka badla khoon se lenge	an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth
mohalla	locality
panchsheel	five basic principles of international conduct
parinirvana	Buddha's attainment of immortality
taluqa	a territorial sub-division
taluqdari	a system of land holdings

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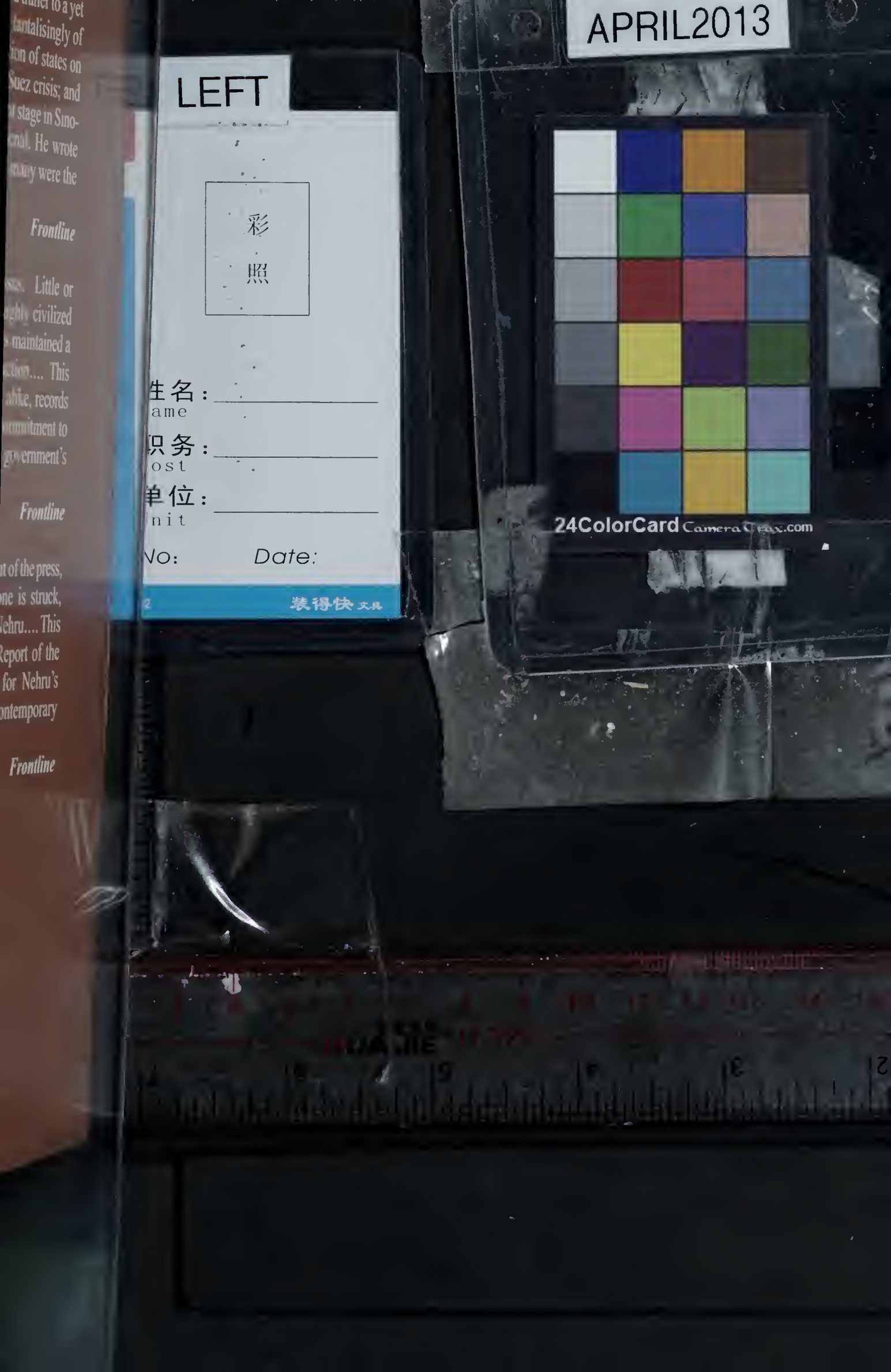
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